

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,

TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

VOL. I.



Joa. foxus Salutē et pace in Christo, pmē suæ.

Published by R. Bentley & W. Harrison, [illegible]



ACTES and Monuments

of these latter and perilous dayes, touching matters of the Church,

wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, unto the tyme nowe present.

Gathered and collected according to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie as wel of the parties themselues that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof, by *John Foxe*.

¶ *Imprinted at London by Iohn Day*, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate.

Cum priuilegio Regie Majestatis.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE:

A NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION:

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

BY THE

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VOL. I.

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TO HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

THE Original Compiler of these ACTS AND MONUMENTS of the Church, enjoyed the distinguished privilege of dedicating them to your Majesty's most noble predecessor, Queen Elizabeth.

The same brilliant halo of Royal Favour which encircled them then, shines around these Volumes with renewed splendour, under the auspicious sanction of your own Illustrious Name.

May the Almighty Hand of God, which has quelled the storm of persecution in the British Reformed Church, and has established the Protestant Faith in this favoured land, continue to be the sure Defence of your Throne. May no lukewarmness in Holy Things, betray your Loyal Subjects into a false security, under the enjoyment of their Temporal and Spiritual Blessings; but may they learn, from these sorrowful Records of the Acts and

Monuments of other days, duly to value, and fearlessly to maintain, that Scriptural Doctrine of the Church, "Repentance towards God," and to build upon the only Secure Foundation, "Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ."

And when, in subduing all things unto Himself, the Eternal King of Kings shall have put down all earthly Rule, and all Authority and Power, that your Majesty, and your Royal Consort, may be accepted, through the Merits of Christ your Saviour, to share, to His praise, Diadems that will never fade, and Kingdoms that will never change, is the best wish, and the earnest prayer, of

Your Majesty's most faithful,

And very devoted Subject and Servant,

STEPHEN REED CATTLEY.

FULHAM,
December 15th, 1836.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	
28	10	from top, for 'Church of England' read 'Church in England.'
35		Note, add 'at present.'
45	14	from top, before 'at Boston' insert 'in the parish of St. Botolph.' See Tanner's Bibliotheca.
46	12	from top, after 'married again' insert 'to one Richard Meldon.'
—	25	for 'from the year 1545' read 'until the year 1545.'
—	26 and 27.	He took his bachelor's degree the 17th of May, 1538, and his master's the 6th June, 1543.
48	22	from top, for '1532' read '1533.'
51		Note (1) line 1, for 'barbarici' read 'barbaricæ.'
52	14	for 'prosecutions' read 'persecutions.'
—	39	for 'arts' read 'means.'
54	30	from top, after 'experienced' insert 'if called upon to leave any communion in which they have been brought up and educated.'
66	30	for 'fearful' read 'jealous.'
—	39	for 'their' read 'its.'
70	20	for 'appears' read 'appear.'
72		Note (2) for 'Care' read 'Case.'
—		— (3) add reference to Collier, vol. v. pp. 188, 189, new ed.
72		Note (4) for 'in eal parte' read 'in eâ parte.'
—		— (4) add the following, to prove that Foxe was admitted to the priesthood. London Ordination Book, 1550 to 1577. He was ordained on the 24th day of January, 1559, by Edmund Grindal, bishop of London.
73	10	Some of the prayers of the English Book of Common Prayer were taken from the Gallican liturgy. See Palmer's Orig. Liturg.
—	36	for 'Hæc etiam' read 'Hæc etenim.'
76	5—7.	This is not quite correct. The Commentarii were published in 1554, and therefore before he had left Frankfort, as is said in the previous sentence. See p. 80.
80		Note (2). The supposition of the miscarriage is not correct, as we read of a daughter who must have been born about this time, from her age while at Basil. See p. 120.
87		Note (1), for 'fitnesses' read 'unfitnesses.'
98		Note (1), for 'Heylyn's History of Presbyterism' read 'Presbyterians.'
101		Note (1). There are different readings in the letter from that found in Strype. The one in the Note is exactly as copied from that in the Brit. Mus.
107	27	after 'finished' insert two commas, to mark close of quotation.
117	24	after '1557' insert 'Grindal.'
122	17	for 'afflicting' read 'inflicting.'
125		Note (1), after 'here' insert 'with the preceding letter.'
135		Note (3), line 6, for 'defensor' read 'defensoris.'
136	22	for 'procuratorum' read 'procuratorem.'
—		Note (2), line 2, for 'tua' read 'tuæ.'
154		Note (3), for 'existimas' read 'existimavi'—'dialogorum' read 'diologorum'—'nominatur' read 'nominatim'—'dialogis' read 'diologis'—'sine responsione,' read 'sive responsionem'—'exitaram' read 'exituram'—'Illryicum' read Illyricum.'
173		Note (3), line 13, for 'quos dam' read 'quosdam'—line 16, for 'ejus modi' read 'ejusmodi'—line 20, for 'archidiaconis' read 'archidiaconus.'
174		Note (2), line 2, for 'ut privatum' read 'ad privatam'—line 4, for 'optime religionis institutionum' read 'optimæ religionis institutionem'—line 5, for 'pietatum' read 'pietatem.'
177	1	for 'tempora' read 'temporal.'
—		In the Enactment upon the Recital 1, line 5, for 'synodals' read 'synodal.'
178	60	after 'papal' insert 'law.'
188		Note (1), last line, for 'atlegetur' read 'ablegetur.'
209	9	after 'unto you' insert 'as.'
—		Note (2), for 'Parge' read 'Perge.'
210	19, 20,	for 'Osorio' read 'Osorius.'
212	1	for 'Osorio' read 'Osorius.'
255	29	after 'years' insert a comma.
301	22	for 'Rainerius' read 'Reinerius.'
332	1	from bottom, for 'of the eleventh' read 'from the eleventh.'
376		Note (3), for 'Ash' read 'Art.'
387	43	after 'Miller' insert the figure 1, reference to the Note.
394		Note (a), for 'Parke' read 'Parker.'
408	31	vide p. 136, Note to page 135.
425	40	for 'miserecors' read 'misericors.'
454	27	for 'condemn' read 'condemns'— for 'with' read 'while.'

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ONE OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE NEW EDITION OF THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

My Dear Sir,

Will you permit me to divert your attention, for a short time, from the Preface which follows this letter, to a brief explanation of the causes of the delay of its appearance: and to the consideration of certain circumstances, resulting from the first announcement, of the republication, of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe.

In the early part of the year 1836, Messrs. Seeley and Burnside began to make arrangements for the publication of the abovementioned work. They declared that their object should be "to spare no pains nor expense to render their edition the most perfect that had yet appeared." They mentioned the various editions that would be collated; and announced that the latest corrections of the author would be introduced; while the errors which had crept into the copies, published after his decease, would be removed." They added also, "that they were happy to be able to calculate on the most important assistance in the facilities offered by public libraries; and also in the access given to the best copies of the work, which were known to be extant in the hands of private individuals."[1]

The charge of conducting the work through the press was committed, as Messrs. Seeley and Burnside proceeded to mention, to my friend and kinsman, Mr. Stephen Reed Cattley, who wrote to me, and requested me to write a preface to the proposed work. I willingly, after some hesitation, consented to do so; because I thought that the labours of John Foxe ought not to be regarded as obsolete, so long as those portions of the canon law were permitted by the church of Rome to remain unchanged; upon the authority of which, when united to the statute law of England, the fearful persecutions had taken place which the martyrologist has recorded. I remembered that certain of the adherents of the

(1) See the Circular of Messrs. R. B. Seeley and Burnside, dated May 2d, 1836.

church of Rome, instead of uniting their efforts to procure from the authorities of their church the repeal of those laws; had assailed the character of Foxe, derided his learning and attainments, imputed to him unworthy and inferior motives, and declared him guilty of wilful falsehoods, as well as of ignorance and inaccuracies; while they maligned the conduct, and objects, of the sufferers.

Though I was well aware that the severity of modern criticism, and the additional information which the revival of literature has given to the student of history; were sufficient to convince us that there are many narratives, in the large compass of three folio volumes, which required revision; yet I remembered that the earlier contents of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, from the commencement of Christianity, to the reign of Henry IV., when the act *De Heretico Comburendo*, was passed—had not been so severely impugned by those who were most anxious to depreciate him—as those later details, which related the consequences of the persecuting canons, as they were accomplished by that act, upon the happiness of society, or the suppression of truth. I believed that the objections which had been urged against the labours of Foxe in our own day, by Eusebius Andrews, Bishop Milner, and others, might be proved to be generally the same as those which had been previously urged by Parsons and Harpsfield; and which had been repeatedly refuted, though they were now again brought before us with as much confidence, as if no notice had been taken of their fallacy. I thought, therefore, that I might render an humble, though useful, service to the church of England, if I ventured to promise that I would write a preface to this work, in which, to use the language of the circular to which I have already referred, "the pious martyrologist should be fully vindicated from the various attacks of his assailants."[1]

Such then was the extent of my engagement. I undertook to vindicate the character and labours of John Foxe from the attacks of various assailants. I principally referred to those of the church of Rome, such as Andrews, Milner, Parsons, and Harpsfield; without, however, excluding the attacks of some protestants, such as Collier, and Antony Wood. I was informed that three years would probably elapse before the preface would be required; and I considered myself at liberty to make my collections, and to write at my leisure, as much or as little as it might please me. I considered that my promise was limited to these points only; and that I had not undertaken to defend the work of Foxe from any imputations, objections, or criticisms which might be submitted to the public at any subsequent period, to the time when that promise was made.

When the first, or rather second volume—for the second volume was published first—was given to the subscribers, many errors, or supposed deficiencies, were alleged to have been uncorrected, so as to diminish the

(1) "High as is the character which he deservedly maintains for veracity and correctness, still Foxe has not been without assailants. The present edition will, therefore, be prefaced by a full vindication of the respected and pious Martyrologist against the many attacks which have at various periods been made upon him, from the pen of the Rev. George Townsend, M.A. Prebendary of Durham, &c."

value of the work. Several letters were published in a periodical journal,[1] in which these defects were enumerated. I deemed it to be the duty of the Editor to refute, or to acknowledge, the errors which were thus affirmed respecting his labours; and I should have proceeded at my leisure to have completed my own labour in the manner I had purposed, if one consequence attendant on the discussion of the alleged inaccuracies, had not compelled me to perceive that the subscribers to the work would anticipate from my pen a much more important volume than I had intended to present them. In the middle of the year 1837, three clergymen,[2] well known to the church by their zeal and usefulness, were induced to address a letter to the editor of a newspaper,[3] in which, while the character of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe was deservedly eulogised;[4] and allusion was made to the Act of Convocation of the English church, (the Act of the Apostolical Succession among us, in full ecclesiastical council assembled), as giving to Foxe's work an additional claim to regard; the subscribers were assured, without any consent on my part to the words of the assurance, and without any consultation with me respecting it, that a dissertation would be prefixed to the work, "*upon the main principles and facts involved, from the pen of Mr. Prebendary Townsend.*" I do not censure these gentlemen for the declaration. It was only their interpretation of the announcement, that the martyrologist was to be vindicated by me "from the various attacks of his assailants." They inferred, from this expression, the unavoidable necessity of some discussion or dissertation; whereas, I had purposed to confine myself to the humbler task of detailing the principal actions in the life of the martyrologist; and of collecting, and removing, or allowing, the objections adduced against his labours. The declaration, however, had been made. I pondered the words which had been used, unknown to, and unconsented to, by me, to describe my intended essay; and I revolved the question, whether I should write to the gentlemen who had thus committed me to you, and to the subscribers; and to assure them, and therefore you, that I had never purposed to write any dissertation of the abstract nature, which seemed to be implied in their expressions; or whether I should be contented to permit their description to be regarded as correct; and go on to fulfil the additional pledge which had been given in my name. I am sure that you will pardon this detail when I now make you acquainted with the result. I am addressing a

(1) The British Magazine.
(2) The Reverends Josiah Pratt, Edward Bickersteth, Charles Bridges. (3) "The Record."
(4) "When we consider the high character of the work, for accuracy of detail; its full exhibition of the gospel in all its holy and triumphant efficacy; the bulwark it has proved to our Protestant faith; its peculiar seasonableness to meet all the fresh dangers from popery in the present times; and its intrinsic value, as forming a sound standard of Reformation Divinity, we feel it an exercise of christian responsibility to call the public attention to it. We might further adduce the *Imprimatur* of our own Church, by her Act of Convocation appending to it all the ecclesiastical establishments in the land, as giving to Foxe's work an additional claim to our regard."
The testimony, then, goes on to specify the merits of the present edition, namely,—being the only complete impression of Foxe's text,—combining valuable matter (afterwards suppressed) in the early copies of unique rarity, lent from public libraries, with the latest corrections of the Martyrologist; and a Memoir, together with a Dissertation upon the main principles and facts involved, from the pen of Mr. Prebendary Townsend, &c.

subscriber to the work. I am doing so in the language of explanation, and not of apology. But I have been informed, and it is only possible that my information is correct, that the expectation of the Preface by Mr. Townsend had been one additional motive for the appending of their names, to the list of subscribers, by some few among you. If this may only possibly have been the case, I deem myself bound to submit to such subscribers, the relation which I am now writing.

I am pledged to give to the supporters of this work, I exclaimed, a dissertation upon *the main principles and facts* involved in the most extensive work in the English language on Ecclesiastical History; and on the persecutions by the church of Rome, of the doctrines and discipline which the existing Church of England has adopted and sanctioned, since it successfully completed its long-continued resistance to the papal supremacy! What am I to do? Where am I to begin? How am I to condense into one dissertation the mass of materials which employed their laborious writer for eleven years; and which fill the magnificent folios of the older impressions, or the goodly array of ponderous volumes which are to constitute the present edition? How is it possible to analyze, arrange, or to render attractive and readable, the inferences deducible from the accumulated details of nearly two thousand years? What are the principles, and what are the facts involved in the history of John Foxe? Is it not as difficult to relate, or to descant upon all his principles, as to rewrite all his facts? Are not his principles those of a learned, humble Christian, well versed in the fathers, well acquainted with tradition, well skilled in Scripture, and convinced by all the three that the church of Rome inculcated error; while he is no less convinced by fatal experience that the errors it inculcated by the tongue, or the pen, were enforced by the severest, and most unjustifiable penalties? Are not the facts he relates the chief deeds of the principal personages, ecclesiastical as well as civil, recorded in the history of the church from the ascension of Christ, to the reign of Elizabeth in England? If, too, as some affirm, the principles of the work may be all summed up in this one—that persecution, or the infliction of pain on the body, as the punishment of those conclusions of the mind which were neither injurious to society, the church, nor the soul of man, is indefensible and unjust; and if the facts of the work (all those, at least, which we are required to consider) may be summed up in this one—that persecution was alike practised by sovereigns and popes, by states and churches; if these only are the principles and facts involved in his laborious work, what necessity can there be for any dissertation? The principles could only be condemned, as they had long been, by the general indignation and reprobation of the civilized world. The chief facts could not be denied. The mere enunciation of such principles and facts, therefore, seems to supersede the necessity of any dissertation whatever. To prove the absurdity and wickedness of persecution, is, or ought to be, in the present day, useless. To prove the truth of the fact—that some

persons were burnt, or otherwise murdered for opinions, because those opinions were not held by their ecclesiastical or civil superiors, is no less unrequired! What, then could be the subject of a dissertation on the principles and facts involved in the work of John Foxe?

While I was thus considering the task which my reverend brethren had imposed upon me, the question presented itself—Why was all this intolerable amount of sorrow and crime, related by John Foxe, permitted by the Deity? Is there a God who governs the world? Is the course of human events "a mighty maze, and all without a plan?" What is the testimony of reason on the permission of evil, without referring to revelation? It is silent: or, if it break that silence, it confesses its ignorance. What is the testimony of revelation—that is, of revelation as it is recorded in the Old and New Testament; and as it is understood in the only intelligible and philosophical manner, literally and simply, by the mechanic and the peasant, as well as by the scholar and the theologian, without the imaginings of the interpreters, who would teach us, that modern experience alone is the criterion of the truth, both of its evidences, or of its discoveries? What is the declaration of the one religion, of which Christianity is but the completion, as manhood may be called the completion of youth? It affirms, that there is no mighty maze whatever; but that there is only one plan of Providence—permitting evil, and eventually overruling all evil, to the production of a greater good than if that evil had not previously existed; and therefore, that as certainly as the rise and fall, the progress and decay of the four great monarchies of antiquity, can be now proved to have been no mighty maze, but one plan of preparation for the establishment of the truth which shall eventually civilize all mankind, and become the only religion of the civilized world; so it will be found by those, who at some future day can look back upon the events of modern history,—as we look back upon the events of ancient history—that all the rise and fall of states—all the changes of dynasties—all the permission of civil or ecclesiastical, popular or philosophical, persecution—shall be overruled to a greater degree of good, than if that persecution had not existed; until the same tree of life which was planted in the paradise of this world at the beginning of the history of the human race, shall be again planted in this world at the conclusion of its history. Unless this truth be believed, upon the numerous arguments which suggested themselves to me, but which I cannot now inflict upon you the tediousness of repeating; I felt that I could not so fully and so satisfactorily receive as I ought to do, from other evidence, the doctrine of an overruling Providence; and I proceeded to contemplate the reasons of the permission of the large mass of misery and tyranny which have been the effect and the cause of persecution; until I framed the plan, developed the details, and have actually written, a large portion of a work, which is already too large to be considered merely as a Preface to Foxe, and which can only be given to the world, either before or after my death, in

a complete or incomplete form, in consequence of the great extent to which it has already proceeded.[1]

I had intended this labour to be the first part of the Preface to Foxe: while the life, and the review of certain of the objections to his book, would have constituted the second part. I trust, however, that as I cannot yet submit to you the whole result of my reflections, you will allow me to relate to you the principal argument upon which my view of the object of Providence in permitting persecution is founded—the manner in which the human mind is governed by Four Several Influences, each of which is essential to the happiness of man; and which, when united, constitute perfect felicity upon earth—the singular mode in which all modern history is divisible under the perversion by persecution of each of those Four Influences successively—and the consequent result of all, that the experience of the past, by the blessing of that Providence which knows the end from the beginning, will be the accomplishment of a greater degree of good to man, than if the evil of persecution had not been permitted.

The principal argument, then, which compels me to believe that this is the object of Providence in permitting the infliction of persecution, is derived from the topic upon which so many of our best philosophers and theologians[2] have insisted—the progressive nature of man as a race. Though man must be considered both as a mortal individual, and as an immortal individual, and the Deity has made every provision for his happiness in both these capacities; yet, he must be also regarded as a race different from all the animals of the inferior world in this respect as well as others—that, while they never change, never improve, man, as a race, is perpetually improving, perpetually progressive. Though there have been partial retrogradations; though civilization and religion, though the arts and sciences, have left some portions of the globe to flourish in others; it may still be proved by the observation, or experience of all, that while the heathen or pagan nations are only waiting for the removal of the corruptions of the ancient patriarchism, by the gradual extension of civilization and Christianity, the European nations—the aristocracy of the human race, have been slowly and surely advancing.

But if man is thus to be considered as a progressive race, it is evident that the very notion of progression, or improvement, implies a prior deficiency both of moral and spiritual excellence, which must be removed by the constant use of reason, as well as by the aid of revelation. Progression or improvement implies that the erroneous conclusions in one age, which have been founded upon fewer facts, and imperfect experience, must be removed by the enlarged knowledge of facts, and the more extensive experience of another age. And because these erroneous conclusions are gradually embodied in the form of laws, maxims, customs, and observances, which eventually command respect for their antiquity and supposed

(1) I have already written as much as would fill ten numbers of the Quarterly Review.
(2) Law's Theory of Religion. Hall's Bampton Lectures. Douglas of Cavers's Work. Rose's Christianity always progressive.

usefulness among one portion of a community; while they are considered to be obsolete, oppressive, or useless to another portion—the same progression or improvement, therefore, implies, attainment among some, doubt with others, and controversy, which is but the effort to elicit useful truth, with a third. It implies, the attack with zeal; the defence with pertinacity; the severity, which is called persecution; or the mildness, which is called weakness. It implies agitation, and restlessness, and changes, in dynasties and governments. It implies the incessant, endless exercise of the reason of man, and the result of that exercise—greater happiness to the human race. It is impossible, therefore, if man be eventually destined to attain the highest good of which his nature is capable, to prevent the evils which are first to exist before they can be overruled to the establishment of some great era, when all the experience of ages shall have so led to useful conclusions, that the laws, and customs, and maxims, which shall prevail among mankind, shall be universally received and welcomed as the best, and wisest, and most productive of happiness.

If, then, the progressive nature of man may be regarded as a proof that that progression, or improvement, shall proceed from age to age, till the chief evils of human society are removed, the next question is—in what manner the mind of man is so governed that this advancement may be most effectually accomplished? Whoever, then, looks upon the history of mankind will discover that there are Four Several Influences, which may be said, at all times, either jointly or separately, to govern the human mind. The Union of these Four Influences constitutes the greatest earthly happiness of which man is capable. Their separation constitutes his misery. Each is indispensable to a well organized state of society. Each has been separated from the other. Each has been perverted to persecution; and all modern history, from the Ascension to this very day, is nothing else than a detail of the painful consequences of their separation from each other. By the word influence, I mean, the ascendancy which is obtained over the mind by a mass of motives, opinions, and principles, which are so different from each other in their origin and objects, that while each in its place is justly entitled to predominance, all are widely and easily distinguishable from each other. Each of these influences has been embodied in the shape of armies—has divided nation from nation—convulsed states—and occasioned, by the several perversions to which they have been subjected, all the various persecutions and wars which fill the pages of history. On looking back into the greater events of the world, I observed the remarkable fact, that each of these Four Influences, or powers, has obtained ascendancy in its turn. Each has been, in some measure, independent of the other. Each has been perverted to the infliction of much evil. Each has raised its armies, and prevailed, as the governing sovereign, for a time, of the most active and energetic of the civilized portion of mankind. Each has contributed its share to the formation of the present public mind of the civilized world. Each has followed the other in a series of events which, when

viewed in their relation of succession, as cause and effect, must be regarded as unavoidable; and each, therefore, must be considered as a part of the development of the times and the seasons which the Father—the God of Israel—the God of Christianity—the Deity—the Lord who rules the destiny of man by his Providence, hath set in his own power.[1] Each has given its lessons of usefulness to the world, to form the accumulative experience, which constitutes the wisdom of nations.

These Four Influences are—*the Civil Power*, by which the rulers of the world provide for the temporal happiness, prosperity, and peace of the community—*the Ecclesiastical Power*, which leads nations to make provision for upholding among them the knowledge most efficient to promote the moral virtues, and the spiritual happiness of the community—the third is *Revelation itself*, considered independently of the civil regulations, or ecclesiastical polity, which may have been derived from it—the fourth is *Human Reason*, or, the power to derive conclusions from premises, independently either of the civil power, the ecclesiastical power, or revelation. Though these Four Influences may be said always to co-exist together in every political community, so they have always co-existed in that large society, which has received the Old and New Testament as a revelation from God. But as one of these may predominate in a state, or nation, to the depression or to the persecution of another; so it is, that each, in its turn, has obtained an ascendancy among the universal community of Christians; and each, in its turn, has been perverted by the possessors of its power, and has inflicted persecution upon its victims. The most remarkable peculiarity in modern history is, that the whole train of events which have transpired from the Ascension to the present day, is divisible under these Four Influences; and it was from this consideration that the plan of my purposed labour was developed.

I have divided my projected work into *six chapters*. In the *first*, I consider the subject generally, and review the nature and extent of the four influences to which I allude. *The second chapter relates the history and the perversions by persecution of the influence of the civil power.* I consider this period as extending from the Ascension to the grant of authority, by Justinian, to the Bishop of Rome. The sceptre over the civilized world was wielded through the whole of this time by Imperial hands, that is, by the Civil Power, alone. Christianity, though generally under persecution till the time of Constantine, was a system sometimes tolerated, and sometimes severely oppressed: but it was never regarded as the ally of the civil authority till the edict of the dying Galerius in 311, when all external persecution of Christianity, as a religion condemned by the state, was terminated. The edict of Milan, A.D. 313, in which a general toleration was declared, had, it is true, been preceded by the edict of Gallienus, A.D. 259, in which the christian church had been recognized as a legal corporation, permitted to possess lands. This edict, however, did not end the general persecutions. The edict of Galerius was

(1) Acts i. 7.

followed by those of Constantine, in which the religion of the emperor was found to be no longer pagan. Constantine maintained his power with firmness. The empire, between the death of Constantine, and Justinian, was maddened by the ferocious quarrels of the Christians, whom Constantine had desired to protect in peace. The emperors became the partizans of the opposed and contending religionists. They sometimes endeavoured to quell the storms of the mutual hatred of the Christians by severe and useless punishment; and the picture of contending ecclesiastics, divided churches, and sanguinary decrees, occasioned by the perpetual interference of the civil rulers, who alternately, according to their changing decisions, condemned the leaders both of the Episcopal Trinitarian Christians, and their sectarian opponents, to exile, imprisonment, or death; together with the popular outrages and the ebullitions of pagans against Christians, and of Christians against pagans, afford us some of the most painful delineations of human nature which the impartial hand of history has drawn for the benefit of posterity. *The error was with the civil power.* The departing from the tenor of the edict of Milan; and the vain and useless, though well-intended, endeavours of Constantine to terminate the controversies of his christian subjects by interfering, first to mediate by patient hearing, and impartial decision, between them, as in the case of the Donatists; and then, by inflicting penalties on those who refused to sacrifice their opinions to the imperial arbitrator, as in the case of Arius, originated and continued the evils which soon began to weaken the empire, till it became the more easy prey to its invaders. The emperors considered their will to be the criterion of truth. They demanded of their subjects to alter opinions and decisions at the caprice—the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of a successful soldier, an ignorant peasant, a factious civilian, or an imperial prince, as these opposite personages, by force or bribery, by descent or by treachery, might have attained the empire. The differences of opinion, which, in an age of limited power to the Prince, or of unfettered discussion among the people; or of legislative representation of the popular will, would have extended and displayed themselves in bulky volumes, or harmless, though impassioned declamations, assumed the more vexatious form of imperial enactments, savage outrages, and civil war. Yet it was at this time that the prediction began to be more extensively fulfilled—"I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

The morality, the spiritual sanctions, the evidences, and the truth of Christianity, commended themselves in spite of all opposition, as they will ever do, to the approbation of the thoughtful, and the civilized; and compelled the homage of the truly philosophical, and of the conscientious. The new religion blended itself with the state, summoned councils, and enacted laws, which were carried into effect by the civil functionaries, though they were originally decreed by the churches when deprived of the protection of the throne. But the civil power alone was the supreme authority, whether for protection or oppression; for good

or evil. All the laws which were passed in the next period respecting the suppression of the religious opinions which were deemed to be offensive to the supreme power of the ecclesiastical ruler of the day were founded upon the civil laws of Theodosius and Justinian; and these were the results only of the earlier laws of Constantine against the real or supposed heretics of his reign. The experiment of Constantine to intimidate, became the precedent with his successors to punish; and the civil power, by its outward compliance with the mistaken zeal of the church itself against the heresies of the day; established that authority under which, in the subsequent period, it was at first resisted, then controlled, and finally vanquished and subdued.

The predominance of the civil power, and its unrestrained, though often questionable, authority over the adherents to Christianity, terminated about the year 533. The grant of power by Justinian to the bishop of Rome began the transition state when the civil and ecclesiastical authorities commenced that struggle for pre-eminence which ended in the transmitting the sceptre over the civilized world, to the hands of the bishop of Rome.

In the third chapter I treat on the *history and the perversions by persecution of the influence of the ecclesiastical power.* Very beautiful is the spectacle to the believer in Christianity, of the gradual fulfilment of the prophecies, which declared that the stone should become a mountain, and fill the whole earth; but no less mournful is the contemplation of the evils that have hitherto attended its progress. The christian church, in the former period, during its submission to the civil power, had overcome all the strength of its persecutors. It conquered judaism at Jerusalem; heathenism at Antioch; the pride of human reasoning at Alexandria; and the supremacy of the imperial despotism at Constantinople, and at Rome. The time had now arrived when the mass of christian churches gradually became formed into one visible communion, subjected to one code of laws, and ruled by one ecclesiastical superior. This is the period in which Christian persecuted Christian, by laws which are still unrepealed by the authority which originally enacted them—which are so far obsolete, that where the power of senates emanates from the people, they are not permitted to be carried into effect; but which are still binding on the consciences of many ecclesiastics if that preventive power of executing them, should cease to be influential. They are not repealed; and they deserve, therefore, our more especial attention.

This period extends from the reign of Justinian to the publication of the bull of pope Pius, in the reign of Elizabeth, when the pontiff, in compliance with the expressed command, or desire (for it had been decreed that a council could not command a pope)—of the council of Trent, gave to the world the creed which now constitutes the profession of faith of the church of Rome. The bull in which this creed is embodied was published in the year 1564. The law, and the creed, are universally received by the whole church of Rome. Every person who

desires to become a member of that church must subscribe to it. The first article of that creed requires the convert, the priest, or the baptized adherent of the church to declare,—" I most firmly admit, and receive, the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the church.[1] I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolic church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, successor to the prince of the apostles, St. Peter; and the vicegerent or vicar of Christ Jesus.[2] I do also, without doubt, receive and profess all things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, especially by the holy council of Trent; all things contrary thereunto, which have been condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church, I condemn, reject, and anathematize; and this, the true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, I profess, and hold; and I will take care that the same shall be held by all whom I can influence, direct, and control." This is not the place to discuss the truth or falsehood of this creed. I shall merely mention the reasons which induce me to assign the termination of the influence of the ecclesiastical power over the more intellectual portion of mankind to the date of the publication of the creed of pope Pius IV. in 1564.

The object of the bishop of Rome, and of the council of Trent, was to render the church of Rome as influential, or more influential, than it had hitherto been. For this purpose it enforced the duty of proselytism, established a new creed, and after it had done so, it entirely failed in subduing England; and therefore in recovering its former power in Europe.

The church enforced in vain the duty of proselytism. This, indeed, is the duty of every Christian who is convinced that his brother will be benefited by his receiving the propositions which he himself believes to be true. That Christian is but a hypocrite who is fully convinced that God is pleased, and the soul benefited, by the reception of certain doctrines, who does not endeavour to persuade his brother to believe them. Every partizan and sectarian, to a greater or less extent, acts upon this principle. I do not condemn the member of the church of Rome for proceeding, on the same motives, to recommend the creed of Pius IV. to the approbation of his brethren. I trust only that his brethren of other churches will still continue to remember, till the church of Rome rescinds them, that all the canons and decrees of councils on which the ancient persecutions were legalized, and justified, are still acknowledged in that creed, which is thus declared to be the faith of the church. The modernness of the creed of pope Pius implied, also, a state of weakness, from which the church of Rome, though its strength seems now to be reviving, has not hitherto recovered. Instead of being the most ancient of churches, the adoption of that creed makes it to be the newest, and the latest: and thus affords another reason for assigning the date of this creed as the

(1) Article I. (2) Article II.

termination of the greater influence of the ecclesiastical power. The opinions and doctrines which the Twelve Articles of that creed submit to us as a condensed profession of faith, had hitherto been open and merely controverted questions among Christians. Certain councils had decided, at various times, that these doctrines should be received by Christians as the doctrines of the church: and canons and ecclesiastical laws were enacted to enforce the decisions of those councils. The punishments which those canons decreed upon the Christians who were unwilling to submit to them, were exile, deposition, imprisonment, or the stake: but these several modes of punishment were uniformly unable to prevent many, in all ages of this period, and in all countries, from dissenting from the decisions of such councils. The council of Trent, however, enabled the bishop of Rome to submit to the world all those controverted decisions in the form of this creed; and to enact that the principal disputed propositions which had divided the churches should be received as articles of faith. Now, a church is not completely formed, whatever be its discipline, or its controversies, till its creed is defined and known. The creed of the church of Rome was not fully defined, and it could not, therefore, be certainly known, if the articles of the creed of pope Pius constitute its faith, till the year when the creed was published; because the articles, which it declared to be the faith of the christian, had never been previously received, as its faith, by the universal church. *But* that creed was drawn up and published as the faith of the church of Rome after the establishment of the faith and doctrine of the church of England in their present form. *The church of Rome, therefore, in its present form, is of more recent origin than the church of England, in its present form.* Whatever is really worthy of reception from antiquity, tradition, or catholic practice, the church of England receives in common with the church of Rome. Whatever can be proved to come under the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis,[1]—that the doctrine which has been received in the church at all times, in all places, and by all Christians; such as, that no person should speak in the name of the church without the authority of the church; that Christ, the object of worship among Christians, is invested with the attributes of Deity in a manner which human reason never could have discovered; the immortality of the soul; the resurrection of the body; the theopneustia of the scriptures, with many others, are common to the church of England, with the church of Rome. These truths were never made the subject of controversy among the Christians who received the decisions of the four first councils. But from Chalcedon to Trent, a variety of discussions agitated the churches. The conclusions which followed these discussions were embodied in certain canons of councils, which were of doubtful and questionable authority; and when the powers of the day

(1) "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus." Vincent. Lirinen. Commonitorium. A new translation of this tract has been lately published at Oxford. Reeves had translated it a century ago. One of the best editions of Vincentius is that in small 12mo. printed at Cambridge in 1689, with notes by H. Baluzius. The protestant reader will not adopt all the conclusions of his commentator, especially those in his note *de Apostolicâ sede*, p. 281.

enforced the reception of those canons in the terrific persecutions of the period before us, they were enforced as the decrees of councils, and not as articles of faith.[1] Obedience was compelled, as temporal obedience is now required to an act of parliament among ourselves. We obey, because it is the law; or we propose our objections to the law in that manner which the customs of the land, and the privileges of the subject, permit us to do. We believe it to be our duty to submit even to laws of questionable or doubtful utility; but we do not receive them as articles of faith. We love trial by jury, the popular representation, the principles of monarchy, the advantages of a liturgy, and other truths, principles, and wise maxims or institutions; but we do not receive them as articles of faith. So it was that, in the period before us, the judgment of ecclesiastical offences by the canon law, the representation of churches by councils, the principle of greater homage to the bishop of Rome than to other bishops, the advantages of uniform ecclesiastical government, and other points of this kind were generally received and acknowledged; but always with incessant controversy and discussion, and not as articles of a creed. If the various questions which divided the churches had been still left open to discussion—if the communion between the episcopal catholics, and the papal catholics, which prevailed at the very time of the council of Trent, had been continued, peace might, by this time, have been restored to Christians. The council of Trent, under Pope Pius, smote with its mace, petrific, cold, and dry, into one condensed creed; all the floating errors, or doubtful decisions, of the church. By the lateness of the date of that creed, the church of Rome became at once the more modern church, and the principal obstacle to that union which all desire, and which, I trust I shall be able to prove, may still be anticipated, if the bishop of Rome will act upon the powers, which are granted to him by the laws of his own communion.

Another reason, on account of which I fix upon the year 1564, as the termination of the period of ecclesiastical power, is derived from the undoubted fact, that, though the persecutions which were justified by the canon laws of this period were continued for some time in the Netherlands, and elsewhere; and though they have never been formally repealed, as they must eventually be, their influence and authority gradually began to be disregarded from that time, until they became, as they now are, monuments of past folly towards us, rather than severe laws to rule us. Their continued existence, however, is the great impediment to the possibility of union; and it is necessary, therefore, before

(1) These, at first sight, may appear to be the same: but they were only rendered identical by the intolerant spirit which punished deviation from these decisions of the church with as much severity as the rejection of the doctrine of scripture. The difference between the two will appear from the New Testament. The council of Jerusalem decided that circumcision was not necessary to the converts to Christianity. (Acts xv.) In the very next chapter we read that St. Paul circumcised Timothy. If St. Paul had rejected the divinity of Christ, which was always an article of faith, the brethren would not have continued to associate with him. His non-compliance, however, with the decree of the council did not exclude him from the church, though he himself had been present at the discussion; and had himself brought the question before the apostles. We receive the Nicene Creed itself—because it is scriptural; not because it is the conclusions of a Council.

we can fully comprehend the causes of persecution, by the ecclesiastical power, to survey the history of this period with reference to the canons and acts of councils, rather than to the personal characters, or to the warlike actions, of the Chieftains, Kings, Emperors, or Popes of the times, according to the usual mode of considering history. These all take their places in the details of facts; but they were generally set in motion by this one question;—what are the proper limits of ecclesiastical, or temporal authority? To enable the reader to understand the general mind of the christian world at this period, and to deduce therefrom the inferences which will be most useful to us, from this part of the subject, I have arranged the transactions of the period between Justinian and pope Pius IV. under the several stages of the progress of the canon, and conciliar law. The canon and conciliar law alone was the instrument of the persecuting spirit of the age; and its progress may be traced in the decrees, and in the assembling of the councils, which were so generally held at this time.[1] I shall divide the history according to the meetings of those eighteen or twenty councils which are most generally declared to have been universal, the representation of the churches, and entitled to the homage of all Christians, by Bellarmine and Baronius, and by those who, with them, advocate the supremacy of Rome.

This is the period in which the corruptions of ecclesiastical authority, (one of the greatest blessings, when rightly understood to civilized society) presented those fearful lessons to posterity which the present ungrateful age does not care to remember; or, if it remembers, now begins to despise the Reformers who, by God's blessing, dispelled the fearful darkness. This was the time when the affirmation of a christian Bishop was believed, that he had power to command—aye—and he did command the angels of heaven to convey the soul out of purgatory, and to bring it into paradise:[2] for the Pope was superior to the Angels, in Jurisdiction, in the Sacraments, in Knowledge, and in conferring reward. This was the memorable æra when an emperor stood bare-footed three days and three nights in the depth of winter to solicit absolution from a deposing bishop, that he might hope to recover the respect even of his domestic servants, as well as dominion over his subjects. Here a king was scourged at the shrine of a rebellious subject. There a crown was laid at the feet of the insolent representative of an usurping ecclesiastic. Here the foot of a christian bishop treads on the neck of a sovereign, with the quotation—*I will tread on the viper, and the asp.* There, the stirrup of the horse of an ecclesiastic is repeatedly held by Emperors in token of the homage of the civil power to one, whose authority was claimed to be from God, to rule over the princes of the earth. Other blasphemies and follies could be enumerated at great length; but this

(1) The canon law is so called from the Greek word κανὼν, which, in English, signifies a rule, because the canon law is as a rule of life unto all Christians in matters relating to church discipline; and being chiefly collected from the decrees of councils, is explained and governed by them as by a rule. 33 Dist. cap. i. sec. 2. Ayliffe's Parergon, Introduction, p. iv.

(2) Bull of pope Clement III. 1188.

is not the time. If history, indeed, were merely an old almanac, it would not be worth our while to make allusion to these things; but coincident with pretension and error, were cruelty and persecution; and the sorrows which the martyrologist relates, arose only from the efforts of Christians to throw off the yoke of these follies. The oldest almanac informs us, that snow prevails in winter, and heat in summer: and the most well-known, or most forgotten page of history alike demonstrates to us the danger of the cessation of vigilance, on the part of states and rulers, against the possibility of the revival of ecclesiastical pretensions. All these enactments of the canon law are said to be obsolete. They appear to be so: but they are not rescinded; and by many they are still believed. The time in which they occurred will be considered in the third chapter. I shall speak of their enormity and wickedness, with reference, however, only to the possibility of their removal: but with the full conviction, that all allusion to such things is now only regarded as a proof of narrow-mindedness, bigotry, or deficiency in philosophical observation! I make no disclaimer, in my defence, against the accusation. Those who will thus accuse me would not believe my reply. The kings and states of earth, however, will do well to remember, that they have all been insulted and oppressed, when they were subdued, and bent down under the ecclesiastical power; and that, when they were thus debased and degraded, both they and their people were delivered neither by their sword, nor by their bow; but by the blessing of the God of Christianity upon the pen of the student, the labour of a monk, and the zeal of the despised reformers.

In the fourth chapter, *I shall treat on the history, and the perversion by persecution, under the Puritans, of the influence of that principle of the Reformation which taught men to appeal to the Scriptures alone,* as their sole guide in all matters of religious belief, and ecclesiastical discipline.

The essential differences between the persecutions, or punishments for religious opinion, in the period of the ecclesiastical power between the age of Justinian and the council of Trent, and those of the period we shall consider in the fourth chapter, consist in these two points. In the one, persecution was embodied in the public law; and it not only was never abolished, but it increased in severity to the very moment of its renunciation by the greater part of civilized mankind. In the latter, though it long continued to be a part of the general law among all the nations of Europe, it has gradually ceased not only in practice, but as a principle of legislation; and it is now, we may trust, irrevocably resigned. It could not, indeed, have been expected, that the universal belief which had been induced by the universal practice, and legal establishment of persecution, or punishment for holding abstract opinions, and which is so congenial also to the human mind, could be at once entirely done away. In England, France, Holland, and elsewhere, the supposed crime of heresy was consequently to be still extinguished by severity, though the

definition of the crime was altered. Anabaptists were burnt by Elizabeth in England. Servetus suffered at Geneva. Sect persecuted sect. The synod of Dort, the presbyterians in Scotland, the independents in America, the puritans, as well as the episcopalians in England, the Huguenots in France, and the anabaptists in Munster, were all guilty of many acts which cannot but be pronounced cruel and unjustifiable, according to our present wiser, and more tolerant opinions: yet, the great difference between these persecutions, and those of the church of Rome, may be found in the total discontinuance of the laws, and the principles which sanction them; while those of the church of Rome have not yet been rescinded. The protestant separatists from Rome have expunged from their codes of law the objectionable maxims, upon which intolerance was defended. The act *De Heretico Comburendo* was repealed in the reign of Charles II., principally by the exertions of the duke of York, afterwards James II. The doctrine of toleration had been enforced upon the English public by the dissensions in the reign of Charles, by Jeremy Taylor and the independents. Thuanus,[1] and a large number of admirable writers, pleaded the cause of humanity, and demonstrated the uselessness, and the wickedness of punishment for opinion. The conclusion slowly and with much difficulty progressed. Intolerance was not only the child of the canon law and the natural hatred of the human mind, against those who differ from its own convictions; but the harsh features of the hateful fiend were concealed under the zeal of the sectarian, and the imperfect wisdom of the reformed episcopalian. The Reformation is justly described by one of our most philosophical modern writers to have been a vast effort of the human mind to achieve its freedom. It was a new-born desire—or rather, it was the outbursting of the desire—to think and judge freely, and independently, of facts, and of opinions, which Europe had been, till then, contented to receive from authority alone. It was the insurrection of the human mind against the absolute power of the spiritual order.[2] If the reformation had not taken place, the bishop of Rome would have been the grand lama of the West.[3] The universal monarchy of stationary reason, would have paralyzed the life of reason; and by quenching thought, and withdrawing the Scriptures from the people, have fettered all Europe, as Italy and Spain are still fettered, with the chain of spiritual ignorance, and priestly despotism. But—

> "Liberal, not lavish, is the Almighty hand,
> Nor was perfection made for man below."[4]

Two painful evils have characterized the opponents of the ancient errors —mutual bitterness, leading to persecution and disunion; and the un-

(1) The preface of Thuanus to his History addressed to the king of France, in the reign of Elizabeth, was an anticipation of the opinions on the subject of toleration in England; and a reiteration of the sentiments of Augustine, of others of the fathers, of bishop Tunstal, and of other more reflecting Romanists in England.

(2) Guizot on the Civilization of Europe, pp. 354, 356.

(3) Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther, by C. Villiers, Esq. Marsh's Abridgment of Mill's Translation, p. 65.

(4) Beattie.

bounded multiplicity of sects, leading to the entire dissolution of spiritual authority, of religious discipline, and of true catholic communion.[1] To these must be added, infidelity, despising all religion because of the multiplicity of sects; and pious uncertainty, distracted with doubts and fears; and taking refuge too often in an infallible church, more from the sense of pain, than from the conviction of truth. These are great evils: but they are less evils, than the monotony, and the stagnant contentment of presumptuous, resistless, and unchanging error. The possession of the whole Scriptures alone, freely given to the laity, with the request, and with the charge, that they consider themselves responsible to God only for the use they make of his revelation, while they regard the priest as their friend, and helper, and guide, but not as their infallible and supreme director, is worth all the toil, and suffering, and martyrdom with which the blessing was obtained; and the Reformation deserves to be continued among us at the same expense of danger, vigilance, and suffering, if that suffering be necessary, with which it was originally established. I shall endeavour, as briefly as possible, to show the effect of the Reformation upon the several countries of Europe; and to point out, also, the wonderful and peculiar wisdom with which the removers of ancient superstitions in England avoided the extremes of rejecting ceremonies or doctrines merely because they were old; or adopting ceremonies and doctrines merely because they were new: and how they have united in one well-cemented fabric all the religious advantages which were desired by the two great parties of the reformers and the non-reformers, which, at the period of the council of Trent, divided Christian Europe. I wish to show that they blended into one wise system, more effectually than any of their brother reformers in other countries, all the spirituality of worship, and perfect freedom, with the study of Scripture, which the most conscientious puritan ought to require; and how they retained also, as much discipline, and as much security for the continuance of an apostolical succession, and an efficient priesthood, as the member of the church of Rome ought to desire—who is contented to believe, that the bishop of Rome is entitled to a primacy of seniority in a western council; and not to a primacy of supremacy over his equals in the Episcopacy of the universal church of Christ. If there ever be union among Christians, it must be partly founded upon the rescinding of the Romish canons;[2] and partly also, upon the adoption of the cautious *principles* upon which the church was reformed in England, even if the *plans* of its services, and the model of its discipline, be reconsidered with reference to their possible improvement.

(1) Guizot, p. 362.

(2) See on this subject, which I cannot but keep constantly in view, the Dissertation of Van Espen, "De Veterum Canonum stabilitate et usu," vol. iii. p. 3, especially section v. "Male sumitur argumentum pro abolitione Canonum e tolerantiâ Ecclesiæ," etc. which he concludes in the words of Gregory VII. lib. ii. sec. 50, "solet sancta et apostolica sedes, pleraque considerata ratione tolerare, sed nunquam in suis Decretis, et constitutionibus a concordia traditionis recedere." These pretensions, together with the last article in the creed of the council of Trent, justify all our jealousy, for none of the persecuting canons are omitted from the sweeping declaration, that all the things declared by the sacred canons and general councils are to be received.

In the fifth chapter, *I shall treat of the history and of the perversion by persecution of the influence of human reason.* This period may be said to commence in the century prior to its chief trophy—the great outbreaking of crime and folly—the earthquake of the French revolution. The French revolution may be called the principal event in the great contest which is still going on, between the stationary and the moving powers of the human mind—between the definite and the indefinite—between the restless, impatient, and ardent aspirations of man, after a greater degree of civil and religious freedom; and between the temporal absolute power, and the spiritual absolute power,[1] which were identified as one oppression by an enraged, ill-instructed, and imperfectly civilized population. The doctrines and discipline of the Gallican church, though differing in some important respects from that of the Italian church, retained the peculiar subjects which are most opposed to revelation, and most offensive to human reason. The protestantism which had counteracted much of its evils had been almost eradicated by the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The consequence was, that Romanism and Christianity were regarded as one religion. The infidels of the school of Voltaire and of the Encyclopædia—the philosophers, and the active intellectual speculators in France, did not, therefore, follow the example of the reformers in England, and on the continent, at the time of the teaching of Luther. They did not assail some one or more errors, while they still spoke of revelation and of Christianity in general, with seriousness and veneration. They turned the whole subject of revealed religion into ridicule. They denied, at once, *Transubstantiation*—the perversion; the *Atonement*—the truth perverted! They denied the existence of the Atoner; and the very possibility of revelation, as implying the possibility of miracle. The revocation of the edict of Nantz[2] was the remote cause of the French revolution. Religious controversies may terminate in open wars; but they do not, among the protestants at least, end in sanguinary massacre. If the two parties had been permitted to coexist in France, the population of Paris, Marseilles, and other towns in general, would have learned, that Christianity is not necessarily identified with popery; and that an error might be removed from a church, without aiming at the overthrow of Christianity. It was not so to be. The providence of God permitted the infidel principle to display to the world the fearful consequences of the rejection of revelation by human reason, because of any real or imagined grievance, whether civil or spiritual. Whoever has studied the history of France prior to the French revolution will feel no surprise at the madness of

(1) See Guizot, p. 430.

(2) The manner in which Massillon praised Louis XIV. for this measure is well known. He eulogizes the king for preferring the (supposed) interests of religion to the advantage derived by France from the labour of active, talented heretics. Bossuet acted the same part; and wrote books for the converts by the Dragonades. Even Du Pin could depart from his better principles, and speak of the king—innumeri pene extorres, qui Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio, secundis Regis Christianissimi curis, in Galliâ ad Ecclesiam accesserunt, &c. Monitum ad Lectorem, prefixed to his Treatise, De Antiquâ Ecclesiæ Disciplinâ, &c.

that memorable era.[1] The effects of this total rejection, for a time, by the most influential power in Europe next to England, of monarchy and Christianity, were shown in domestic suffering, and external infliction of evil on surrounding nations, to an extent well known to all. The deluge has for a time subsided: but the result of the overflowings of these waters of bitterness has but begun in the mingled good and evil which may be traced to this source of both. The *good* which has commenced is to be seen in the increasing desire of nations to possess representative governments—in the disinclination to war—in the cultivation of the arts of peace to an extent hitherto unknown—in the conviction that reason must be satisfied of the causes of submission to governments, before that submission is willingly tendered—and in the extension, in spite of all opposition, of the knowledge of revelation, and the desire of peace and truth. The *evil* is still discernible in the bold and reckless infidelity of a large portion of the population in the chief countries of Europe; and the redoubled activity of the priesthood, not only to suppress that infidelity, which is the perversion of human reason, but to proceed to the opposite extreme, and to destroy that freedom itself. One singular anomaly, too, presents itself to the student of Providence as it is developed in history. An union has been formed on some political or civil foundations, between the two antagonist powers of infidelity and Romanism, against that system of religious conclusions which rejects both extremes, and adheres to a revelation which is believed to condemn, at once, both mere Deism and ancient error; while the two powers themselves seem to be tacitly, but determinedly preparing for collision in France, in England, and on the continent in general. The warfare may possibly proceed to the extent of again dividing mankind, in open hostility, to that excess which will make the sanguinary horrors of the French revolution itself appear to be but a village broil: but the end of such fatal convulsions, must be the fulfilment of prophecy, and the extension of the kingdom of Christ in the increased civilization, happiness, and religious improvement of mankind. It would probably be the last great struggle, between the old superstitions and the modern infidelity; and the mutual exhaustion of their powers would be the commencement of a better era for the human race. We may not dare to anticipate (by any presumptuous attempts to prophesy) that future, on which so much of clouds and darkness must ever rest. I cannot, however, but believe, with the writer to whom I have so often referred,[2] that the civilization of man is still in its infancy; and that the human mind is very far distant from the perfection to which it may attain, and for which it was created. He seems, indeed, to imagine that this perfection may be obtained without ascribing so much of its progress to Christianity, as I believe ought to be done. He would

(1) See the Memoirs of Madame du Barry, and other compilers of the same kind. So much of the contents of these works are to be depended upon, that the profligacy of the higher classes must be believed in spite of Mr. Burke's palliation.

(2) Guizot's Civilization of Modern Europe, p. 27.

assign more to the development of the gradual improvements of society independently of revelation, than past experience would justify. Man cannot proceed uninterruptedly in the march of improvement, till he has at last learned by experience, that union alone is strength, repose and happiness; and till he seeks for that union in the reconciling, on christian principles, the four great influences to which I have referred.

We live in an age of the world when these obvious interests of nations begin to be better understood. In reviewing this age I shall endeavour to show the effect of the great changes which have so lately occurred in the religion, the governments, and the literature of the christian world; and aspire to the obtaining one gleam of light respecting the prospects of mankind. I trust the conjecture will not be proved, by the subsequent experience of history, to be erroneous, when I express the probability that England, whatever be its errors, if indeed it has committed any,[1] either in its system of government at home, or in the management of its external relations abroad, may possibly be the chief of the favoured and honoured instruments employed by the mighty Ruler of the world, to accomplish some part of his great design, to overrule all modern, as he has done all ancient changes, for the benefit of the human race. I cannot but believe, with one of our most learned students of history,[2] with reference to the plans of providence, that our insular situation—our commercial greatness—our ceaseless activity—our superior religious civilization—with our general benevolence, and desire to do good, will be overruled to the benefit of the world; and that England is destined, as so many of our most worthy authors also have believed, to be the Canaan of the modern world. Nations are not made great for themselves alone. Our name is now known in all regions. Our language is more extensively spoken than any other. Our authorized version of the Bible is a classical book, at home and abroad. All who study our noble language, study the version of the Scriptures which the habits of centuries have now interwoven with our common conversation. Where Milton, Shakspeare, and Sir Walter Scott are read, there also the English Bible is still more generally received, and valued. Our commerce extends civilization; civilization extends religion. The leaven is leavening the lump. Japhet dwells in the tents of Shem; so that our literature is cultivated and our faith is known, among the brahmins of India, the metaphysicians of Persia, and the solemn barbarians of China. America is English, in attachment to the same language, and the same Bible. The Pacific is brightened by the same holy light. A new spirit has gone forth; and though the united efforts of the scornful infidelity, or the remaining devotedness to that detestable authority which reproves the universal knowledge or perusal of the Scriptures, will still present, for many years,

(1) I speak thus, because I do not wish to express any opinion whatever of a controverted nature, on the policy or proceedings of any of our modern administrations. I cannot descend to any questions of temporary interest. At the same time I add, that I certainly anticipate the last persecution of the church from the union of the old superstition with the democratic movement.

(2) Miller's Philosophy of Modern History.

Facsimile of Foxe's letter to the President of Magdalen College.

Multis magnisq; dotibꝰ ornatissimo viro, D. Laurentio,
collegij Magdalenensis præsidi: pariter cu vniuerso rhoro
religiosorũ fratrum, Terrißimusq; eius collegij sorijs
Ioa. foxus Salutẽ et pacẽ in Christo, sempr. precor.

Essi inutil erat in vestros meis dignũ atq; idoneũ, quod beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, veteris hospitæ ac nostris meæ piorũ mitterem; at vidua tamen Euangelicæ opulentia illũ mutatus penuriã, has gratulatorias nostrarũ mentiũ, pro veteri meo erga vos studio, ne officio potius, (cæterũ idemq; Doctiß Laureti præsidẽ decus, vosq; pariter vniuersi eiusdẽ sodalitatis collegæ clarissimi) in publicũ verarũ nostrarũ cõiugendas tendas. Vos in admittendo libro faciletis, pro libero arbitratu vestro, quod videbitur. Mihi: ut ingenuè fatear, indignus quidẽ, ac idoneus esse videtur, qui ut in chartophylacio vestro, ita pectori debeat, præsertim quũ de sermonis genere cõscripta historia nullũ magnopere vestris studijs vestrisq; præstare queat. Et tamẽ hic me, meæ gro parce, pertinuit, verecundiæ pudorẽ et timidũ mihi Garbrandi Bibliopolæ pellax oratio, sic ad persuadẽdũ instructa, ut nõ frustra in tali tam diu Academia vixisse possit existimus. Accedit porro nonihil hoc nũtiũ fiducia, tacita quæda et ia olim insita mihi erga collegiũ istud propensio, vestræ deinde erga me humanitatis, simulq; meæ mutuũ erga nos officij recordatio. Intelligo enim quid veteri sodalitio, quid charis consodalibus, quid denique vniuerso magdalenensi ordini ac nostri sodalibus, quid præcipue quid ipsi imprimis charissimo collegiarchæ, viro ornatissimo, D. Laurentio debeam, cui quot quantisq; sim nominibus deuinctus nullo modo obmissi aut præterire potero. Præter hos stimulos accedit denique, quod quũ historiæ huius bona magnaq; pars Oxoniensem hanc nostra attingat Academiã, unde rem de fonte, prima nõ solũ initia, sed et incrementa sumpsit ac summã gratia et fœlicitate hactenus et auspicata, reformata per orbem christianum religionis propagatio, itaq; rem facturus, nec vobis ingratam, nec meo studio indignã officio videbar, si de rebus maxime Oxoniensibus descripta historia, ad eas magdalenenses gymnasium vestrum, hoc est, ad primariam ac nobilissimam Oxoniensis Academiæ collegiũ, velut in aream quandã studiorũ ac liberarum penes vos asservandã redderetur. Hoc bonũ dabat latinè nõ esse scriptum opus, quo vel ad plures emanare fructus historia, vel vobis meo iudicio esse posset uberior. Atq; equidẽ multo id malueram. Sed iam me adegit vestris patriæ, ac multiplicibus ædificandæ respectus, cui et vos ipsos idem hoc debere donare æquũ est. Habetis rationes et causas, quibus ad mittendam historiam (cui pronoratus. Nec historiã hanc ipsa. quia vehementer proterua Foxiana erga vos voluntatis mittimus. Ea pro vestro, rogo etiã atq; etiã benigne susceptã velitis atq; ne nihil aliud quã historia mendã, et inexcusabilis gratitudinis crimen suspicari. Nec enim historiã, inter cæteros, quos in hoc multiplicis et numerosi Christianorũ martyrũ fœtibilitio Oxonia vestra, tacitæ fœlicitatis mater, in primis gloriosa dalma fœlicissimo fœcunditas produxit, Iocelinũ vestrum Patronum, è thoro vestro proximum hostis ereptum, domino ad vos tacitæ redeuntem et restituto reciperis. Summa enim ea tua nec panos, nec bulgares Oxonienses vestræ quondam alumnos, mitis illustres christianæ militiæ adiunctas, tacitæ petere suo regnatoris gratias alacriter suscipitur, et christi in suis martyrũ gloriosa trophæa, quorũ arctam angustiã, rogo (præsentis tumultus) ut dominus Iesus sistat vobis, Præsides, vos orbi ecclesiæ christianæ diu seruatos, multos posthac fœlicissimos in maius ac melius promoueat, ad nostrorum in gloria ædificationem. Valete in Christo Ioa. foxus.

innumerable obstacles to the sacred cause of the improvement, the civilization, the religion, and the liberty of mankind; yet the day must come when every mountain shall be made low, and all impediments be removed. The year of the completion of the happiness of man on earth shall then come, when all persecution being ended, and all despotism restraining the freedom of the human mind by useless laws being done away; the *civil power*, the *ecclesiastical power*, the *sanctions of divine revelation*, and the *conclusions of human reason*, will all be blended in one harmonious system of temporal and religious regulation, and all the family of man shall be one united, religious, civilized, and happy people. The human race is advancing, we may trust, and the proofs are to be found in the present age more than in any other, of the accomplishment of its predicted destiny: and England is only then to be found in its appointed place, when it protects the oppressed, patronizes civilization, extends knowledge, promotes truth, and establishes to the utmost of its power, by peaceful and gentle means, liberty and true religion. This was the policy which laid the foundations of its moral greatness at the beginning. This must continue that greatness at present. If it ceases to act the part of the exemplar to the civilized, the religious, and the free: if it cease to be the friend and the benefactor to the savage, the ignorant, and the slave; the cause of its prosperity and its influence will have ceased; and the proud, the wealthy, the envied, the once useful England, will be laid aside, and deposed from its high state, as the instrument of the providence of God, with the monarchies and empires of antiquity. They were raised up, as England has been, to accomplish the prophecies, and to advance the glory of the God of revelation and of science—of Israel, and of nature. So long as they were thus honoured, their greatness continued. When that high distinction ceased, Persia, and Greece, and Rome alike fell, by causes which the world calls, the natural order of events; but which the Christian denominates, the plans of the Governor of the universe. They were thrown aside, as the scaffolding of the building is disregarded when the building is completed. I hope better things for this great empire. I trust that it will please the God of Christianity to make us the chief agent in the accomplishment of those prophecies, which affirm the eventual civilization and religious improvement of mankind This will be the secret of our strength. This alone will give permanency to our prosperity, and make us the Israel of the latter days—the praise and the joy of the earth.

In the sixth and last chapter of the work, the most important of all, I purpose, therefore, to sum up the whole argument. I shall endeavour to show, after I have related the history of the various attempts which have hitherto been fruitlessly made to effect an union among Christians; that man can only attain to his highest earthly happiness by blending into one universal polity, the results of the experience of the past, as that experience has been gradually afforded by the civil power—the ecclesiastical power—the pseudo-scriptural, and the pseudo-human-reason

power; and that, as the four monarchies of the ancient world prepared the way for the coming of Christ to instruct and to suffer, so the result of the successive predominance of these four influences will be, the preparation of the world for the greatest amount of peace and happiness of man as a progressive race. Such peace and happiness can only take place under the reign of christian principles, christian truth, and christian union. My object will be to point out the useful inferences which may be afforded to the universal church of Christ, from the experience of the long records of the past—to show in what manner the civil power, the ecclesiastical power, scripture, and reason may be combined in one solid foundation of international, ecclesiastical, scriptural, philosophical law; so that the whole Christian and civilized world may become one church of Christ—one family, aiming at the conversion of their brethren, till the whole world partake of that tree of life whose very leaves flourish for the healing of nations. I believe that such a plan of union may be developed; and that evil has been permitted so long to exist, that the eventual establishment of general union among mankind may be more perfect. I believe that the experience which shall be generally understood and perceived from the separation of the four influences which have ruled the intellectual world, shall become the foundation of the general desire of uniting them in one comprehensive scheme; worthy of the splendid promises which the God of Christianity has granted to his universal church. I believe that *the civil power will contribute, by its congresses*—the *ecclesiastical power, by its renewed councils*—the *adherents of Scripture*, by the better perception of the inferences deducible from its sacred pages—and *the lovers of philosophy and of reason*, by the true liberality which Scripture, combined with reason, will ever afford to mankind, will all contribute to the building of the temple of God. All in their turns have persecuted—all have had their watchwords, to inflame the partizans of partial truth to the infliction of needless misery. All are invaluable in themselves: but all are only productive of peace, union, and entire truth, when they are combined together, as the four evangelists of the gospel itself, to declare one system of good, and to speak one tale of peace.

The time has not yet arrived, when I can submit to you and to the world my belief of the manner in which this good may be effected, and the prophecies may be fulfilled; nor to reply to all the objections which will present themselves to the friends, as well as to the opponents, of the present publication. I will, however, briefly answer two remarks which have occurred to some of those with whom I have had the happiness and the honour to contemplate this noble subject.

What place, it has been asked, *do I assign to the Church of Christ* in this scheme, either of the past development of the plans of providence in permitting evil since the death of Christ, or in the future establishment of the universal good which shall be the result of the persecutions which have been caused by the separation of the four influences, whose

combination alone is productive of the anticipated good? To answer this question rightly, I shall inquire what is meant by the Church of God?

The Jewish Church of God, in the olden time, included the priests, the people, and the proselytes. The temple was divided into the Holy of Holies, the Court of the Priests, and the Court of the Gentiles. That is—there were always separate places for the more perfect, with whom an express covenant was made; and the more imperfect, with whom an implied covenant was made. The *former* were the chosen people—certain partakers, by a purer faith, and by the observance of appointed means of grace, of the blessing promised to the faithful. The *latter* may be said to have been left to *the uncovenanted mercies of God.* They worshipped according to their knowledge. They were the friends of Israel. They possessed a blessing. But all the great designs of providence, in perpetuating the line of the Messiah, in maintaining the knowledge of the one true God amidst the corruption and idolatry both of the holy nation itself, and of the surrounding countries, were accomplished by that elect portion of the visible church with whom the covenant was made. Sometimes apostate, when the spiritual religion was upheld by few; sometimes persecuting the more holy portion of their brethren; sometimes persecuted by the nations around them—the one visible church is always traceable, from the commission of Abraham till the destruction of Jerusalem. So also it is with the christian church. It is divided into the holy of holies; the apostolical churches, with whom the more express covenant was made; and the court of the Gentiles, into which all may be said to be admitted, who love the God of Christianity, but whose imperfect knowledge, or deficient apprehension of evidences, has not made them to belong to the apostolical churches. *These* are not excluded; but *those* have the more certain blessing of the promise.

I am not pleased with the expression, "the uncovenanted mercies of God;" but it is that which is commonly used to describe the blessings which we believe to be granted to those whose faith or discipline we suppose to be imperfect. I adopt it, therefore, in its usual sense, to explain that degree of blessing which we may believe the Deity will extend, both to those who desire to know him better, but who have not heard, and therefore have not received, that completion of the one only, ancient religion, which is developed in Christianity; and that which he will extend also to all those, who, from various unavoidable circumstances, receive that Christianity, imperfectly. If we speak with strict propriety, there can be no such thing as an uncovenanted mercy. The Almighty made a solemn federal covenant with man immediately after the deluge—that those who feared him, and sought after him, should be accepted of him. When the Jewish dispensation was established, that Christianity might eventually follow it, the blessings of this original covenant were not annulled. The Omnipresent God accepted the prayers and aspira-

tions of all those among the heathen, pagan, idolatrous, apostate races, who, with an imperfect knowledge of the gradually increasing revelation, remembered so much of the original revelation, that they sought for a better spiritual portion than their souls could find among the idolaters, and the wicked. He accepted them for the sake of the Bruiser of the serpent's head. So it is also, that the more complete and perfect form of that one ancient faith, which is given to us in Christianity, does not disannul the wreck and remnant of the same early postdiluvian covenant. God is still Omnipresent. From him alone all good thoughts proceed. If that Omnipresent God so influences the mind of one Chinese peasant, and not the mind of another; that the one discovers the designer in the midst of the proofs of design, and prays to the unknown God for his mercy; the same God who inspires the prayer accepts the prayer, in remembrance of his covenant made with the divine Atoner, for the whole race of man. Christianity only declares more plainly the God whom they worship in their ignorance. It declares the Mediator who enacted the covenant in its beginning, and who completed it by His blood of the atonement. It reveals the perfection of the religion which the Creator gave to man. The human race, like Esau, have sold their birthright. They have some blessing, as Esau had, though it is not the lost birthright. They still worship imperfectly; but they are still the children of the Creator. They are at a greater or less distance from God: and those may surely be placed in the court of the Gentiles, who are not yet admitted into the court of the priests, and of the chosen people of God, to whom the more perfect development of the original covenant has come. Christianity restores to Esau the lost birthright, and gives to him once more the portion of Jacob. The apostolical churches will be his perfect converter. The wall of partition shall be broken down, and the whole human race shall be one fold under one shepherd. All truths are reconcilable, one with another, to those who seek not for partial truth, but for *all* truth, as God has revealed it. The sin which gives eternal separation from the holy of holies, and places man beyond the uttermost verge even of the court of the Gentiles for ever and for ever, is that sin which we daily see committed. It is not the involuntary ignorance which seeks for God, and prays imperfectly to him. It is the sin of employing reason to extinguish the conviction arising from the knowledge of the evidences of Christianity, to justify the rejection of religion because that religion condemns the indulgence of the evil of the heart. The law of the soul is, that when the soul long continues wilfully to despise the mercy of God, it places itself, by its own act, beyond the power of accepting that better and highest happiness, which the covenant, ratified by the death of Christ, has purchased for all mankind, and which is called the salvation of the soul—that is, the development, through his immortality, of the highest moral and spiritual improvement and happiness to which the regenerated human nature is capable of attaining. The damnation which God has inflicted upon the

sins of man, principally appears in this world, by the permission of misery, as the result of moral evil. The damnation which God inflicts in the other world—for his will constitutes the law of all worlds—will be principally inflicted by man upon himself. "The worm that dieth not," will be the remorse resulting from man's own actions. "The fire that is not quenched" will be of his own kindling; by him who hears the gospel and rejects it.

I think too that the expression, the uncovenanted mercies of God, may be defended upon the supposition that while the Christian church cannot be supposed to be less deficient in a descendible and traceable authority than the Jewish church: neither can we suppose it would be less deficient in embracing, within the hope of a blessing, those who have not fully accepted all the discipline, which we of the apostolical churches believe to have been revealed by their Divine Founder. But as the visible Jewish church is uniformly discoverable, whether persecuting, or persecuted; whether idolatrous, or faithful; whether in prosperity, or in captivity; so the christian church has been visible and traceable from the ascension to the present day. Whatever may have been the enemies of the churches of Christ; or whatever may have been the imperfections of a certain number of persons in all ages, who have read the christian Scriptures, and trusted in the God of Christianity, yet have not belonged to the apostolical churches; we are always able to trace the continued succession of a number of visible churches, whose aggregate forms altogether the one holy catholic visible church. These churches were generally persecuted by the civil power till the time of Constantine; and were convulsed by civil dissensions from thence to Justinian. They were divided from the mutual communion of each other by the schism of the Greek and Latin hierarchies. The churches in the west gradually became subjected to the dominion of the most powerful of their number, while thousands, and tens of thousands who objected to, or opposed that dominion, unjustly perished as traitors and heretics, unworthy of admission even into the court of the Gentiles of the temple of Christ. This continued from Justinian to Trent. During the whole of this period, the apostolical churches, whatever was their submission to Rome, or their internal corruptions, maintained a certain degree of truth, and are still preserved to a brighter day. The same churches are discoverable in the present day. They have inflicted suffering, or they have suffered. Some of them, as in England, Scotland, and America, have retained the ancient government and discipline, while they have rejected the additions once inflicted on them by Rome; and thus, the one catholic church, in all ages is traceable as the accomplisher of the same great design as that for which the Jewish church, whether in its idolatrous or pure state, was preserved—the perpetuation of Scripture; and the upholding the general truth of revelation, till the day when a more abundant blessing by means of the One, Holy, Universal and purified church, shall be imparted to the world.

Such is the church of Christ; and I give to this church in the development of the plans of the Almighty, and in the eventual production of the greatest good which can proceed from the union of Christians, that place which is "first, last, midst, and without end." In every age there has been the congregation of faithful men, among whom the sacraments have been duly administered; the Scriptures interpreted; and the gospel taught; and who have been ever willing to give that true, holy, perhaps the strongest test of their spirituality, and of their partaking of the graces from above, namely, suffering and not persecuting. The church—or many of the churches of which the one catholic church is composed, have sometimes forgotten that they were called upon to follow the example of their Great Master, who, although he could have annihilated his persecutors, and commanded the legions of angels, "the least of whom could wield these elements, and arm him with the force of all their legions," went on, after he had finished his persuasions, to suffer, and to die. *The churches of Christ have been more anxious to persuade and to rule, than to persuade and to suffer.* They have not been contented with their only legitimate power—the exclusion of an offender from their worship. They have gone out of their way to define heresy—to discover heresy—to burn out heresy! They tortured where themselves ought to have submitted to torture, rather than to recriminate, and to punish: and one solid foundation of the anticipated union of Christians must be the rescinding of every law which inflicts pain on the body for rejecting even the best, and the holiest conclusions, of the best and holiest teacher. The teacher himself must be again willing to be crucified, before the church of Christ can be the converter, and the healer of the world. This the church will be. Under the *civil power*, the church was the sufferer. Under the *ecclesiastical power*, the church ceasing to suffer, began to inflict suffering;[1] and it so far went into captivity, that its holiness was merged in its discipline, and the spiritual tokens of its existence were so faint and few, that the weeds in the field of the church, obscured and concealed the wheat, till the student of history exclaimed—Where is the church of Christ? Under the *puritan reaction* from this lamentable time, the church still existed, and suffered. Under the *perverted philosophy of the present age*, the church exists, and suffers, and will exist, and suffer, until it accomplish its predicted part in effecting the happiness of man.

The second remark to which I would reply, is—*Can there be peace with Rome?*—With Rome as it was, when St. Paul declared, that its faith was spoken of through the whole world; and as John Foxe in the beginning of his history, describes it to have been, there could be—there was, peace and union. With Rome as it will be, when the object of

(1) Nos breviter ostendamus hæreticos incorrigibiles ac præsertim relapsos posse et debere ab ecclesia ejici, et a sæcularibus potestatibus temporalibus pœnis atque ipsa etiam morte mulctandi.—Bellarm. de Laicis III. 21. sec. ii. tom. II. p. 548. Edit. Par. 1613.

Bellarmine concludes the chapter in these words—Denique hæreticis obstinatis beneficium est, quod de hac vita tollantur.

the permission of its fearful power is accomplished by the providence of God—when (not the catholic church of Christ—not the scripture—not the gospel) but when Rome changes—and it will be changed by the blessing of the Almighty, imbuing, in his own good time, the nations of the earth with the same conviction with which he has so long imbued the mind of England, that Rome and Christianity are not identified—when Rome awakes from the dust of the errors of ages, and puts off the bloody robe of its canonical law, and clothes itself in that better robe of righteousness and love, which the Father will grant to it—then—then—there may be, peace with Rome. *But with Rome as it is*—with Lateranized Rome—with Trentine Rome—*there can be no peace*—none—none whatever. The severe canons—the unrescinded errors—the usurpations—and the demands of Rome, are too numerous to allow us to anticipate peace, with Rome as it is. But God will prove to Rome, in his own time, that the nations of the world will desert it—that civilised man will not endure it—that it must change; or be obsolete, uninfluential and useless. One lesson, in the mean time, is proved to be true by all the history of the past—that Rome can never—never be gained by any concession, or conciliation whatever, to change, or rescind one error; or repeal one decree. It cannot be won by sacrifices. It cannot be conquered by war. It can only be subdued by the patience of the more spiritual churches—by refusing submission to its dominion—by rejecting its errors—by guarding against its devices—by persevering in the holy, useful activity of the tongue and of the pen, to which the providence of God calls us; until, by the blessing of that same providence upon our humility, zeal, suffering, and enduring, the priesthood of that very church exclaim of our christian deserving, "truly these are the sons of God."

Such then is the work on which I am labouring; and which I hope eventually, if I live, to submit to the approbation of the world. The title of the work will be—*The Reunion of Christ's Holy Catholic Church; or, Past Persecutions the Foundation of the Future Union of Christians.*

But why, it will be said, if the great object of my labours is to be the promoting the happiness of man by the reunion of Christ's holy catholic church—why do I not withhold my sanction altogether from the republication of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe? Are not his narratives obsolete? Is not the book a party book? Will not its reappearance offend needlessly those with whom you believe an union can be eventually effected, provided there be some change in their principles, doctrines, and laws?

The narratives of John Foxe will never be obsolete so long as the decrees continue, on which the painful details of his history are founded. These details are the unavoidable result of popish principles. His book can no more be justly called a mere party book, than one of the epistles of St. Paul, on the falsehood of a Jewish prejudice, can be so entitled.

Its appearance ought to offend those only who crucified the Son of God afresh, when they committed his servants to the flames; and who can only then become the true disciples of St. Peter when they read these things, and are cut to the heart as the Jews of old were, and cry out, in deep and bitter repentance, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Then, and then only, may we imagine that the work of John Foxe will become obsolete. But then—then it will be that the repentant persecutors will love the record that reproaches them; and pray to their common Father that they offend no more, in this wise. The work of John Foxe cemented the repairing of the church of England. The doctrines of that church are founded on the Scriptures; its discipline is established on usefulness, antiquity, and tradition. But the hatred of the papal enemy of that church, who mocked when the walls were built in troublesome times, has ever been excited and perpetuated by his faithful narrative; because the Sanballats and Tobiahs who opposed the decrees for the restoration of the ancient temple of God, were not in vain resisted by the exhortations of this prophet. Foxe was not blameless, as we shall see in the progress of this Preface: but his voice and pen, if they did not kindle the flame, fanned the flame which has never yet been put out in England; though many of our own degenerate age are affecting to decry the value of his testimony, and to depreciate his useful labours. Eleven years were carefully and anxiously devoted to the arrangement of the materials which were transmitted to him from all quarters; in examining the registries of the bishops, and other authentic records of the facts and events he was to relate; and in collecting the various documents essential to the perfecting of the work. Strype, the most patient collector of similar papers, and the most competent witness to form a judgment on the merits or demerits, of the results of the labours of the martyrologist, speaks, as we shall see, not only of the infinite pains of Foxe in searching registries and seeking documents; but Strype assures us, that Foxe left them as he found them; and had not destroyed them, as his antagonist Parsons dared to presume and to affirm that he had done. Many, he tells us, had diligently compared his work with registers and council-books, and always found him faithful; and that he himself had found him as strictly true and faithful, as he had ever been most diligent. This testimony to the general fidelity of Foxe might be indefinitely extended. All parties excepting one, which has not hesitated to designate him in the most reprovable language, as a lying martyrologist, have borne witness to his value. Collier the historian has condemned, in many instances, certain passages which I purpose to consider: but these regard his biases and opinions, rather than his fidelity. Fuller declares his confidence in his accuracy, and applauds his patient research. Bishop Hall[1] calls him "that saintlike historian." Brooke, the Puritan, has eulogised his work as a fabric, too solid and immovable to be shaken. Neal, not the most amiable of men, praises it. Words-

(1) Bp. Hall's Works, vol. ix. p. 398, Pratt's Edition.

worth,[1] the present respected master of Trinity College, Cambridge, examined for himself, at a later period, many of the ancient records used by Foxe, and he bears the latest testimony to the fact, that all the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of the martyrologist on a rock which cannot be shaken. All parties, but that of the Romanist, have united in their approbation of this book, which is generally believed to have contributed, more than any other work, excepting the Holy Bible, to the continued exclusion of Romanism from its former influence in England. So effectually was it believed to promote this most valuable of all objects, that it was ordered by the convocation of the English clergy, in 1571, to be placed in the halls of bishops, in the families of dignitaries, in the colleges of the universities, and in the most conspicuous places in the cathedrals. It was set up in every parish church, in conjunction with Jewell's Apology, and the large English Bible. It was constantly held up, before the whole people of England, for more than half a century, as the great memorial of the evils from which, by God's mercy, they had been delivered; till Archbishop Laud, it is said, commanded the volumes to be removed from the churches, on account of the absence of those views of church government which were sanctioned by that metropolitan. Nothing, as we shall see in the instance even of this great work, is perfect. He wrote in the day of that excitement which was the unavoidable result of committing to, or escaping from, the flames. Wise men were maddened. Good men wept at the calamities of the age. Foxe recorded, with fidelity, the causes both of their indignation and their tears. His story can never be forgotten, so long as truth is threatened by error; or so long as freedom, unlimited freedom of inquiry, is refused by the tyranny of priestcraft, speaking the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," and upholding the "mystery of iniquity," always in the tones of courtesy, and sometimes in the language of the Scripture itself. Some spots may be found on the armour of this noble soldier of God. Those spots shall be pointed out, and be neither concealed nor denied: but his shield is the holiness of his cause. His sword, with which, in the days of our fathers, he smote down the Philistines of the persecuting and erring church, was "given him from the armoury of God; and neither the keen, nor the solid"—neither the satire nor the arguments of Harpsfield, or Parsons, of Milner, or Andrews—have been able to "resist that edge." To depreciate—to censure—to persuade the people to neglect and despise this great work, because it will not always endure the ordeal of modern criticism; is as absurd as to impeach the soldier of antiquity, of deficiency in the lighter movements of the unincumbered and modern warrior, while he is clothed in ponderous mail, and bends under the weight of his armour. A careful examination of the merits of the work will prove, that the eulogies of our ancestors on his labours were not bestowed unjustly;

(1) Preface to Ecclesiastical Biography.

and that the publishers of the martyrology and history of Foxe have done well and wisely in once more directing the attention of their countrymen to the painful and fearful consequences of the prevalence, and of the establishment of the principles which must revive among us, if we relax our vigilance, and mistake present repose for perpetual security. The conviction of our danger is the only secret of safety.

Permit me yet further to enlarge for a short time on this point. The object of Foxe in writing and completing this work was twofold. The first was, *to relate the history of the church before his own day;* the next, *to record the evils which have resulted,* and which ever will, and must result, to the church of Christ, *from the assumption and exercise of the power to govern the consciences of reflecting men by authority* and severity, rather than by reasoning and persuasion. Though heathens, and infidels, and men in all ages have persecuted their fellows, his chief design is, to depicture the fearful state of society, in which Christians consigned Christians to imprisonment, torture, and the flames, without imputing to them any other crime than their arriving at conclusions opposite to those which were entertained by the influential ecclesiastics of the day; and when neither vice, nor political conspiracy, nor actual injury to society, nor indifference to religion, nor rejection of the greater truths of revelation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement; nor contempt of Scripture, were justly attributed to the victims. He relates, and that, too, with proper and justifiable indignation (for who could be soft, with the modern mode of palliating these atrocities, which we call *candour*, when the shrieks and prayers for mercy, both to God and man, sounded from the victims of the flames, in the ears of the writer)—he relates how men and women were deliberately, according to the most cold and unimpassioned forms of law, committed to the faggot and the stake, for declaring, in the peaceful retirements of private life, that God alone was to be worshipped; and not the relic, the Virgin, or the saint;—or, what was more common still—for refusing to believe or confess, that, after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread on the altar before him, there was not sufficient evidence to convince him, that the bread was more than sacramentally changed. Foxe, in common with the great majority of modern historians, and in common also with some of the more gentle and reflecting of the communion of Rome itself, denominates this conduct—persecution. The inflictors of such severities called them the just punishment by which the church, in the exercise of its divinely-granted power, entrusted to it by its Holy Founder, endeavoured to preserve the unity which is the best bond of peace; and to repress, also, the heresy which alienates the Christian from God, and the schism which divides the Christian from his brother. The design of Foxe was to prove to the world, that that system of church government could not be right which was upheld by such principles, leading, as their unavoidable and natural result, to such conduct. He desired to prove to the world, the monstrous evils,

and the intolerable sufferings which have accrued to the human race from the enforcement of such pretensions on the part of the church. His argument is, not only that those lofty claims on the part of any church to enforce uniformity of doctrine, or of worship by such means, are utterly false and unfounded in themselves; but that it is totally impossible that a system of polity which had produced such fruits of cruelty and horror could be scriptural and divine. He shows us, and not only he, but every ecclesiastical historian of every communion—whether of Rome, of the Greek church, or of the Reformed church, who relates the unadorned facts of the past—that *so long as the world generally submitted* with patience to these affirmed powers, so long the *severities of the church increased* against the various delinquents who ventured to question any proposition which was pronounced to be undoubted, by the authorities of the church. He shows how the priesthood, enlarging the creed and abridging the commandments, claimed the power to withhold, or to extend the punishment of sin against God, as well as of crime against man—how it extended the definitions of heresy—how it confounded in one system of ecclesiastical pretensions, doctrine, discipline, tradition, legend, and law; and then condensed the whole mass of mingled truth and error into one undefined and undefinable code, which they denominated *the decisions of the church.* They presumed to set limits to the free use of the Scriptures. They regarded the request to peruse them, as the proof of probable, or incipient heresy. God made the night as well as the day; and the darkness which might be felt, was as essential to the government of the world as the dawn of the morning of the Reformation: but there was a time, and John Foxe warns us against forgetting the gloomy hour, when Huss or Jerome, or any other learned and inquiring mind, who discovered a ray of light, and hailed the contrast with the surrounding darkness; or ventured even to mention its existence to the blinded myriads of the christian fold, suffered the torture and the flame, *till spiritual ignorance alone became safety, and silent submission to the priest the only proof of acceptable religion.* Toleration was impiety. Inquiry was the beginning of sin. Resistance was an unpardonable crime. Mental slavery was faith. Mental effort was heresy. All heresy was to be punished by the union of penalties and sufferings which were ordained to debase and wound the soul, while they most severely tortured and harassed the body. The cruel mockings were combined with the cruel scourgings. The church, in the plenitude of its power, became capricious to the extent of dæmonism. It did not wait to be offended. It did not remain silent, as the secular magistracy is quiescent, till injury was done to society, and its laws were actually broken. The church sent forth its emissaries to detect the thinker—to discover whispers—to interpret sighs—to listen to the groans of the thoughtful when the iron entered most deeply into the soul; and thus to elicit heresy where the unconscious Christian had not suspected its existence. It made inquisition for the movements of the spirits of its victims. It proclaimed the wretch to

be a heretic. It denounced that heretic as the most infamous of the human race. It revelled with affected pity in the agonies of the violation of the ties of affection, friendship, and kindred. It descended even into the dungeon to check the groanings of its sad solitude, and to repress in its dark prisons the utterance of the cries of despair. Priestly insults were added to private torture. The pangs of the rack were accompanied with heart-rending reproaches, of apostasy from the Son of God. When the pale and weakened victim was at length brought forth from his miserable cell, to take his last adieu of the earth and of the sun, the shameful procession to the house of God, where the crime was to be declared, and the sentence pronounced, and from thence to the painful and lingering death of the faggot or the stake, was attended by the savage joy of the populace, and the averted looks of the most affectionate and tender of his kindred. Neither was this all. The last sounds that rang in the ears of the dying sufferer were the consigning of his soul to the fiends by the priest of God himself, amidst the triumphant acclamations of the multitude, and amidst the roaring of the rising fire, which was solemnly and audibly pronounced to be the commencement of his deserved Gehenna.

John Foxe wrote to record such things as these; that states, and people, and nations, while they forgive may not forget them; but ever remember *the danger of permitting the most apostolical priesthood to usurp dominion;* and by perverting their undoubted commission from the other world, to move this at their pleasure. Foxe wrote his book—"The Acts and Monuments of the Church"—to warn mankind at large of the necessity of jealousy over any priesthood which demands the homage of conscience and the submission of reason, on the presumption that such priesthood is infallible, divine, and supreme. His pages are worthy of preservation as the record of the past, and as a warning to the future. If it be said—"You of the church of England have done such things:" we answer, "If we have done so, we repent us of our misdoings. We have rescinded the laws which enabled us to do these things. We ask you also, brethren of Rome, to repent, and to imitate our example. The confession of mutual error is the first step to mutual pardon, and to the change which will terminate in eventual reconciliation."

These remarks will offend many who are not members of the church of Rome. Teachers of religion are still to be found who are not of that church, but who, nevertheless, still demand obedience too much to ecclesiastical authority on the plea of its divine origin, and its consequent perpetual right of ruling the conscience, without permitting, on the part of those who are taught,—reasoning, inquiry, or doubt. There are many who seem to exalt the apostolical succession, so as to exact, for the successors of the apostles, upon the sole plea of succession, that homage to their undoubted pedigree, which ought rather to be paid to the truth of their doctrines, than to their descent or to their credentials. The

apostolical succession of the priesthood cannot be valued too highly, as a source of evidence, as the undoubted channel of grace, from God to man; and as the clearest stream of communion between earth and heaven, provided that spirituality and truth characterise both the priesthood and the people. The Christian priesthood, like the discoverer of electricity, can, and has wrested the sceptre from the tyrants of the earth, and brought the lightning of God from heaven,[1] which might have struck down the palaces and cottages of sinful men; and rendered it harmless as the destroying angel when he passed over the thresholds of the Israelites in Egypt, stained with the blood of the passover: but it ought only to do these great things by moral persuasion, and patience of prayer before God; and they are no more entitled to be regarded as infallible, and therefore divine and supreme, because of the spiritual dignity of their honourable office in thus turning aside the lightning of divine justice, than Benjamin Franklin was entitled to be the sovereign of Europe, because he brought down the material lightning of the thunder cloud. We value the priesthood; but the labours of John Foxe prove to us, that *the corruption of God's best gift is the world's worst curse.* If the principles on which many ecclesiastics would establish their pretensions to rule over the consciences of their brethren by authority alone be well-founded—no form of death, no inflicted suffering, upon those who reject the doctrines which may be submitted to them by that authority, can properly be called persecution. If, as some declare, Christ has established a church which is governed by a divine revelation, one part of which is the written scripture, another part of which is unwritten tradition, of which the priests of that church are at once the depository and the judges; and if this church is infallible, because its priesthood inherits the same divine power which God gave to Christ, because Christ gave that power to Peter and the apostles, and Peter and the apostles gave the same power to the bishops and their priesthood,—if those bishops and priesthood, in addition to their undoubted and clearly granted commission to persuade by preaching, to consecrate the material of the commemorative sacrifice, and to absolve, by declaring their belief that God would pardon where they express their conviction that pardon would be granted—if in addition to these holy and most solemn functions, they are invested, because of their apostolical succession, with a freedom from the possibility of error, or from amenableness to the judgment of their contemporaries, in the midst of all the speculative controversies of the contending intellects of all ages—then the consequence follows, that the authority of such an infallible church would be independent of all that proportioning of human punishment to human crime, which we call *justice;* and the utmost severity it could inflict *could not be called persecution.* The very attempt to enforce that proportion by argument, or by resistance, would be an impugnment

(1) Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.

of its infallibility, and would in itself constitute heresy. Whatever is infallible must be supreme. Whatever is infallible and supreme must be divine. The church of Rome, in the most palmy state of its usurpation, could claim no more. The union of *infallibility, supremacy, and divinity*, constituted its irresistible demand for the submission of all objections. As the salvation of man—that is, as the purest, highest, and immortal happiness of man, depends upon his believing and obeying the authority which is divine, infallible, and supreme—it necessarily follows, that as the Deity himself may cause death by acute suffering, and not be chargeable with injustice, on account of the presumed wisdom which arises from infallibility and divinity; so also the teachers of Christianity, if they do, indeed, possess the attributes to which many of their number in every age have laid claim, cannot be accused of persecuting their brethren, whatever be the deep sorrow, the intolerable suffering, or the most painful death, they may most undeservedly, or most remorselessly, inflict. All is done, they reply, by punishing the heretical or schismatical, to save the souls of those who are endangered by the heretic and schismatic. The pages of Foxe are the answer to all such pretensions. He demonstrates the fatal consequences of such claims being maintained by any priesthood whatever, by the effects of such claims upon the happiness of the people. Not only does he delineate the poisoned fruit of intolerance; he strikes at the root of the Upas tree. He traces the bitter waters to their bitter fountain. He proves how these lofty claims on the part of the priesthood destroyed the peace of nations. He teaches all people to regard, therefore, their best priesthood with jealousy and watchfulness, while they receive at the same time all truth with reverence, and look upon their instructors with respect. He compels us to infer the necessity of combining freedom of inquiry with submission to sacerdotal authority, as an adult son, whose education is completed, and whose powers of reasoning are perfect, submits with deference to the instructions of his father. He venerates his parent; he listens to his instructions; he desires to submit to his judgment: but it is possible that the parent may err; and there is a limit therefore to his deference. There is a higher standard of action to the son, than even the authority of a parent; that is, the laws of God, and the conclusions of his sober reason. So it is with the Christian. The priest is his spiritual father. The baptized and believing son is required by the united laws of God and man to regard the instruction of his spiritual father with the utmost affection, deference, and respect: but the scripture is his ultimate guide—tradition, rightly received, its useful interpreter; sound criticism (of which the reason, to which God uniformly appeals by sufficient evidence, must judge,) is his assistant; and the inconveniences of the system, which permits every Christian to receive or to reject, at the peril of his soul, but with the approbation of his own conscience, the lessons of his priest and teacher, are infinitely less than the inconveniences which have resulted from *the system which imputes to that priest the infallibility of*

heaven, and empowers him, at the same time, to enforce, with relentless and merciless severity, the conclusions of a possible ignorance.

These things Foxe has done. These truths Foxe has taught. We receive, therefore, his useful labours as a lesson of the experience of the past; and we honour the writer of the *Acts and Monuments*, as one of the benefactors of his countrymen. Yet the same measure that we mete to others, we mete to him. No being, but One, that has borne the human nature, is faultless. If we yield only a measured deference to the priesthood of God himself, because we believe, from the invaluable narratives of John Foxe, that that priesthood may err; we inspect his conduct also, and find there much which we are compelled to condemn. Biography, to be rightly written, should be always penned on the same plan as the biography of Scripture. Faults should be faithfully recorded as well as excellences; crimes as well as virtues. Errors should not be extenuated with dishonourable apologies; nor mistakes be absorbed in indiscriminate eulogy. When we shall relate the troubles of Frankfort, and the part which Foxe took in the miserable letting out of the waters of puritanism, we shall find much severely to condemn. His opinions on the liturgy and discipline of the episcopal church of England deserve the reprobation of the lovers of our sacred Zion. But his talents, learning, zeal, and usefulness,—his accuracy, labour, devotedness, and disinterestedness, have been too much depreciated by those who decide upon the value of his work by this criterion alone. The "views of church discipline," it is said, "which Foxe has adopted, and which it is the tendency of his work to maintain," are declared by some of the latest assailants of his literary excellences, to justify even a "personal dislike"[1] to it. I shall not endeavour to refute the sentiment. I can only say, this is not the manner in which I am accustomed to appreciate the labours of industrious and learned men. My own library abounds with the works of papistical, puritanical, heretical, and orthodox writers; and I cannot agree with those who condemn the motives, the powers, and the inquiries of useful and laborious writers, because they are compelled to believe some of their opinions to be unworthy of their adherence. There are undoubtedly some views of ecclesiastical discipline in the pages of John Foxe which a churchman would neither wish to disseminate, nor to sanction; but the merits of his work may be acknowledged without our approbation of every conclusion of its author, and without affirming that the eight closely printed volumes of the present edition, or the well-filled folios which our fathers loved to read, are immaculate and faultless. Neither am I prepared to condemn either that noble spirit of the love of truth which induces a protestant writer to condemn his brother protestant, if he believes his statements to be erroneous, or his conclusions incorrect; even when they garrison the same battlements, wear the same armour, and contend against one common enemy. So

(1) I am quoting the very words of a publication to which I shall not more distinctly refer.

may it ever be—whether we are united or disunited—that we prefer truth to peace,[1] and principle to friendship; but I could not comprehend the grovelling criticism which detects the flaws in the magnificent proportions of the temple, which Foxe has thus raised, if I did not remember that God made the creeping thing, and saw that it was good, as well as the archangel and the eagle. I must confess my astonishment when I read the condemnation, which some have expressed, of the republication of this work. All, all, have persecuted, it is said, and therefore all histories of persecution should be consigned to the same oblivion. This would be true if all who had persecuted had rescinded the laws on which such persecution was founded. It would be true, also, if any reasoning could prove to us, that the withdrawal from the government of the future, of any portion of the experience of the past, could be useful to the student, or the Christian; the statesman, or the philosopher. But whatever has thus been written, is written for our learning; and it is really intolerable to mark the difference between the manly spirit of our christian fathers, who demonstrated their united hatred of oppression, and love of *truth*, by their undaunted heroism against the *cruelty of priestcraft*,—and the more timid courtesy of their sons, who deem it bigotry to remember suffering; illiberality to prevent the renewal of ancient injustice; and intolerance to oppose the proscribers of religious toleration. The word Protestant, which described the continental impugners of the papal power, is not, it is true, admissible into the services of our church; but the term itself is legalized by our constitutional laws, and continues to express the abhorrence, which the adherents of the episcopal church of England are required, by their bounden duty to God, and their solemn love to Christ, ever to maintain against the errors, which began in the traditions of a remote antiquity, to pollute the pure worship of the holy catholic church. We are required to be even ashamed of the word "protestant." We are called upon to forget the occasion of its origin, the object of its use, and the necessity of some one expressive term to mark the line between the revival of ancient truth, and the continuance of ancient error. We must hate the light, lest we offend the darkness. We must court the tiger, and insult the lamb. We must close our Bible, lest we offend the legend. Who are these members of the holy catholic church of Christ, we may mournfully inquire, who would forbid us to call to mind the endurance of the great fight of afflictions, or to remember the ultra-protestant opponents of Rome, of whom the world was not worthy? I, for one, assume, as my badge of dignity and honour, the epithet which these men would assign to me as a term of contempt and disgrace. Those seem to deserve only the name of traitors to truth, who would lower their standards to the enemy in the very van of the battle, and bring alike both their piety

(1) This was, I believe, the only point on which I ever differed with my dear and invaluable friend, H. J. Rose—the extent to which peace was to be preferred to truth, or truth to peace. Very useful and precious were his conversations and counsels to me. May it please God that we meet again!

and their learning into contempt, by blending them with *the exploded superstitions*, and the benighted ignorance, *which they too courteously call pious opinions, ancient practices, and catholic observances.* I could weep over the uncatholic folly of those of my brethren who thus prostitute their high talent, and deep devotion, to the regilding the statues of the saints mediators, and to the apologizing for the purgatory, the invocations, and the corruptions, which they are solemnly sworn not to uphold, but to destroy. Surely such men would seem utterly to have mistaken the mode by which union can be restored to the one true catholic church, and the mode by which the wounds of the daughter of Zion may be healed. As the sins of the soul cannot be forgiven even by the blood of Christ, unless they be acknowledged, repented of, and forsaken; so also *the errors of the church of Rome must be confessed by its priesthood and its people, and be repented of, and forsaken*, before it can fulfil that high destiny to which its continued existence seems to prove it will be possibly called. My heart's desire and prayer to God for the church of Rome is, that it may enable us to be again united in communion with its priesthood and its people, at the altar of our common Lord. I believe that such communion will take place. I hope that I have formed a plan of such union, which may be deemed worthy the attention of the whole catholic church of Christ. *I believe that I can prove to Rome itself, from its own accredited records*, that there is nothing in its laws, institutions, decrees, and doctrines, which will prevent such a revision of the conclusions of the past, and such embracing of the inferences from antiquity and scripture which its episcopal sisters of England, America, and Scotland have adopted in their creeds and canons, as will restore peace to the catholic church; on the basis of truth and Scripture, of antiquity and useful tradition, of spiritual religion and sound reasoning. While I cannot comprehend those men, who imagine that they may palliate the cruelty which decrees the burning of a martyr, and condemn only the imperfections of the suffering victim; while I have not deemed it right to exhibit to the world the contention of one priest at the altars of the church of England with others of his brethren, when such contention could be avoided; and while I would willingly appear to be defeated in such contest, rather than continue an incipient schism, provided that the doctrine of the atonement be not withheld on any pretence whatever from the great congregation of baptized Christians,[1] I, with them, have but one object in view—the reunion of the holy catholic church. *They would lay the basis of such reunion on the conciliation which not only tolerates, but revives, exploded errors.* They would unite again the body of sin and death to the living body of the regenerated church. *I would call, as with the trump of God*—"Awake! thou that sleepest; and arise from "the dead; and Christ shall give thee light. Shake thyself from the

(1) I refer to my not replying to some observations, on two charges delivered at Northallerton against certain portions of the Oxford Tracts.

" dust, church of Rome! be ashamed of the blood-stained garment, and " the sheathed, though still worn dagger—return to the Lord, and he " will have mercy upon thee."—This seems to me to be the preferable language. I would promote the union of Christians by speaking the truth in love; not in words of studied softness and courteous flattery; but by pointing out the manner in which the pontifical laws, the conciliar conclusions, and the authorized enactments of the church of Rome may be so retained, or so rescinded, that the now divorced bride may be restored to the spiritual bridegroom. From the dead carcase of the lion of history, I would extract the honey—union.[1] From the long detail of the past, I would endeavour to deduce some inferences which may promote, when they are submitted to the catholic church,—harmony, peace, and love.

Forgive me if I proceed yet further on this point. The times in which we live seem to persuade me that the period has arrived in which the effort may be made to *include within the church militant upon earth all the souls whom Christ will receive into the church triumphant above.* What a picture is presented to us of the christian world! The men who believe in the christian revelation may be said to have now been permanently crystallized, for three centuries, into three several antagonistical masses, with their appendages of names, and sects, and parties. On one side, is the church of Rome, with its Jansenists and Jesuits; its monks and nuns; its gradations of priesthood, and unchanging pretensions. There is the presbyterian community, with its burghers and anti-burghers; and after them, in England, in Scotland, and in America, as well as in all quarters of the globe, trains of sects which it were, indeed, long to enumerate. Between the two extremes, claiming the respect of the people for its well deliberated adherence to antiquity, useful tradition, and the earlier models of discipline, with the church of Rome; and no less claiming the respect of the people for its adherence to the open Scriptures, and to spiritual worship, with the Christians of the presbyterian and dissenting communions, are the episcopal churches of Scotland, England, and America, with their painful names of high church and low church, evangelical and anti-evangelical, Calvinist and Arminian, and many others, as useless as they are unmeaning. The infidel stands by and laughs. The deist scorns them all, and imagines himself to be more philosophical than others because he rejects revelation in consequence of the follies of its friends. The conversion of the world itself is suspended, when the several modes of worship, or systems of opinion, adopted and taught by the missionaries who appeal to them, are discovered to be disputed questions, and not acknowledged truths. The union among Christians, which Christ prayed his Father might be the common inheritance of his followers, is unknown; and all is confusion and hatred, where all should be order and affection.

What then is the principal cause of this strange disunion among the

(1) Judges xiv. 8, 9.

believers in one God; the hopers in the same Saviour; the partakers of one Spirit; the anticipators of one resurrection; the aspirants after the same immortality after death; and the bearers of the same christian name before death? The chief cause of the disunion among Christians is—the assertion of, and the resistance to, the claim to supremacy over all believers in the christian revelation, on the part of the church of Rome. The great controversy, therefore, between that church and mankind, must end in one of these alternatives—the claim must be withdrawn—it must become obsolete—or, it must eventually conquer and resume its authority.

I thought the alternative to which we must come might be advantageously discussed in the course of a treatise which should include, among other matters that ought to be deeply interesting, an inquiry into the origin and consequences of that supremacy. I thought that, if I could but speak the truth to Rome and its antagonists—to the churches of Christ generally—and to all who are interested in the progress of the improvement and the civilization, the liberties and the religion, of mankind, I should render a service to that great cause of peace and union which our Saviour prayed to establish, and which must, therefore, sooner or later, vanquish all resistance. I prayed earnestly to the God of Christianity, that I might be animated with the Spirit of the First Martyr, who would not curse his very murderers; but who kneeled down in his dying moments, and exclaimed—"Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!" I prayed that I might not speak a word of uselessly indignant harshness, to exacerbate the pains of our existing divisions, even when I was compelled to refer to the sad and painful details, which our great martyrologist has depictured in his mournful and graphic narratives. I desired to lay a peace-offering on the altar of the universal church, at the very time when intolerant expressions and harsh declamations might be most expected from me. I am conscious that I shall appear, by complying with the request that was made to me, to be sanctioning the revival of many narratives which might well be consigned to oblivion, if they were not beacons to warn us against the encouragement of principles which, I trust, will never be again defended; and of conduct which will never more be renewed. I remembered the declaration of one of our eminent Divines—that the most unchristian work in the world is a martyrology.[1] Yet, I could not but believe, that, if our hearts are taught to burn within us by contemplating the histories of the martyrs for liberty, much more should they be filled with admiration by the examples of the martyrs for truth. If the resistance of the patriot to civil oppression has taught the civil governor moderation and justice, the record of the resistance of the martyr to religious persecution, should alike teach the ecclesiastical or civil ruler, whether papal or protestant,—for all have used them,—that the

(1) History of the Rise and Progress of Christianity by Dr. Hinds, vol. ii. p. 271.

faggot and the stake are not the proper arguments to convince, or to persuade. Surely the hour is at hand, when the humble and unambitious student of ecclesiastical history may point to the narratives of martyrdoms, and to the general detail of all the transactions of the church, and call upon every church and government which has hitherto sanctioned the principles of intolerance and persecution; and even upon the church of Rome itself, to take into consideration their ancient codes of canonical and civil enactments; of conciliar decisions, legislative decrees, and papal fiats. Before the long promised union among Christians can take place, all laws which sanction or tolerate persecution must be done away. If the practice will be no longer permitted, the maxims upon which that practice was once defended must be removed also. To this point, I believe, the world, by God's mercy, is rapidly approaching. The world, and the universal church, are beginning to be disgusted with the long story of enmities and follies, the controversies and collisions, the hatreds and the jealousies, the accusations and recriminations of the past. They sigh for peace and for truth; for the ascendancy of religion and liberty; and for the union of the two. They cannot hope for peace till there be more agreement among the contending parties respecting truth; and they perceive that truth cannot be elicited, while the freedom of the inquirer respecting evidence is fettered by the compulsory enforcement of external compliance with the conclusions and rituals of remoter centuries, which are declared to be unalterable merely because they are ancient. They would choose, for instance, the power of praying to God in public, in their own language, rather than in the Latin tongue, if they were permitted to declare their preference. They deplore the excesses and absurdities into which the rejecters of institutions which were deemed burthensome and intolerable, and of articles of faith which were deemed to be unnecessary or erroneous, had sometimes fallen, whether in France, England, or elsewhere; and they prefer the permission to inquire, to the despotism which speaks in the name of a spiritual society, and forbids inquiry: but they long more than for freedom itself for that repose from perpetual discussion, and theological agitation, which can be founded only upon the union of authority, devoid of persecution, with liberty, devoid of licentiousness. They seek the mutual agreement of liberty, discipline, and truth. Earnestly and passionately, but quietly and serenely, and therefore, firmly and resolutely, the religious and the civilized portion of mankind are desiring to possess, and they will, therefore, eventually resolve to possess, the results of the experience of the past. They take no interest in abstract speculations. They abhor and despise angry theological disputations. While they are instructed by every page of ecclesiastical history to detest the abuses of ecclesiastical power, they have been no less taught, by painful experience, to dislike piety without discipline, and discipline without piety. They have begun to disregard, alike, a church without religion, and religion without a church. They

reject the piety which holds all discipline in contempt as an infringement upon liberty. They spurn the discipline which assumes the necessary existence of piety, merely because the external forms of religion are regarded, or the routine of an ancient ritual observed. I believe, too, that the time is rapidly approaching, when Deism will be regarded in its true light, as the most unphilosophical of systems, in separating God, from the providence, which governs reason by revelation. This state of the general mind, among the civilized nations of the earth, I believe to be the result of the more extended knowledge of the history of the past; and I regard such proofs of civilization to be a demonstration of the directing providence of God, which overrules all events to the gradual but effectual amelioration of the human race. I wish, therefore, so to look back upon the course in which the providence of God has guided the believers in Christianity, as the universal church, up to this hour, that the survey of the past may enable me to point out the manner in which authority and toleration, peace and truth, may be united; while error shall not escape censure, nor the teacher of error escape reproof. I trust I am not theoretical, Utopian, nor romantic, in thus believing, that the time is at hand when the whole subjects of church authority, toleration, persecution, the possibility of union, and the hope of religious peace will be reconsidered. If the hopes of the best and the wisest who have ever lived upon earth be rightly founded—if the tongues of prophets have spoken plainly—if the prayer of the Saviour of man, before he completed his work of atonement on the cross, be ever answered—if the blood of that great and mysterious atonement be not shed in vain—if the progress of society; the discoveries of utility; increasing knowledge; and other tokens of the fulfilment of the prophecies which declare the eventual establishment of more good than evil, more peace than discord, among men, be rightly interpreted; we may hope that the time is approaching, when, (all persecutions having ceased) minds, and tongues, and pens, in every nation, shall not only be free, but that their freedom shall be used to the promoting the glory of God; extending the influence of true Christianity; and advancing, in every form, the real happiness of man. The hope that the curse may be thus partially rolled away, even in the present world, is not, I trust, entirely visionary. The believers in this hope are not merely to be pitied as fanciful or enthusiastic persons. They are worthy of attention, as the sober expectants of a state of happiness which is suited to the greatness of man; and which they might affirm to be one object, at least, of the dispensations of God to his creatures. Whether this state of earthly felicity shall, or shall not, ever be, it is our bounden duty to endeavour to promote its establishment. We are all required to abhor persecution; to love truth; to study union; to speak peace; and to use rightly the freedom of unimbittered and unimbittering discussion. Thinking thus, that it was possible I might be, in some slight degree, useful to the church, and to the world, if I attempted, in this spirit of the love of truth and charity,

to write a Preface to this New Edition of the labours of our great martyrologist, I resolved to comply with the request of my friend; "to bate no jot of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer right onward," till I have completed the work in which I have made such progress. I aim at the union of Christians alone. I write neither for advancement, for money, nor applause. I neither wish nor fear the favour nor the hate of any human being. Those have gone before me to the unseen world, whose censure I deprecated, or whose approbation I valued. I desire to speak the truth in love, and thus to promote harmony and union among Christians: and then, when I have done so, whatever be the result of my humble labours, I shall pray that I may die in peace.

I would not use this language if I were now writing to you as to one of the public only. I am writing to a friend to whom I am bound to make some explanation of the causes of the delay of the fulfilment of a promise. The publishers of this book are not to be condemned. I alone am to be blamed. They obliged me by pausing before the publishing of this volume, that I might complete the Preface according to the pledge which was made for me. It has, however, become a large work, which must be given to the world at my leisure. It cannot be hurried. In the meantime, the gentleman, a graduate clergyman of Oxford, to whom I had committed (in consequence of the severe labour I have voluntarily undertaken,) the charge of preparing for me, and with me, the materials of the following pages, has aided me in submitting the following Preface to the subscribers. What is now given to them, was intended, originally, to be only the Second Part. It comprises the Life of Foxe, and the defence of his labours from his assailants. It fulfils my own pledge. As I must be responsible for the success or failure of the Essay, and as I am assured that, whatever be the manner in which my task is fulfilled, I must anticipate more than usual severity, I withhold the name of my coadjutor from you for the present, that while he may be assured he shall not lose the laurel if it be awarded to him, he shall not suffer from the hands that, for a time, withhold it. I only now add, that I shall rejoice when this portion of my labour is finished; for I long to devote my leisure to the completion of a task, which makes business a weariness, society a burthen, and solitude a heaven. The numerous friends who have read various portions of my MSS. encourage me with the assurance that I shall be useful. With the hope that I shall be so, I persevere. Farewell, my friend. Forgive me that I have detained you so long; and believe me to be, affectionately and faithfully,

Yours,

GEORGE TOWNSEND.

LIFE OF JOHN FOXE,

&c. &c.

PART I.

SECTION I.—FROM HIS BIRTH TILL HE LEFT OXFORD.

SECTION II.—FROM HIS LEAVING OXFORD TILL HE WENT ABROAD.

SECTION III.—FROM HIS GOING ABROAD TILL HIS RETURN.

SECTION IV.—FROM HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND TILL HIS DEATH.

SECTION I.

BIRTH, AND EDUCATION, TILL HE WAS EXPELLED FROM MAGDALEN COLLEGE.

A. D. 1517 TO 1545.—ÆT. 28.

BIRTH AND EARLY PURSUITS—ENTRANCE AT OXFORD—CHAMBER-FELLOW WITH NOWELL—RELIGIOUS CONTENTIONS OF THE TIMES—ELECTED FELLOW OF MAGDALEN—ENGLISH BIBLES—STATE OF RELIGION ON THE CONTINENT—LEARNING OF FOXE—CONFLICTS ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION—EXPULSION FROM COLLEGE.

JOHN FOXE, the author of the Acts and Monuments of the Church (the last book which was commanded by the sovereign, sanctioned by the bishops, and authorized by a canon of the Anglican Convocation, to be placed in our churches);[1] the most influential preventer of the revival of the papal supremacy over England; one of the most elegant Latin scholars, and irreproachable men of his age,—was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1517, the year in which Luther published his Theses against the church of Rome. His principal biographer is his son; and though many interesting circumstances of his more active life, after he left the University, are to be derived, as we shall see, from various sources; it is impossible, at the distance of three centuries, to collect any information respecting his early years, but that which his son has recorded. In the Preface to the Reader, prefixed to his account of his Father, his son informs us, that "he had been solicited by many persons to gratify posterity with a history of his father's life, which he had written thirty years before." He had, however, continually "to refuse to publish it; and he should have persevered in doing so, if he had not perceived that many who were mere strangers, and utterly ignorant of his conversation, had presumed to write his life." The deficiencies and inaccuracies of these unauthenticated publications, induced him "to preserve his memory from wrong, and to place it in its true and proper light." "The importunity of both those who admired, and those who disapproved, also, of his father's opinions and conduct, were additional reasons," he informs us, "for writing;" and he trusts, "that his narrative may be regarded as free from the suspicion of intentional falsehood or partiality, though it was compiled by a son." He had written it

(1) The last discussion on this point is in the Church of England Quarterly Review, No. XL. April, 1840.

originally "for his own private satisfaction; and it was now given to the world because it was deemed worthy of publication by others rather than by himself."[1] None of the spurious works, to which Mr. Foxe here alludes, are known, I believe, to exist at present; and we must consequently be contented with a few brief notices of his early life, till he was expelled the University of Oxford for heresy, as they are related in the memoir by his son.[2]

The parents of John Foxe were of respectable rank in the town of Boston, in Lincolnshire, "well reputed of, and of good estate." His father, not being a native of that town, suffered greatly from its extreme humidity, and died while his son was very young. His mother soon married again. The childhood of Foxe was distinguished by his great love of reading. His father-in-law afforded him every encouragement to persevere in his studies; and probably expected that he would become an ornament to the church in its unreformed state, for he was himself a rigid Romanist, and educated Foxe, in the strictest manner, in the established principles and errors. His resources were not ample; and John Foxe seems to have been sent to Oxford at the age of sixteen (A.D. 1533), by friends who approved his "good inclinations and towardness to learning." He was entered at Brazennose; and Alexander Nowell, then aged twenty-two, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, was appointed, according to the custom which then prevailed among the poorer students, to be his chamber-fellow and companion. Their tutor was Mr. Hawarden, one of the fellows of the college.

No other certain events are related of Foxe from the year 1545, being a period of twelve years, than that he took his Bachelor's Degree in 1538, and his Master's Degree in 1543; that he was elected fellow of Magdalen in this latter year; and was expelled for heresy from Magdalen in 1545. The life of Foxe must be unavoidably deficient in interest, when compared with those of other eminent reformers. Luther and Wycliffe took part in the councils of princes, and were involved in the collisions of courts and senates. Cranmer and Ridley were martyrs, and perished, "for the truth's sake," by the noblest death. Foxe was a retired student in his youth; the tutor only of a family in his early manhood; the assistant to a foreign printer in his more mature years; and a secluded clergyman in his more advanced age. No life seems to promise less gratification to a lover of biography from its commencement to its conclusion. Its principal interest will be found to arise from contemplating the effects of the circumstances and changes of the age in which he lived on an amiable, a gentle, and conscientious mind. He began life, we must believe, as a decided Romanist. His early bias, before he could discern between the truth and falsehood of the propositions which were discussed in the great controversy in which he

(1) Quorum importunitate consensi in opus emittendum initio non alio destinatum, quam ut imaginem paternæ consuetudinis apud me servarem, et nunc in tantâ hominis famâ, aliorum magis opinione, quam judicio meo necessarium.—*Ad Lectorem.*

(2) In addition to the memoir, however, I have by me the Biographia Britannica, Chalmers' History of Oxford, Camden's Britannia, and ten or twelve others, as books of reference, which I do not quote.

took eventually so prominent a part, must have been the same as those of his kindred and early preceptors. The few brief notices of his life, prior to his expulsion from Magdalen, relate to the change from Romanism to Anglicanism—from the errors of the catholic church, to the truths of the catholic church.

Alexander Nowell, his chamber-fellow, continued an undergraduate at Brazennose thirteen years. The first degree was not then, as at present, so uniformly, or so generally taken, at the termination of the fourth year of residence in college. The student became a member of the University at an earlier age; and remained, very often, many years an undergraduate before he solicited a degree. This suspension of graduateship did not, however, imply inferiority. It proceeded from diffidence, from convenience, from attention, perhaps, to other studies than those in which proficiency was required for a degree. Nowell, at the age of twenty, seven years after he was admitted as a student at Brazennose, was a public reader of logic in the University.[1] Nowell left Oxford in 1543, to become second master of Westminster School, where he instructed his pupils in the ancient principles of the true catholic faith, as they were cleared from the papal errors, which had so long been blended with and disfigured them. We may justly infer, therefore, that as Nowell was ten years older than Foxe, learned as a logician, devoted to study, distinguished for his genius, industry, and kindness, he would possess great influence over the mind of his more youthful companion. They would discuss freely all the controversies of the time. Nowell was already favourably disposed to the changes which were commencing; and it is generally supposed that he must have materially biassed the mind of Foxe to the conclusions which he afterwards adopted. I do not believe that the influence of Nowell proceeded to this extent. It seems to me to be more probable, that, as Foxe, at the commencement of his chamber-fellowship with Nowell, was a decided Romanist, the chief advantage which the young student derived from his senior, was the power and the habit of thinking more freely, and inquiring more impartially, than he would have been permitted to do by the zealous partisans of the long-established errors. I infer this from the two facts which are recorded by the biographers of Nowell and Foxe. Nowell left the university in the year 1543, to teach protestantism; or the purer catholicism of antiquity, at Westminster. Foxe was admitted a fellow of Magdalen in that very year; and as he was expelled, two years after, from that society, on account of his supposed heresy, I conclude that he was made a fellow because of his supposed orthodoxy; and that the great change in his opinions, which his son relates, took place between the departure of Nowell from Oxford, and his own expulsion. I am confirmed in this belief, by considering the peculiar circumstances under which he was received into the society

(1) See Churton's Life of Nowell, 1809. Nowell taught logic from the work of Rodolphus Agricola, one of the most learned men of the fifteenth century. Erasmus greatly exalts his character, learning, and abilities.—Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, Art. Agricola Rodolphus.

of Magdalen. His election gave great offence to the students of that college. They considered themselves aggrieved by the introduction of a stranger. They regarded the preferments of the college as belonging to those who were brought up on the foundation. It is true, that this repugnance to the admission of Foxe among them was greatly softened, by their observance of his patience, kindness, and humility. These overcame their antipathy; and gained, not only their esteem and approbation, but their admiration and their love. Yet we may be assured that a conviction of his continued attachment to Romanism was added to all these good qualities. They never would have consented to the intrusion of a stranger, whom they expelled two years after on the plea of heresy, if they had not believed that he was attached to the opinions they had themselves preferred. I consider, therefore, that the great value of Nowell's intimacy with John Foxe consisted in teaching him to reason; in guiding his studies, and imbuing him with that mental energy which is the foundation of all decision of character. Both were pious, zealous, and learned; and their friendship, whether at Oxford, in their common exile on the Continent, or on their return to England, continued through life.

But whatever may have been the influence of Nowell on the mind of Foxe, the events of the period which elapsed between his admission into Brazennose, 1532, and his election, ten years after, to his fellowship at Magdalen, unavoidably compelled him to consider deeply and anxiously the great controversy which was convulsing both the Continent and England, as it still continues to do. In these calm and halcyon days, when every man who desires to know the truth, and to live a peaceful life in all godliness and honesty, may live securely, none daring to make him afraid—when toleration has become an unquestioned privilege to the lowliest and the meanest; and one of the principal dangers which agitates society arises from the perversion, and not from the permission of freedom of opinion—we, in these days, can form but a very inadequate notion of the excitement and misery of the time when the mind was compelled, by the incessant restlessness of the most unwearied and fiery discussions, to examine and to decide for itself, at the risk of the burning of the body, either for papistry, or for protestantism. No language can fully describe the anxious misery of the conscientious yet prudent Christian, who desired to arrive at conclusions which were right in religion, that the soul be saved; and at conclusions which should be right also, in law, that the body be not burnt. Even the most careless and indifferent to religion were no less harassed. The church and the king of one year, opposed the church and the king of the year following. The holy Scriptures had been withheld, by severe decrees, from the people, for many years. To desire their perusal had long been considered a proof of heresy. Within the thirty-six years, however, preceding his taking his bachelor's degree by John Foxe, no less than five hundred and sixty-eight editions of the whole, or various parts of the Bible

had been printed in Hebrew and Latin; and also in English, German, French, Spanish, and other European languages.[1] England always sympathises with the Continent, even where it does not follow its example. The learned men at Oxford must have become, more than they had yet been, students of the Bible, from the general attention which was now everywhere paid to the sacred volume; even if they had not been forced to become so by the enactments of the public law, and by the numerous translations in their own language which were now constantly issuing from the press. In 1533, the king was declared to be the head of the church; and Cranmer was elevated to the see of Canterbury. The convocation of Canterbury petitioned that the Bible be again translated. Translations of various parts of the Scriptures were constantly made and circulated by private persons.[2] There was a general thirst for the streams of the waters of life. In 1535, Coverdale's Bible was completed; and in the following year a royal injunction was issued to the whole clergy of the realm to provide a Bible in each church, and to lay the same in the quire, that all might hear and read. Another translation, Matthews's Bible, was printed abroad, and circulated in England, the editor of which, Rogers of Lancashire, was burnt by Mary.[3] In 1538, another proclamation was published, commanding the clergy to provide Bibles in all churches, and directing them to read the royal permission, that the people should hear and read it; and "wonderful," says Strype, "was the joy with which this book of God was received by both the learned, the lovers of the reformation, and by the vulgar. Children flocked to hear it read, though, in some instances, the hatred to the Scriptures, or the love of the long-established errors, induced their parents to punish them with merciless severity."[4] The light was struggling with the darkness. Many of the clergy exerted their apostolical authority to prevent the royal injunctions from being carried into effect. Parsons, vicars, and curates,[5] read the Bible so that none should understand it. They bade their parishioners, too (no doubt conscientiously—for the novelty, because it was novelty, seemed to be heresy), to live as their fathers did; for the old fashion was the best. Cranmer's Bible, and Taverner's Bible, were published in November, 1539. An attempt was made to limit the number of translations; but in the following year[6] another royal proclamation enforced the former; and even this was confirmed by another in the year ensuing.[7] These proclamations were partially, sullenly, and reluctantly obeyed by many of the bishops and clergy. The immediate effect of the new indulgence appeared to justify all the evil predictions of the enemies of the scriptural knowledge of the common people. Faction and party spirit were affirmed to be increased by the new knowledge. The common people disputed in taverns and alehouses. They bandied about the words papist and heretic; as they

(1) See Townley's Biblical Literature, vol. ii. p. 470.
(2) Townley, vol. ii. p. 393.
(3) February 4th, 1555.
(4) Townley, vol. ii. p. 400.
(5) Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, vol. i. b. i. chap. 18.
(6) May, 1540.
(7) May, 1541.

will ever do, till the usurpers of dominion over conscience by authority alone, cease to withhold the Scriptures, and until the people themselves conform to the instructions of Scripture. In the year 1542, the chief bishop of the Anglican church requested his brother bishops, in full convocation, to revise the translation in use. One of them, Gardiner of Winchester, proposed to render the version obscure by retaining a certain number of untranslated words; and Cranmer united with the king in referring the decision to the universities. To this the bishops objected, because young men, the junior masters of arts (among whom must be reckoned Nowell and Foxe), whose judgments they said were not to be relied on, decided on the questions submitted to them. And yet, after all these efforts to give the free use of the Scriptures to the people, the Romish party so prevailed in the parliament which met at the commencement of 1543—the year in which Foxe was elected fellow of Magdalen—that an act was passed, ordering, "that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, of Tyndale's translation, should be utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used." Other translations might be kept, provided the annotations or preambles were cut out. None were to read the Bible in the churches without a license. All, of any rank, from the chancellor to the merchant, might read the Bible: but no women, except noblewomen and gentlewomen; nor artificers, prentices, journeymen, nor labourers. If they did so, they were to recant for the first offence; bear a faggot for the second; and be burnt for the third. Such were the variations in legislation within these ten years, respecting the Scriptures. But the waters had broken forth, and were streaming in the desert; and though in the last year of the reign of Henry, Coverdale's Bible, as well as Tyndale's, was prohibited, and the zeal of the king for the reformation declined, and the power of the enemies of the free use of the Scriptures increased, we may justly doubt whether any enactment of the crown and convocation united would have now wrested the book of God from the people. The prohibition that neither women, mechanics, nor peasants, should read the Scriptures, was framed in the very papal temper which is most opposed to the design of the Giver of revelation. There is no sex in souls, that women should be excluded from the waters of life; and the gospel of God is preached, and the Scriptures of God are granted, more especially to the poorest, the vilest, the meanest, most ignorant, and the most abject, to comfort them in their sorrows, and to direct them to a better state. Revelation appeals to the hearts of the poor, rather than to the heads of the rich. To the poor, more than to the rich, the gospel was always preached. The Creator esteems the soul of the poor mechanic and the lowly peasant to be of the same value as the soul of the monarch and of the bishop, of the emperor and of the pope; and we who affirm the undoubted privilege of the humblest to possess the volume of God's truth, are the true friends of the catholic church, and of the souls of men. All are equal before God, and he gives the same bread of life for their souls, as he gives

them the same air to breathe, and the same sun to enlighten them. The mechanic and the peasant are as much entitled to the open pages of revelation as they are to the free light of the sun, and the vital nourishment of the air.

One instant effect of this universal desire to read the Scriptures appeared in the disregard which began to be paid to the schoolmen. Nowell and John Foxe were, possibly, a part of that assemblage of young men, of whom, in the year 1535, the king's commissioners wrote to lord Cromwell—"We have set Duns in Bocardo, and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses. The second time we came to New College, after we had declared our injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Duns (Johannes Duns Scotus), the wind blowing them into every corner." The works of the other schoolmen no doubt shared the same fate; those of Thomas Aquinas, perhaps, excepted, as he was the king's favourite author.[1]

But these were not all the events of the ten years which compelled the learned and the studious to ponder deeply the controversies of the day. The claims of the pope to rule the church—the resistance of the king to the papal supremacy—the utter contempt with which his majesty treated the summons of Clement VII., citing him to appear, personally or by proxy, at Rome, A.D. 1532—the decision of the long-litigated question of the divorce, 1533—the abolition of the papal supremacy, 1534; with the recognition by the bishops and clergy, in their convocation, of the royal title of head of the church—the oath of allegiance to the king, under this title, taken by Gardiner, Tonstal, Bonner, Stokesley, and generally by all the bishops; by the convocation, and by the universities—the refusal to take the oath by More and Fisher; and their subsequent inhuman execution, A.D. 1535—the insurrection in Lincolnshire, Foxe's native county, 1537—the overthrow of monasteries and mitred abbots, by which the number of the spiritual peers was reduced below that of the lay peers in the House of Lords—the passing of the Six Acts. A.D. 1540—and above all, the mutual and bitter exasperations which, every year, marked the two parties—these things convulsed and agitated the public mind beyond all that can be imagined in the present comparatively calm and tranquil days; and contributed to the state of

(1) Successit tandem postrema *scholasticorum* ætas, quæ modum nullum servavit sophistices barbarici, impudentiæ in erroribus tùm receptis statuminandis, otiosis et inutilibus, quin etiam impiis, determinandis, aut versandis in utramque partem; atque adeo inducendâ in scholas quæstionum, terminorum, distinctionum, monstrosâ novitate, perdendis ingeniis, literis, sacrâ disciplinâ. Cumprimis in materiis de Deo, de Trinitate, de Incarnatione, de personâ Christi, de potestate papæ, de transubstantiatione, de purgatorio, de novissimis. Et hi doctores, vocandi *acuti, subtiles, singulares, facundi, resolutissimi, ordinatissimi*, et si quibus aliis elogiis et epithetis veniunt. Ab his *quodlibet majora, minora, determinationes, formalitates, specula, quæstiones solemnes, ordinariæ, questiones super questiones, prædicamentorum, acroamaticorum, metaphysicalium* subtilitatum, mysteria; præter *Legendas, Marialia*, et id genus librorum pestes.

Patres hujus postremæ scholastices præcipui fuêre: *Joannes Duns* Scotus, sub initia hujus seculi xiv. Coloniæ (ut ferunt) apoplexiâ percussus, vel letargo correptus, ac vivus in sepulchrum illatus, ex quo frustrà egredi annixus est, devoratis manibus. Hinc celebres fuêre, *Durandus à S. Porciano, Petrus Aureolus, Herveus Natalis, Fr. de Mayronis* Gallus, et ejus farinæ reliqui. Nec minùs istorum ferax fuit seculum xv. ad tempora usque *Thomæ Cajetani*, id est, Lutheri et Zwinglii, ubi desinit scholasticorum ætas. De quibus tacere præstat, quàm de iis multa dicere, et adeantur noti de *Scriptoribus Eccles.* Commentarii.

Frid. Spanhemii F. I. Operum. fol. tom. i. secul. xiv. cap. 11, p. 1796.—Lugd. Batav. 1701.

depression which the son of Foxe describes of his father. Neither was this all. Not only did the cruel burnings, which were alike inflicted upon the scholar who could reason and discuss, as Tyndale, Frith, and Bilney, and upon the heart-broken maniac, the poor idiot, or the thoughtless jester, compel an amiable and reflecting mind to question the moral justice of the painful executions of the day; but the events on the Continent confirmed the propriety of the doubts of the future martyrologist, by the sympathy of thousands in the Anglican resistance to the papal supremacy.

A few years before this time, the Institutes of Calvin had been published, A.D. 1535. Zwinglius had taught at Zurich. The confession of Augsburg had been promulgated 1530; and the articles of Smalcald, 1537, drawn up. Episcopacy itself, the ordinance of Christ, had unfortunately become odious to many in consequence of the active prosecutions of various adherents to the new teachers, by many of the bishops, during a century and a half; and especially within the few last years. The mind was painfully harassed by the dissensions among the reformers themselves, as well as by their opposition to the principles of the church of Rome. Every man deemed that opinion which he himself disapproved, to be an heresy; and the heretic was regarded as worthy of punishment, "even to death," by the opponents, as well as the advocates of Rome. Such were the agitations of the public mind at the period when John Foxe, in common with many of his countrymen, was led to doubt the truth and certainty of the conclusions to which he was originally so much attached.

It is much to be lamented that the Memoir of Foxe by his son is written without any proper attention to dates. He mentions only in very general terms his learning and his piety; his doubts of the tenableness of his Romanist opinions; and his eventual decision to renounce them. His early love of learning, which induced his friends to send him to Oxford, his intimacy with Nowell, and the events to which I have referred, were all pledges that he would continue his researches until he had obtained satisfaction on the controverted points; and until he had decided, whether the principles of the Romanists were defensible from the Scripture, and identified with the earlier Christianity. To arrive at right conclusions, he made himself master of the different controversies which had divided the church. He applied himself to the study of ecclesiastical history, both ancient and modern. He learned the beginning of the church; by what arts it flourished, and by what errors it began to decline. He ascertained the causes of those controversies and dissensions which had arisen in it; and weighed attentively of what moment they were to religion. His application, says his son, was great; and before he was thirty years of age he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin fathers had left in their writings; the schoolmen in their disputations; the councils in their acts; or the consistories in their decrees. His acquaintance with the Jewish and rabbinical literature

was not so extensive or profound, as with the annals and erudition of christian churches. Still, he had so competent a skill in the Hebrew language as to become thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures in the original. Henry VIII. had established both a Greek and Hebrew professorship, A.D. 1530, at Oxford; and as Foxe appears to have constantly resided there many years, and to have wholly devoted himself to study, there is nothing improbable in this statement.[1] Thus he continued to study till he was made fellow of Magdalen, A.D. 1543.

I have already mentioned the reasons which compel me to believe that he had not at this time forsaken the principles in which he had been educated. In the same proportion, however, in which he studied, he became gradually convinced of the necessity of adhering to that purer, and more ancient mode of catholicism, which the church of Rome had so long defaced by its novelties; but his doubts, or the difficulty of decision, or his unwillingness to break the ties which bound him to his family and his college, or the contending weakness and strength of his resolutions, produced that internal conflict which those alone can understand who love the kindred from whom they see reason to differ; yet believe that they shall not be deemed worthy of the crown, if they take not up the cross, and forsake friend and kindred, for Christ and truth. His demeanor began to change. He was reported, says his son, by some of his fellow-students, to have bestowed, over and above his day's exercise, whole nights at his studies, or not to have betaken himself to rest till very late. Then it was that he read the Scriptures in their original language, and poured out the supplications of his soul before the throne of God; asking for, as did Solomon, an understanding heart, that he might discern between good and bad; and by comparing spiritual things with spiritual, might arrive at the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus. "He would leave his study or his bed, and retire to a neighbouring grove, where the students delighted to walk, and spend some hours for recreation; and there, amid darkness and solitude, ponder deeply over what he had been reading, so that he might confirm his mind in the truths he had embraced." "How many nights," his son proceeds, "he watched in these solitary walks; what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God! I had rather I might be spared from this discourse, than touched with any show of ostentation; but it was necessary to be mentioned, because from hence sprung the first suspicions of his alienated affections." Some of those, at length, with whom he was intimate, and to whom these extraordinary exercises of mind were known, reported him to the heads of the college, as an abettor of the new faith. This caused some to be employed as spies, to watch him narrowly, while they admonished him, as his friends, that these nightly walks might render him suspected; and thus they were able to pry more into his words and actions. At length his conscience

(1) Wakefield, the successor of Reuchlin at Tübingen, was the first Hebrew professor.

constrained him to cease from attendance not only at the college chapel, but also at the university church, except upon necessary and official occasions. This enabled his opponents to compare " his customs formerly used, with the present course he now took; and they, with more bitterness aggravated the fact. Why, said they, should he not come to church so often as in former times he was accustomed? Why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself after his wonted manner, unless he had felt in his mind some sudden alteration? And, if that alteration be for the better, why should he conceal it?"

Being thus suspected and defamed, surrounded by spies and treacherous companions, he was at last openly accused of heresy; brought before the heads of the college to answer the accusation; convicted of the crime; and expelled. He was commanded to leave the city and county of Oxford without delay; and to be thankful that his judges had been so merciful to him, seeing that the sentence was far below his apostasy. This took place in the year 1545; the same year in which the council of Trent met. He was then twenty-eight years of age; and had been a fellow of Magdalen only two years. I have partly copied the quaint language of his son. It graphically describes the common case. Those who regard that spiritual religion which considers all churches, priests, authority, and ministrations, as merely the divinely appointed subsidiaries to our progress in a holy life—those who believe, that, if even a divinely commissioned priesthood superadd to scriptural truth erroneous doctrines, which neither Christ nor his apostles have taught, such doctrines must be rejected by the Christian; but who have been also brought up as Foxe had been, to love, venerate, and admire those very doctrines as a part of the holy faith which had been given to the catholic church—those who believe that they must love God and truth above all things, if they would obtain the promises—those persons will ever be compelled to undergo the bitter inward conflict which Foxe experienced before he could decide to forsake the communion of Rome. The world despises this contest. It receiveth not these things of God; neither can it know them. They are spiritually discerned. They can no more comprehend the source of the prayers, and tears, and sobbings of John Foxe, when he was about to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, than a man blind from his birth can comprehend the nature of light; or a man deaf from his birth, the magnificence of the Messiah of Handel, or the warbling of the Italian operatist. To these persons such emotions are nonsense, enthusiasm, or folly. It was a severe and fearful trial. On one side were the literary leisure; the faithful friend; honour and wealth; reputation and advancement; the gratification of ambition in the prospect of the rewards of his deep learning; and all that is captivating to the heart of man. On the other side were contumely and disgrace; alienation of friends; the loss of all things: poverty, exile, and obscurity; with the probability of the most agonizing death, amidst contempt, reproach, and insult. He reflected. He decided. He

resolved to endure the loss of all things; and to count all that ambition could desire, and avarice covet, as less than nothing and vanity, so that he might finish his course with joy. His patience—his heroic fortitude—"the better martyrdom," was esteemed and appreciated by our fathers. With us, their degenerate sons, it is now required to "remain unsung." Popery will ever unite with infidelity, and infidelity with popery, to destroy spiritual religion; as Herod and Pilate—the nominal Jew, and the liberal Gentile—were united to destroy Christ. They are joined together with one accord, in the present day, to effect the same treason; and similar conduct to this of John Foxe will alone save us from the double tyranny. Learning, humility, and inquiry, with fervent prayers, and committal of our cause to Him that judgeth righteously, must all be united in that Christian who would strengthen the true church of God—forsake the plausibilities of error—conquer the power of temptation—instruct others—and save his own soul.

SECTION II.

FROM HIS LEAVING OXFORD, TILL HE WENT ABROAD, A. D. 1548 TO 1554.

HIS DISTRESS ON HIS EXPULSION FROM OXFORD—ENGAGEMENT AS A TUTOR—MARRIAGE—LEAVES CHARLECOTE—ARRIVES IN LONDON—HIS GREAT DISTRESS—SUCCOUR MYSTERIOUSLY BESTOWED—HIS SECOND TUTORSHIP—ORDINATION—OFFICIATES AT REIGATE—LEAVES ENGLAND—HIS FIRST PUBLICATIONS.

THE great and good men who "hazarded their lives unto the death," at the period of the Reformation, in defence of religious truth, and their noble successors at the Revolution, have so well performed their work, that we have long been ignorant of arbitrary and irresponsible power. Neither the civil magistrates in the state, nor the ecclesiastical magistrates in the church, have exercised the uncontrolled, unlimited authority, which, at the time of the expulsion of John Foxe from Oxford, degraded and dishonoured both the church and state, and rendered every subject who questioned the truth of the king's opinions, even in the most controverted and doubtful points of religion, in danger of the most cruel form of death. Henry VIII. had been rendered, at this time, a God over faith—a Pope over the church—a Cæsar over the realm. He could decree articles of belief; dispense with the canons of the church; and enact laws for the state.[1] The two parties of Reformers and Romanists were so equally

(1) Henry conceived that he had not only the right, but was placed in the duty of guiding and ruling the faith, and doctrines, and religious reasonings of his people. He believed he was to act in these as the vicar of the divine legislator, as the pontiff he had dethroned had arrogated a right dictatorially to be. It was on this principle that he so personally insisted on the Act for suppressing diversity of

balanced in England, that the king became despotic over both. Notwithstanding the murderous tyranny, which had condemned the poor schoolmaster, Lambert, to the flames for discussing theological questions with the royal disputant at his own command—notwithstanding his sublime, though now, I mourn to say, despised ejaculations, "None but Christ! none but Christ!" when his half-consumed body was lifted on the halberts of the by-standers, to be more speedily consumed in the declining fire—notwithstanding, too, all the other caprices and follies of that "ruthless, jealous tyrant,"[1]—the chief men of England vied with each other in tendering him the most fulsome and contemptible flattery. The king's heart was corrupted, and the king's head was weakened, by believing their hyperbolical praise. Cromwell had declared, that all men were unable to describe the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, and the sublime virtues of the royal heart. Rich told him, that he was equal in wisdom to Solomon; in strength and courage to Samson; in beauty and address to Absalom. Audley declared before his face, "that God had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows—above the other kings of the earth—above all his predccessors; had given him a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures, with which he had prostrated the Roman Goliath; a perfect knowledge of the art of war, by which he had gained the most brilliant victories at the same time in remote places; and a perfect knowledge of the art of government, by which he had, for thirty years, secured to his own realm the blessings of peace, while all the other nations of Europe suffered the calamities of war."

During these harangues, as often as the words "most sacred majesty" were repeated, or as any emphatic expression was pronounced, the lords rose, and the whole assembly, in token of respect and assent, bowed profoundly to the demigod on the throne. Henry affected to hear such fulsome adulation with indifference. His answer was invariably the same—that he laid no claim to superior excellence; but that, if he did possess it, he gave the glory to God, the author of all good gifts; it was, however, a pleasure to him to witness the affections of his subjects, and to learn that they were not insensible of the blessings which they enjoyed under his government.

opinions.* He saw his people in a fluctuating sea of mind and discussion from the influx of the new sentiments and views that now rushed in from all parts of society; and he thought that he was the proper Neptune to pacify and to govern the disordering commotion into quiet and uniformity. We see this misconceiving idea in full operation in his last speech in parliament, in which he urges the clergy to terminate the reigning discord, "or else I, whom God has appointed his vicar, and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant and untrue officer." † A wide career of evil was opened by this strange assumption, in which the most energetic mind, without any bad motives, and even from the very best purposes, especially if unchecked by the kind sensibilities, was sure to be the most tyrannical; and, from principle, unrelenting.—Hist. of Eng. by Sharon Turner, vol. vii. chap. xxxi. p. 533.

(1) Thou ruthless, jealous tyrant,—Heaven repay
On thee and on thy children's latest line,
The wild caprice of thy tyrannic sway—
The gory bridal bed—the plunder'd shrine—
The murder'd Surrey's blood—the tears of Geraldine.
Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," Canto VI.

* 31 Henry VIII. c. xiv.

† Hall, p. 866. ap. Turner's Hist. of England, ut sup. p. 533. See also, for further enactments in confirmation of this king's power, 24 Henry VIII. cap. xii., 25 Henry VIII. cap. xix. and 35 Henry VIII. cap. xvi. Pulton's Statutes, fol. 1670.

Facsimile of the Title Page of the Strasburg Publication, 1554.

COMMENTARII

RERVM IN ECCLESIA GE-
ſtarum, maximarumq; per
totam Europam, perſecutio-
num, à Vuicleui temporibus
ad hanc uſq; ætatẽ deſcriptio.
Liber primus.

Autore Ioanne Foxo Anglo.

HIIS INCALCE ACCESSE-
runt *Aphoriſmi Ioannis Vuicleui, cum col-
lectaneis quibuſdam, Reginaldi Pecoki Epi-
ſcopi Ciceſtrenſis.*

Item, ὁπισογραφία quædam ad
Oxonienſes.

ARGENTORATI
Excudebat Vuendelinus Rihelius
Anno M. D. LIIII.

Reduced copy of the title page of the Latin Edition Basle 1559

RERVM IN ECCLESIA GE-

ſtarum, quæ poſtremis & periculoſis his temporibus euenerunt, maximarumq; per Europam perſecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum, cæterarumq; rerum ſi quæ inſignioris exempli ſint, digeſti per Regna & nationes Commentarij.

PARS PRIMA.

In qua primum de rebus per Angliam & Scotiam geſtis, atq; in primis de horrenda, ſub MARIA *nuper Regina, perſecutione, narratio continetur.*

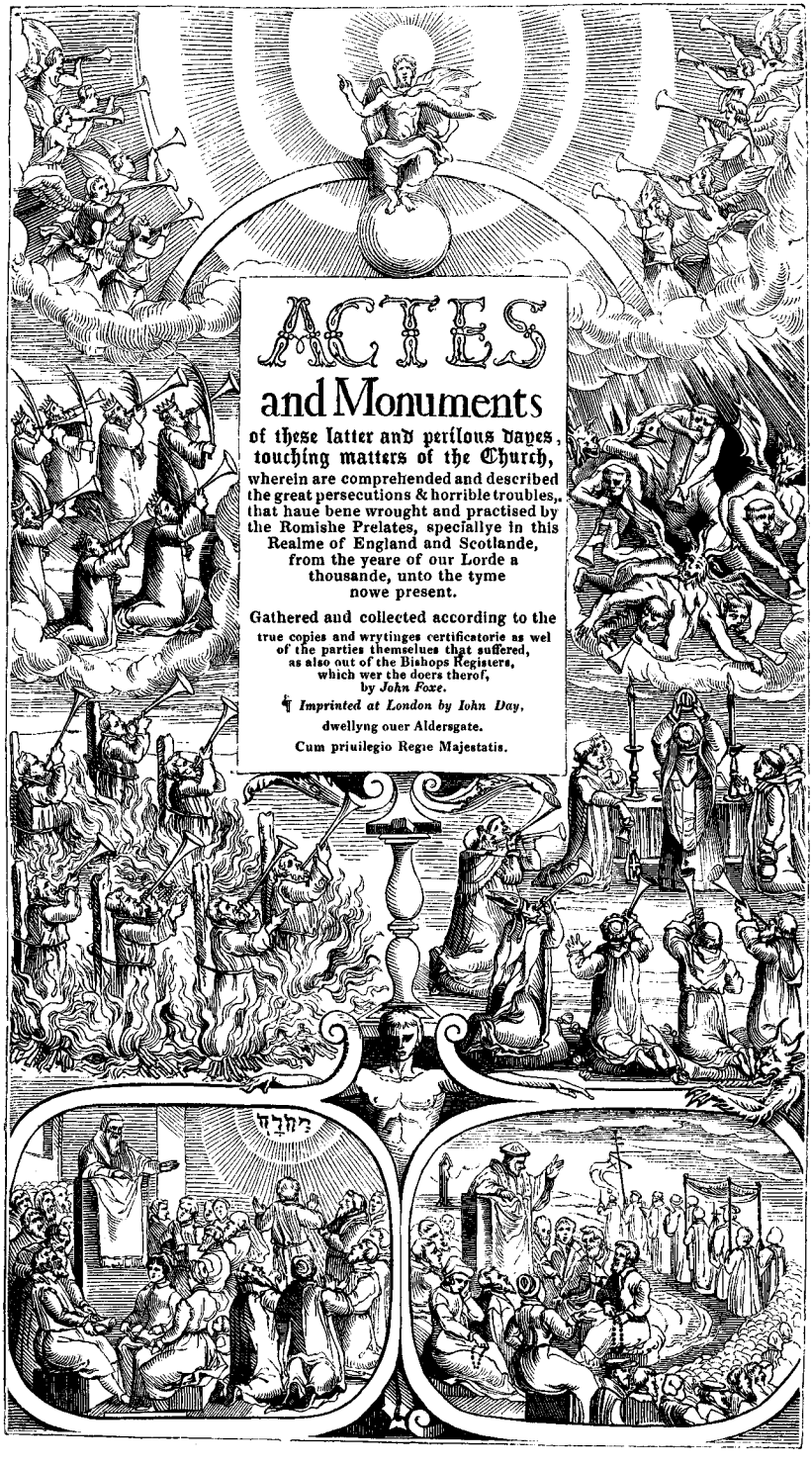
Autore IOANNE FOXO Anglo.



BASILEAE, PER NICOLAVM BRYLINGERVM, ET IOANnem Oporinum.

Facsimiles by Standidge & Co. London.

Reduced copy of the title page of the first English Edition, 1563.



This language was held alike by Romanists and Reformers, who seemed, as it were, spell-bound, and altogether incapable of being actuated by any other influence than by the royal will. This alone was to be studied, anticipated, and executed with subserviency beyond any former precedent. Both parties had been long accustomed to submission to the most arbitrary power. The Reformers, or those of the people who desired great changes, could not be expected to anticipate the purer philosophy, which gives as much authority only to the government, which is the power ordained by God, as God himself intended should be possessed; that is, as much as would benefit the people. Their ignorance is derided by the historian, who seems to advocate the opposite folly of the Romanist, while he scoffs at the folly of the Reformed. The arguments, he observes, by which the transferring to the king the authority hitherto exercised by the pontiff, were defended, "debased the spirit of the people, and tended to exalt the royal prerogative above law and equity." When the adversaries of the supremacy asked in what passage of the sacred writings the government of the church was given to a layman, its advocates boldly appealed to those texts which prescribe obedience to the established authorities. The king, they maintained, was the image of God upon earth; to disobey his commands was to disobey God himself; to limit his authority, when no limit was laid down, was an offence against the sovereign; and to make distinctions, when the Scripture made none, was an impiety against God. It was, indeed, acknowledged, that this supreme authority might be employed unreasonably and unjustly; but, even then, to resist was a crime: it became the duty of the sufferer to submit; and his only resource was to pray that the heart of his oppressor might be changed; his only consolation to reflect, that the king himself would be summoned to answer for his conduct before an unerring tribunal. Henry became a sincere believer in a doctrine so flattering to his pride; and easily persuaded himself that he did no more than his duty in punishing with severity the least opposition to his will. To impress this doctrine on the minds of the people, it was perpetually inculcated from the pulpit; it was enforced in books of controversy and instruction; it was promulgated with authority in the "Institution," and afterwards in the "Erudition of a Christian Man." From that period the doctrine of passive obedience formed a leading trait in the orthodox creed.[1] True as these remarks may be, the historian has omitted to state, that the pope and the king were alike tyrants; and the question was, to which tyrant the people should submit—to the native regal tyrant, who gave them a creed, and burnt the rejecters of his infallibility; or to the foreign tyrant who inflicted the same merciless severity, and taught even more, and greater absurdities. There was some hope of a change for the

(1) See Gardiner's Treatise "De Vera Obedientia," in the Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum, ii. 800; and Sampson's "De Obedientia Regi Præstanda;" ibid. 820; also, Strype, i. 111. Thus we are told, in a Sermon by Archbishop Cranmer,—"Though the magistrates be evil, and very tyrants against the commonwealth, and enemies to Christ's religion, yet ye subjects must obey in all worldly things, as the Christians do under the truth; and ought so to do as long as he commandeth them not to do against God."—Strype's Cranmer, Rec. 114. See also the King's Books—the Articles—the Institution—and *the Erudition of a Christian Man.*—Lingard's History of England, vol. vi. pp. 481, 482. Second Edition.

better, if they obeyed the king; there was none, if they continued their allegiance to the pope.

Such was the state of the people of England when John Foxe was expelled from Oxford. He has not recorded, and his son has omitted to relate, the suppressed and burning indignation with which the inquiring student must have contemplated this debasement of his free and religious nation; or what the difficulties might have been which prevented him, in that age of deficient political knowledge, from being contented with rejecting error, without daring to submit to the Public, the opinions he might himself have formed. Neither do we know to what part of England he directed his footsteps on his leaving college.[1] That he was in danger of being apprehended, and committed to prison, and perhaps burnt as a heretic, was evident from the indictment of Athee, under the king's writ, on the usual charge of speaking words against transubstantiation. He declared that he believed only in the God that was in heaven; and not in the god that the priest sold, and the baker's wife made. Like many others, however, who speak with flippancy of the errors which are believed with sincerity, and which are but the perversions of truth, he recanted, and was pardoned.[2] We cannot tell to what extent a change of opinion had now taken place in the mind of Foxe. Not only did the pope, the universities, the king, and those followers of their authority, who never dreamed of forming their own opinions, still receive the doctrine of transubstantiation, but many persons who were devotedly attached to the study of the Scriptures, still believed in the necessity of maintaining this doctrine among the articles of their creed. If Foxe had begun to waver on this point, and had expressed his doubts at Oxford, the danger of arrest and martyrdom was most certain. In the year preceding his expulsion, three victims, Pearson, Testwood, and Filmer, on this account, had been burnt at Windsor. The distress of Foxe, who, by losing his fellowship, lost his principal means of support, was increased by the conduct of his father-in-law in refusing him any further resources. Notwithstanding the numerous changes in religion which had now taken place, heresy was still regarded by all as a fearful crime, which no Christian was justified in tolerating, and which every magistrate was required to punish. The heretic, whether he was brought to trial or not, was hateful. He was the outcast of society. He was deemed unworthy of the usual courtesies of life. He was unfit to become possessed of property. He was rendered incapable of enjoying patrimony. The influence of the ancient canon law which decreed these severe enactments against heresy and heretics still remained, even among those who would not, perhaps, have proceeded to the extremity of putting those canons in force. Indeed a mitigation of the rigour of the act which had been

(1) Day assures us that he was sent for from Oxford to Reigate in Surrey, in the troublesome and dangerous times of the Six Articles, to be tutor to the duke of Norfolk. This could not have been, however, till after his marriage. — Day's Epistle-Dedicatory to Foxe's "Christus Triumphans." Lond. 1579.

(2) Foxe, vol. ii. p. 479, Edit. 1684, folio.

passed in 1540, for the suppression of diversity of opinion in religion, took place the same year in which John Foxe was expelled from Oxford. A statute was enacted which granted permission to private families to read the Bible in their own houses; and moreover, that none of the clergy were to be burnt for heresy till the third offence. Also, that the former punishment of burning the laity should be commuted to imprisonment for life, and forfeiture of all their estates and goods. But the six special laws still remained unrepealed, by which the former severities might be inflicted on offenders at the discretion of the magistrate, and as the royal will might dictate; so that the melioration was rather nominal than real. Audley had died in 1544; and his successor in the chancellorship, Wriothesley, a zealous opponent of the Reform party, endeavoured to effect the ruin of Cranmer; but the king refused to listen to the treacherous designs of those partizans who were opposed to Cranmer. The influence, however, of Wriothesley, and Gardiner, and their party, was strengthened as well by the death of the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, as by that of lord Audley, both of whom had given constant support to the interests of the reformers. The ascendancy of the papal party at court was immediately prior to the degradation of Foxe. It is also to be observed, that he was desired to quit the university and the county without delay, on his expulsion. His enemies declared, also, that the sentence was too favourable, and that he ought to have been dealt with more severely. All these circumstances concurred, no doubt, to alienate more effectually the friends of his earlier days. His father-in-law, who had laboured to train him in the principles of Romanism, had thus a sufficient plea, as he would believe, to withhold from him his little patrimony on account of the apostasy and heresy, which had deprived him of his fellowship. The ministerial changes which had also just taken place would lead many to imagine that the restoration of papal authority and papal principles was on the eve of being effected. Foxe, therefore, had to contend against the worst enmities of the world, in a state of utter destitution.

From his expulsion, then, from Magdalen, July 22d, 1545, we have no dates to guide us to any of his occupations or wanderings with any certainty, until his appointment as tutor to the children of the earl of Surrey, after the attainder of the earl and his father for high treason, who were both sent to the Tower, December 12th, 1546. The earl was executed on the 19th of January, 1547. His children were committed to the guardianship of the duchess of Richmond, widow to the natural son of the king, and sister to the earl of Surrey. Foxe was engaged as tutor to the children before the death of Henry VIII., which took place January 28th, 1547. As we have only these two dates of his expulsion from Oxford, and of his engagement as tutor, to guide us, some difficulty has arisen in making the account of Foxe's life, by his son, consistent with itself. Soon after, perhaps immediately after, his expulsion from Oxford, as we may infer from his son's account, he

obtained the situation of tutor in the family of sir Thomas Lucy,[1] of Charlecote, in Warwickshire. He is said, by his son, to have remained there till his pupils no longer required instruction.[2] This expression has been generally supposed to mean that his pupils at Charlecote remained under his protection many years—a supposition which these dates prove to be incorrect. At Charlecote, also, he married a visitor in the house;[3] and as the distinctions of rank were strictly observed at this period, we may believe that the daughter of the citizen of Coventry, who was received as a visitor in the family of sir Thomas Lucy, would be worthy of the attentions of the persecuted and learned tutor. Of these events we possess but this scanty information. The engagement with sir Thomas Lucy could not have lasted for any long period; and it was probably concluded either in consequence of his marriage, or on account of the search which was now being made for heretics, or for all who were suspected of heresy, both publicly and in private houses. It is probable that Foxe left Charlecote after a residence of little more than a year. The matter must be left in doubt. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to reconcile the discrepancies in the narration by his son. He has given us no references. He published the memoir when he was old. He writes verbosely and generally; and it is difficult to read his history with patience. Is it impossible that Foxe was tutor at Charlecote before his election as a fellow of Magdalen, and consequently, before his expulsion; that he visited there subsequently to that event; and that the grief which his son describes him to have felt on the conclusion of his tutorial engagement at Charlecote was, in truth, the grief that he experienced on being compelled to leave his hospitable friends in consequence of his danger of arrest as a heretic? If this could be proved, all difficulties would be removed.

His marriage with a daughter of a citizen of Coventry reminds me

(1) The name Thomas was common for many generations to the head of the Lucy family, who were at this period the owners of Charlecote. The employer of Foxe, one of the pupils of Foxe, and the son of the pupil of Foxe, who prosecuted, as it is said, Shakspeare for deer-stealing, were all so named.—See the pedigree of this ancient gentleman's family in Dugdale's Warwickshire. The Lucy's were patrons of the living of Charlecote. I find the following abstract in Dugdale which confirms my account.

1 Rich. Verney, Ar. &c. D. Eliz. Lucy, ux. ejus, nuper ux. Th. Lucy, mil. defuncti	D. Andreas Warburton, Phr. 24 Maii 1534.
2 Thom. Lucy, Arm.	D. Nich. Smith, Cler. 23 Julii 1562.
3 Tho. Lucy, Miles	John Davies, Cler. 21 Aug. 1577. Ric. Southam, Cler. 25 Maii 1582.
4 Thomas Lucy, Miles	Mich. Wood, Cler. 10 Aug. 1619.

A descendant of sir Thomas entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1610, but afterwards proceeded to Caius, Cambridge; and who, in 1660, was consecrated bishop of St. David's. He died in 1677, and was buried in the collegiate church of Brecknock; on a monument to whose memory was an inscription in letters of gold on black marble. Bishop Lucy wrote a Criticism on Hobbes's Leviathan, in which he exposed many errors; 8vo. 1657. Also, On the Nature of a Minister in all his Offices, 4to. 1670; and An Apology for the Church of England in point of Separation from it, 8vo. 1676.—See Ant. Wood, vol. ii. p. 596, Ed. 1721. Also, Watts's Bibliotheca.

In the reign of Elizabeth, a grammar-school was founded at Hampton-Lucy, near Stratford-on-Avon, by a branch of the family, with six scholarships to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, endowed out of the Lucy estates in Warwickshire.

The most memorable circumstance, however, which has made this ancient name familiar in every part of England, is the tradition that Shakspeare absconded from his native town to seek a precarious livelihood, to avoid a prosecution for stealing the venison in Lucy's park.

(2) Quoad pueris adultior jam ætas præceptoris necessitatem exuerat.

(3) In quâ domo uxorem postea duxit.

of the internal evidences afforded by many of Foxe's narratives, that he recorded a great number of the executions from the testimony of eye-witnesses. In the year 1519, seven persons were burnt at Coventry, for teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in their own language. The story is found in its proper place and date in the Acts and Monuments (1519). One of them, named Smythe, a widow, who had been permitted to return home after receiving a reprimand from prior Stafford, was attended by the bishop's sumner. On their way the officer heard the rustling of parchment in the sleeve of her gown, and demanded it from her. It contained the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. The result of the discovery was, his compelling the poor victim to return to the bishop; and she was condemned, and burnt with the six men.[1] Much dissatisfaction was expressed at this cruelty. The bishop, therefore, and his servant caused a report to be circulated, that their victims had not been burnt for the lesser wickedness of possessing and teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments in English; but for the greater crime of eating flesh on Fridays and other fast days. This allegation, says Foxe, could not be proved either before or after; neither was it objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of the history, he adds, are still alive which saw them and knew them. One of them is named Hall, and lives at Bagington, two miles from Coventry. These witnesses, also, testify of them, that they were not only different from the rest of their fellow-citizens in exemplariness of life, but that their devotion at the sacrament was greater than that of others. So indeed it was generally. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was then, what Dr. Wiseman still affirms it to be—the touchstone of that which the bishops and priests of the church of Rome, and of the Anglican church, also, of the preceding age, denominated Christianity. In the Latin editions of his work, Foxe expressed the wish, that the writers of history would record such events as these, as well as the wars, battles, and affairs of courts and kings;[2] and the time will yet arrive, when this wish of John Foxe will be accomplished; and when the histories of the patience of the saints will be more interesting than all the details of battles. The lessons which instruct mankind will be again as certainly taken from the sufferings of the martyrs for christian truth and christian liberty, as the four gospels are more influential among the civilized world than the acts of the Roman senate, of the consuls, or of the Cæsars; or, as the narrative of the crucifixion is more intensely interesting than the combats of Actium and Pharsalia.

(1) Poterat tamen ea, ut ferebat fama, ex illo emergere periculo: nisi schedula forte quædam à ductore per manicata brachii redimicula, quæ orationem Dominicam vernaculo idiomate contineret, perspecta, in odium primùm episcopi et theologorum, deinde in condemnationem eam retraxisset.—Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, &c. &c. autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basileæ, per Nicolaum Brylingerum et Joannem Oporinum. Folio. 1559, p. 117.

(2) Atque utinam ii, qui, in historiis scribendis versati, cæteras res in externa republicæ gestas, bella, tumultus, seditiones domesticas, victorias, regumque facta tam diligenter mandârunt monumentis, parem quoque in his, quæ ad ecclesiæ pertinebant negocia, consignandis diligentiam adhibuissent, quo pleniorem simul et certiorem harum rerum memoriam teneret posteritas.—Rerum in Eccles. Gest. ut sup.

One generation passeth away, and another cometh. The generation of the pagan empire—of the crusades—of the papal empire—of the French revolution—and of other great agitations, which successively occupy all thoughts, and employ all tongues, sometimes for centuries together—all—all pass away. The despised word of God alone endureth—and endureth for ever; and the memorials of the witnesses to its truth shall be spoken of through the whole world, wherever that gospel is preached.

On leaving Charlecote, before he obtained the tutorship of the children of the murdered earl of Surrey, Foxe was again reduced to great distress. He had remained at Coventry with his wife's father, as long as he could do so, with safety. From Coventry he wrote to his step-father, at Boston, to inquire if he could be sheltered there. He received for answer, "That it seemed to his step-father a hard condition to take into his house one whom he knew to be guilty of, and condemned for, a capital offence; neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing: nevertheless, he would show himself a kinsman, and for that cause, neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition, to stay as long as himself desired; but if he could not be persuaded to that, he should content himself with the shorter tarriance, and not bring him and his mother into hazard of their lives and fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his sake."[1]

The condition attached to this offer of protection, was such as John Foxe could not possibly long observe. Yet his necessities were very great; and he visited his mother, who is said to have urged him privately to do so. The time of his continuance at Boston must remain uncertain. From the means however of judging which all circumstances furnish, his stay could only have been short. Finding no hopes of his father-in-law being brought to such terms as would alleviate his wants, without a sacrifice of his principles, every interview would but serve to excite, both in him and his wife, feelings which may be imagined better than described, and which would certainly disincline them to prolong their stay unnecessarily. The imputed crime of heresy; the disgrace of being pointed at in his native town as one who, by apostasy, had defeated the high anticipations of his friends, in being expelled from the society which had voluntarily placed him in the highway to emoluments, patronage, and renown, were all reasons that would cause his continuance in a small town to become more and more irksome, as well as dangerous to his personal safety; while it may be presumed, an affectionate wife would urge every persuasion to secure him from the dangers of the times. Great cities are great solitudes. He would be less ob-

(1) As when a hunted deer, chased with the hounds, takes sanctuary by flying to the rest of the herd, they, out of a principle of self-preservation, drive him away for fear lest the hounds in pursuit of him fall on them; so Foxe's father-in-law was lothe to receive him, and forbade him the protection of his family, lest persecution, in quest of his son, should bring him and his whole household into trouble.—Lansdowne MSS. No. 388.

served, and obtain a livelihood more easily. His life would be more safe from spies and informers. Prudence demanded instant concealment. The usual result of such reasoning followed; and Foxe repaired to London for greater safety, and his daily bread.

Nothing is known of his trials and mode of life, in the interval from his thus leaving the country till his engagement as tutor to the orphans of the earl of Surrey. He always forebore, says his son, to speak of that part of his story, "lest where he had deserved so much he might by extolling a small courtesy, seem rather to upbraid the slenderness of the requital than to shew himself thankful concerning it." The expression is unintelligible to us. It may possibly refer to the ungracious treatment he received from his father-in-law.

From considering all the circumstances, we may reasonably conclude, that, a short time, probably a few months only, prior to the death of the king, Foxe was seeking employment in London. Events both abroad and at home—the jealousy of Charles V. as to the progress of church affairs, and the supremacy of the king—the more decided, yet smothered hostility of France—the disturbed state of Scotland, all tended to afford some respite from the rage of persecution towards the close of Henry's reign. The declining health of the king permitted the influence of the Queen and Cranmer to be more freely exercised. These favourable moments allowed Foxe to appear in places of public resort; and his biographer, from this time, pursues his narrative with somewhat less interruption, after relating the following interesting incident.

"As Master Foxe one day sate in St. Paul's church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before, who, sitting down by him, and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were which oppressed him, but supposed it was no light calamity; that he should, therefore, accept in good part that small gift from his countryman which common courtesy had forced him to offer; that he should go and take care of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; adding, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood." Foxe could never learn to whom he was indebted for this seasonable bounty, though he used every endeavour to find out the person. "Some who looked further into the event by which that prophecy became fulfilled, believed that the friend who performed the kindness came not of his own accord, but was employed by others who were deeply concerned for Mr. Foxe's safety; and that it might possibly be through the negligence of the servant, or person commissioned, that he had endured so much misery before the means of relief were afforded him. Certain it is, however, that within three days after the transaction, the presage was made good. Some one waited upon him from the duchess of

Richmond, who invited him, upon fair terms," says the writer, "into her service. It had so fallen out, not long before, that the duke of Norfolk, the most renowned general of his time, together with his son, the earl of Surrey, a man as far as may be imagined, of sincere meaning and sharp understanding, were committed to custody in the Tower of London, for what crime is uncertain. While they were in prison, the earl's children were sent to the aforesaid duchess, their aunt, to be brought up, and educated. Thomas,[1] who succeeded in the dukedom; Henry,[2] afterwards earl of Northampton; and Jane,[3] wife of Charles, the last Neville, earl of Westmoreland, afterwards countess of Westmoreland."

These events fix the time of Foxe's residence in London. The dukedom of Norfolk had been conferred by Richard III., in the beginning of his reign, upon John, lord Howard,[4] as a reward for the assistance he had rendered to the king in obtaining the throne. At the same time, A.D. 1483, his son, sir Thomas Howard, was created earl of Surrey. The duke was killed at the battle of Bosworth. His son would have succeeded to the honours and title, but Henry VII. proceeded against the deceased duke to procure from parliament a bill of attainder, and to deprive his family of the title, to avenge the part he had taken in favour of Richard. The earl of Surrey, although he conformed to the terms of the proclamation, offering pardon to those who submitted before a specified time, was imprisoned in 1485, for three years. He was then restored to his title of earl; but not to the title of his father. Himself and his son,[5] however, were promoted to situations of the highest trust and authority by Henry VII.[6] From this time, till Henry VIII. restored the title in 1514, it was in abeyance. It was then granted to the earl of Surrey for his victory at Flodden Field. This earl died in 1524, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, the grandfather of the children to whom Foxe was appointed tutor, and the third duke of Norfolk. He, together with his son, the earl of Surrey, was imprisoned upon suspicion of treason, December 12th, 1546.[7] The cause of their apprehension seems very obscure. The most probable solution is—that Henry, knowing

(1) Born March 10, 1536. (2) Born February 25, 1539. (3) Born 1537-8.

(4) The name of the first duke of Norfolk is given by Hume as Thomas; but this appears to be an error. Dr. Nott, in his Memoirs of the Earl of Surrey, states, "that on the accession of Richard III. sir John Howard was created the first duke of Norfolk, of the name of Howard, his son Thomas being at the same time, June, 1483, made earl of Surrey." This is corroborated by the "Memorials of the Howard Family." Baker's Chronicle, p. 325. London, 1653. The title had been in the Mowbray family. Margaret, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, married sir Robert Howard, whose son John, born about 1420, was raised to the dukedom of Norfolk in 1483. The above Thomas Mowbray was the last duke of Norfolk of that name. I subjoin a specimen of the correspondence of the duchess of Norfolk to the earl of Essex:—

"My ffary gode lord her I sand you in tokyn hoff the new eyer a glasse of setyl set in sellfer gyld I pra you take hit wort and hy wer habel het showlde be bater I woll hit war wort a M. crone."

Which, in modern English spelling, runs thus:—"My very good lord, here I send you, in token of the new year, a glass of setyl set in silver gilt. I pray you take it worthy, and I were able it should be better. I would it were worth a thousand crowns." This lady was daughter of the great duke of Buckingham, and mother of lord Surrey, one of the most accomplished persons of her time; the friend of scholars, and the patroness of literature.

(5) Lord Thomas Howard.—Nott's Life of Lord Surrey, Preface, p. xiii. (6) Ibid. p. 5.

(7) Rapin and Tindale, vol. i. p. 847. Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 624. Sharon Turner's History of England, vol. ii. p. 515. Nott's Surrey, p. 9. Hume says they were committed December 12, 1547; and Tytler, in his Henry VIII. p. 457, also, says 1547. This is evidently a careless error, as the latter (p. 461) mentions proceedings as having taken place January 27th following; and Hume, vol. v. notices the assembling of parliament on January 14th, after the arrest of Norfolk and Surrey. All historians agree that Henry VIII. died January 28, 1547; before which event Surrey had been beheaded on the 19th of January; and at the time of the king's death the duke of Norfolk was left in prison.

the hatred of the Romanists to the changes already effected, and more particularly, Norfolk's dislike to his favourite Cranmer;[1] fearing, too, lest his son should be embroiled with the Romanists, of whom the duke was one of the chief; believing too that, though the duke was the opponent of the bishop of Rome, he was no less hostile to his own measures—willingly believed the representations of those who were enemies of Norfolk. He considered him as a personal rival, because his son had quartered the arms of the Confessor with his own. The earl was unjustly executed, and the title again forfeited. The duke remained in prison through the whole reign of Edward, and was liberated only on the accession of Mary. The attainder, though it had passed the parliament, was declared null and void; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except his wearing the coat of arms which his illustrious ancestors had used from time immemorial. All this detail, even of this noble family, would be uninteresting, and out of place, if it did not illustrate the personal history of the poor scholar, whose influence upon his countrymen has been greater than the noblest branch, either of the noble house of Howard, or of any other of our magnificent aristocracy. The duke enjoyed his restoration but a short time. He died the following year, and was succeeded by the pupil of John Foxe, his grandson, who was executed, in the year 1572, for his attempt to form an alliance with the unworthy, though beautiful, queen of Scots, the head of the Romanist party.

I subjoin some curious information respecting the father of Foxe's pupils.[2]

The earl of Surrey was summoned April 1st, 1543, before the council, some time before his imprisonment in the Tower, to answer two charges. To the one, that of eating flesh in Lent, he replied by alleging a license; but confessed that he had not observed the secresy he ought to have done. To the other, namely, having walked at night in an unseemly and disorderly manner through the streets of London, breaking windows with a cross-bow, he pleaded guilty; but besought the council not to attribute it to a light and disorderly turn of mind, such as would disgrace him at his years, and be unworthy of his rank and station in life. "My motive," he said, "was a religious one; though I confess it lies open to misconstruction. It grieved me, my lords, to see the licentious manners of the citizens of London. They resembled the manners of papal Rome in her corruptest state; and not those of a christian communion. Was I to suffer these unhappy men to perish without warning? That—common charity forbade. The remonstrances of their spiritual pastors had been urged, I knew, in vain. I, therefore, went at midnight through the streets, and shot from my crossbow at their windows, that the stones passing noiseless through the air, and breaking in suddenly upon their

(1) This opinion would be strengthened, as the duke of Norfolk was one of the enemies of Cranmer.—Burnett's Reformation, vol. i. p. 531.

(2) His name has been rendered familiar to us by Dr. Nott's publication of his Life; and by the beautiful lines of Sir Walter Scott, in his "Lay of the Last Minstrel."

guilty secresy, might remind them of the suddenness of that punishment which the Scriptures tell us divine justice will inflict on impenitent sinners; and so lead them to a reformation of manners."

The above circumstance gave rise to a poem, entitled "A Satire against the Citizens of London," in which he writes the same opinions as those put forward in the above defence. After noticing the dissoluteness of their manners, he proceeds—

In secret silence of the night,
This made me, with a reckless breast,
To wake the sluggards with my bow;
A figure of the Lord's behest,
Whose scourge for sin the Scriptures show.
That as the fearful thunder-clap
By sudden flame at hand we know;
Of pebble stones the soundless rap,
The dreadful plague might make thee see,
Of God's wrath, that doth thee enwrap.

Then, describing the manner of their lives and conversation, he says,

O, member of false Babylon!
Thy dreadful doom draws fast thee on!

From the application of the word Babylon, which he here uses in reference, it is thought, to the erroneous doctrines held in London, but proceeding from Rome, he is judged to have been favourable to the changes in religion, which were now in progress.

The hatred of Henry to the earl of Surrey was imputed by the earl to the displeasure arising from his unsuccessful expedition against Boulogne. This might possibly be the commencement of the king's anger; but the most likely reason was, the hatred, ambition, and jealousy of the earl of Hertford, who had obtained great influence with the king, and was fearful of the power of the Howards. This feeling was probably exasperated by the refusal of Surrey to sanction the marriage of his sister, the duchess of Richmond, with sir Thomas Seymour, Hertford's brother;[1] especially as the alliance had been sought by her father. When Surrey was removed from the command at Boulogne, he was succeeded by Hertford; and the haughty earl could not brook the refusal of Surrey to solicit an appointment under him. Surrey, upon finding that another (lord Gray) was sent, expressed himself in unguarded and hasty language, which was reported to Hertford; and by him carried, in their worse construction, to the king. The misrepresentation and jealousy of Hertford were, no doubt, the principal cause of Surrey's downfal and death.

The other two reasons, viz. of aspiring to the hand of the princess Mary,[2] and wearing the arms of Edward the Confessor, must be void

(1) This may, perhaps, have been the real cause why the duchess appeared as the accuser of her brother.—"Memorials of the Howard Family." Oldmixon, p. 147. Tytler's "Henry the Eighth," p. 458.

Herbert, "Henry the Eighth," says, "The duchess said that her brother also urged her to marry Sir Thomas, wishing her to endear herself so into the king's favour, that she might the better bear rule, as others had done." This does not appear at all compatible with Surrey's character.

(2) Burnett's "History of the Reformation," pp. 533, 534: London, 1820. Oldmixon, p. 147.

of foundation. Surrey was then, and had been for eleven years, married. His wife was living; and the tenor of his life, and his high principles, gave no reason for the suspicion of disloyalty. As to his quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor with his own, he proved that he had the authority of the heralds for so doing. He alleged that his ancestors had constantly worn them, as well within the kingdom as without; and that they had been as constantly borne by himself, in Henry's presence, and by others of his family in the presence of the several kings, Henry's predecessors. This he was authorised to do by the patent of Richard II.; and in the twentieth year of his reign, A.D. 1397, given to Thomas Mowbray and his descendants. Notwithstanding all these proofs of innocence, he was found guilty.

As the engagement of Foxe to be tutor to the sons of the earl of Surrey took place at the end of the reign of Henry VIII.; and as he seems to have been in the deepest distress immediately prior to that time, we are compelled to infer that the "golden days of felicity," in the last year of the reign of Henry, mentioned by Foxe's son, must have been of very short duration. However this may have been, we must believe that the duchess of Richmond placed the greatest dependance upon the learning and talents, and approved also of the principles of Foxe, as the rejecter of the papal creed. The duchess of Richmond was known to have been a favourer of the reformation. Yet much difficulty exists in the whole story of the causes of the appointment of Foxe to the office of tutor to the sons of the earl of Surrey. If the children were made wards in chancery, why did not the chancellor, Wriothesley, appoint a tutor of the severest orthodoxy, as he understood the meaning of that ill-used word? If they were not, why did the countess of Surrey give up the care of her own children? Why was the duchess of Richmond not only appointed their guardian, but permitted, without remonstrance, to select the future martyrologist as their director? To these questions no satisfactory reply can be given. Their father had been executed for alleged treason, nine days only before the death of the king. Foxe was probably appointed, therefore, immediately on the accession of Edward. This event was the commencement of a general change in the national councils. As the duke, their grandfather, was attainted for treason, and in close imprisonment, the children are believed to have been left at the disposal of the government. The plea of loyalty set up in favour of the duchess of Richmond, can scarcely be defended. The most probable reason of their being placed under her care, as wards of the state, would seem to be, that as the reformation principles were gaining ground, the rulers of the nation might think it would be desirable to instil into the mind of the heir to the dukedom, and the representative of one of the most powerful families in England, the tenets of the reformation; and they resolved, therefore, upon entrusting the superintendence of their education to their aunt, who was known to be of the reformed religion.

This opinion is corroborated both by Nott, and the "Howard Memorials." The children were entrusted to their aunt's care, with an allowance of 100*l.* a-year for their maintenance. These authorities merely observe that the countess being out of favour at court, did not think it prudent to put in a claim to the guardianship of her children; and we do not hear of any proofs of the countess[1] objecting to their being entrusted to their aunt, or of her having expressed any scruple of the duchess treating them with affection, though her conduct to their father had been so reverse to that of sisterly regard. Admitting the tuition of his three noble pupils to be commenced by Foxe in the first year of Edward VI., Thomas, who succeeded to the dukedom, would then be in the eleventh year of his age; Jane, who, by her marriage became countess of Westmoreland, would be in her tenth year; and Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton, would be in his eighth. It is ascertained that the tutor continued his instructions till he left the family to escape from the perils of Mary's reign, which did not begin to appear till more than twelve months after her accession, so that the benefit of his tuition may be fairly calculated to have been constant for about six years; and as some test of the efficiency of his labours, it is affirmed, that the lady Jane, countess of Westmoreland, was one of the most learned ladies of a learned age, when knowledge was deemed essential to the female character. She made great progress both in Greek and Latin. Her preceptor, Foxe, indeed, says of her, "That she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that time, for the praise of elegancy in both." The two sons, also, "grew to that height of proficiency in polite literature, that building in their riper years upon this foundation, the elder, Thomas, seemed to deserve more than the kingdom could bestow upon him; and the younger, Henry, came to such affluence, that he was able to measure his fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own wishes." That Foxe gained, at the same time, the affection of his pupils is sufficiently proved by their subsequent solicitude for his safety, by their attentions, and their bounty. There can be no doubt that their decided anti-Roman tutor would assiduously labour to impress the principles of the reformation on their minds. The permanent success of his instructions on the eldest may be said to have appeared in his exemplary character, in the attachment of the people to his person, and in his dying declarations on the scaffold. Though he was found guilty of aspiring to the hand of the queen of Scots, he never wavered in his attachment to the principles in which John Foxe had instructed him. "I have not been popishly inclined," said this illustrious man on the scaffold, "ever since I had any taste of religion; but was always averse to the popish doctrine, and embraced the true religion

(1) The countess of Surrey afterwards married Thomas Steyning, Esq. of Woodford, Suffolk. She had a daughter by this marriage, named Maria, married to Charles Seckford, Esq. of Woodford. The countess died in June 1577, at Soham Earl, and was interred at Framlingham, where her second son, Henry, Earl of Northampton, erected a monument to her and his father. The register of Soham Earl, contains the following: "Anno Dmi. 1577. Item, the Ladye Francis Countys of Surrye dyed the last of June, in the year aforesaid, and was buryed at Framlyngham."

of Jesus Christ, and put my whole trust in the blood of Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Saviour. Yet, I must own, that some of my servants and acquaintance were addicted to the Romish religion. If, in this, I have offended either God, the church, or the protestants, I pray God and them to forgive me." Then, after reading a psalm or two, he said, with a loud voice, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." After this he embraced sir Henry Leigh, and whispered something to him, and to dean Nowel; who turning to the people, said, "The duke desires you would all of you pray to God to have mercy on him; and withal keep silence, that his mind may not be disturbed." The executioner asked him forgiveness, and had it granted. One offering him a handkerchief to cover his eyes, he refused it, saying, "I am not in the least afraid of death." Then falling on his knees, he lay prostrate with his mind fixed upon God; and dean Nowel prayed with him. Presently after, he stretched his neck upon the block, and his head was immediately cut off at one blow, and showed by the executioner as a doleful sight for the sorrowful and weeping multitude.

Camden gives this further account of him. "It is incredible how dearly the people loved him; whose goodwill he had maintained by a munificence, and extraordinary affability suitable to so great a prince."[1]

The same adherence to the principles of Foxe distinguished the brother and sister;[2] though all were removed from his charge at the accession of Mary, when the duke of Norfolk, their grandfather, was liberated from the tower. They were then respectively seventeen, sixteen, and fourteen years of age, and were placed under the care of White, bishop of Lincoln. A letter of the earl of Arundel, dated 1620, informs us that both Thomas and Henry were made pages to the bishop, according to the usual custom of so training the patrician youth. The instructions of Foxe, however, were not obliterated, as might have been hoped and intended by this arrangement. The duke, as we have seen, continued stedfast in his attachment to the primitive faith, as it was again taught by the reformers. His sister, the countess of Westmoreland, embraced the same principles through life. The same stedfast adherence has, it is true, been considered somewhat less certain with regard to lord Henry, the earl of Northampton. From an expression which he is alleged to have used in his latter moments—"that he died in the religion in which he was born"—it has been supposed by some that he was unfriendly to protestantism. But he was born at the time when the papal supremacy was overthrown, and when the Bible was given to the people; and there is nothing to make it improbable that his expression applied to the state of religion, at the commencement of the great changes, rather than to the old superstitions.

Foxe remained at Reigate with his pupils throughout the whole reign

(1) Camden, pp. 440, 441, 448, who states that he was present, and heard all, and saw all, that he here alleges. Apud Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. Part I. p. 131.

(2) There were two other daughters, whom Foxe's son has not mentioned: Catharine, who was married to Henry Lord Berkely, and Margaret, to Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton. They probably continued under the care of their mother.

of Edward. I am unable, therefore, from comparing the dates, to believe that Anthony Wood has reported accurately respecting the restoration of Foxe to his fellowship. His name is not found in the president's book from the date of his expulsion to the accession of Elizabeth. The time that elapsed between his expulsion and marriage could not have exceeded twelve months; and that was spent in, at least, three several places—the greater portion at sir Thomas Lucy's; some time with his wife's father; and some time, also, with his mother and step-father. His marriage, too, would have presented a complete bar to his being replaced in his fellowship. As he continued at Reigate, also, till the accession of Mary, soon after which he fled to the continent, we are compelled to believe that, in this instance, Wood was mistaken, and that Foxe was never restored to his fellowship at Magdalen.

During his residence at Reigate, three years after he had accepted the appointment of tutor to the grandchildren of the duke of Norfolk, Foxe was ordained deacon by Ridley, bishop of London. The inaccurate manner in which his life has hitherto been written, and the exceeding difficulty of procuring the requisite details which can possibly render his biography interesting to the general reader, appears from the singular fact, that the date of his ordination is not noticed even by his son; neither is the circumstance of his ordination mentioned by Anthony Wood; though the latter informs us that "he was the first man, as 'tis said, that ever preached the Gospel in that place, when the Roman Catholic religion was in great strength." The christianity hitherto taught at Reigate, had been that compound of ancient truth, and accumulated novelties added to it, which we call popery. Foxe, no doubt, taught the people that the novelties of the last few hundred years, which had preceded him, were not primitive christianity; and he thus taught the principles of the Reformation. He was first to teach this truth at Reigate, though he was not the incumbent there. This appears from the testimony of Richard Daye, in his Epistle Dedicatory of one of Foxe's Works, to William, lord Howard of Effingham. Daye was the first protestant incumbent of Reigate, the son of the printer of Foxe's works. He speaks of Foxe as the first preacher, but not as the first protestant incumbent of Reigate. He affirms that he preached the Gospel there, and was instrumental in removing the popish idolatries of the place. By preaching the Gospel, he meant, that he laid before the people the doctrine of justification by faith, as the foundation of that love of God which leads to holiness and to virtue—the only preaching which ever did, does, or can benefit the spirit of man. By idolatries, he meant, not merely the worship of images, and the adoration of saints and the Virgin, but any substitution of external observance for the inward spirituality of which those external observances are, at once, the emblem, the assistant, and the means.

The brief information of Daye deserves more attention than it might

otherwise have received, on account of the great regard he manifested for the writings of Foxe; and his respect for him as his predecessor. He translated the work of Foxe entitled "Christ Triumphant," and dedicated it to their common patron, the earl of Effingham. Whether Foxe taught the people of Reigate, either with or without a license, before his ordination, is uncertain. His extensive knowledge of antiquity must have convinced him that he was required to exercise the office of preacher, only, with authority. It is possible, however, that he might have preached at Reigate before his ordination, from the conviction of the absolute necessity of endeavouring to check the immorality and irreligion of the place, as well as to recal the people from their gross idolatry;[1] and that he found it difficult at first to obtain episcopal ordination in consequence of his principles. Some of his biographers believe that he had been already ordained deacon, which, however, did not take place till 1550. Others think that he had obtained a license to preach prior to ordination: but much obscurity rests upon these circumstances of his life. Gardiner, the bishop of the diocese, would scarcely have granted a license to preach; or have conferred orders upon a heretical reformer, knowing his opinions. Gardiner, however, had been committed a prisoner to the Fleet in 1547, for non-obedience to the newly-appointed ecclesiastical visitors; and the year following, in June, he was sent to the Tower, for his sermon at St. Paul's Cross on St. Peter's-day.[2] He was kept a prisoner there till the beginning of the reign of Mary; and in February, 1550, because he would not conform, he was deprived of his bishopric. We have no means of knowing whether Foxe had a license or not from Gardiner before his deprivation. If, therefore, Foxe preached at Reigate during the earlier part of king Edward's reign, his labours would have been those of a residing missionary, rather than of a canonically-appointed minister, until his ordination by bishop Ridley. Neither, indeed, if he had laboured for a time without ordination, ought we to be surprised. It is certain, that no man unordained, however gifted, should presume to take upon himself the office of preacher. Yet not only had John Calvin, fifteen years before, A. D. 1535, published his celebrated "Institutes," and taught the reformers, most unfortunately for the true catholic church of Christ, that other systems of discipline than those which had been sanctioned by the universal church, before the papal policy had superseded the supremacy of primitive episcopacy, might be rightly adopted; but many, very many, who had rejected the doctrines of the church of Rome, had proceeded to the opposite extreme, and embraced the opinions of Zwinglius, and of Calvin, in their contempt of antiquity, and the dispensableness of episcopal ordination.[3] Whittingham, who was made dean

(1) "Exceedingly did his free and voluntary labours fructify among them, for many were there converted from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; witness thereof the old superstitious and idolatrous Lady of Ouldsworth, an image or idol-saint, who was worshipped at Reigate, in place of God, for her miraculous power of saving health," &c.—Daye's Preface.

(2) Godwin, de Præsulibus, p. 236.

(3) See Heylyn's Ecclesia Restaurata, pt. ii. p. 59, Ed. 1570, who affirms that Whittingham, Williams, and Goodman were Zwinglians: and Bossuet boasts of the fact, that Zwinglianism triumphed at Oxford in the time of Edward VI.—Variations, book viii. c. 9.

of Durham on the accession of Elizabeth, received only presbyterian, or non-episcopal ordination. Foxe might, also, in the plenitude of his knowledge of antiquity, have remembered that the church at Alexandria had permitted Origen to instruct the catechumens in the schools before he was ordained; that there was a succession of unordained doctors at that place; and that it was not unusual in the ancient churches, that the bishops should invite the well-qualified, though unordained, sometimes to speak to the people, in imitation of the Jewish custom, of requesting well-educated and well-known persons to speak in the synagogues.[1] The Anglican church, too, was now in a state of the utmost confusion. The bishops were divided. They were doubtful of the extent and nature of their own power. The authority of the pope, as the visible head of the church, had been overthrown. The authority of the king had been substituted in its place. Henry VIII., who had opposed and borne down the temporal authority of Rome, was dead. A young and inexperienced king was on the throne; and Cranmer himself believed that the exercise of his own episcopal authority had ended with the late king's life. He refused, therefore, to act as archbishop till he had received a new commission from Edward. Bonner, also, had previously taken out a commission for his bishopric from Henry VIII., as Cranmer had done.[2] The contending claims of the civil power, of the papal power, and of the national will, which desired repose, and yet sought after some great change, bewildered even the rulers of the church. "The gospellers," says Collier,[3] "as they were then called, presuming on the countenance of the court, overran the motions of the state, and ventured to reform without public authority." It is not improbable, therefore, that Foxe, as even a license might have been refused, preached for two years or more without any permission from his ecclesiastical superiors, believing himself to be justified by the necessity of publishing the truth, even without authority. His subsequent conduct on the Continent, proves to us, in some measure, that he regarded what he believed to be the claims of the congregation for greater edification, to be of superior obligation to a rigid adherence to the written laws and customs of the church. He might have believed undisciplined Truth to be preferable, before God and man, to well-disciplined error; and that the superstitions, and dark idolatries which prevailed in Reigate, justified the attempt to remove them without delay. However this may be, he was ordained deacon June 23d, 1550,[4] and continued at Reigate till the accession of Mary. He was ordained thirteen months after the first Service Book of king Edward, which was

(1) Bingham, book xiv. c. 4. sec. 4.
(2) Burnet's Reformation, Collection of Records to Book I. pt. ii. No. 2. Leslie's Care of the Regale and Pontificate, pp. 39, 41.
(3) Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 222.
(4) This date is according to the Book of Ordination of 1550, now in St. Paul's. "Deacon, June 23d, 1550. (Foxus) Master John Foxe, Master of Arts, residing in the House of the Duke of Norfolk, born at Boston, in the Diocese of Lincoln, by Letters Commendatory in that behalf (in eal. parte) laudably bestowed." Copy from Ordination Book.
"1550, 25 Junii, Mag. Joh. Fox, A.M. moram trahens cum Domina Ducissa Suffolc. oriundus apud Boston, Linc. Disc. ordinatus Diaconus per Nichum. Lond. Epum. Reg. Ridley."—Lansdowne MSS. 982, p. 103.

substantially the same with that which now blesses the people of England, was completed for general use. We shall find many things to lament hereafter in the estimate which Foxe formed of the English Service Book. We can only hope that he conformed, with the joy and approbation which it deserved, to the complete Liturgy. The Roman forms of worship had now generally ceased. The Anglican Liturgy was partly deduced from those forms, wherever they were sanctioned by usefulness or wise antiquity. It was prepared with the same sound judgment which characterized all those measures wherein Cranmer had taken the lead. It was compiled from the different Romish offices used in this kingdom. Whatever was unexceptionable was retained; all that savoured of superstition was discarded. The prayers to the saints were expunged, with all their lying legends; and the people were provided with a christian ritual in their own tongue. And so judiciously was this done, that while nothing which could offend the feelings of a reasonable protestant, excepting the lessons from the Apocrypha, was left, nothing was inserted which should prevent the most conscientious Romanist from joining in the service.[1]

Discontents had prevailed in many parts of the country, arising from the opposition of the tenants to the treatment experienced from their new landlords; and the introduction of the reformed Liturgy was made the pretext for commencing an insurrection, first in Devonshire, about Midsummer, 1549. Fifteen articles were sent to the king as demands, without a single grievance being stated; and among the requests, was the extraordinary desire urged by the insurgents, that the six bloody articles of the late reign, which had been repealed, should be again put in force. To this strange request the following curious reply was made in the name of his majesty:—"Know ye what ye require? Or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented. Too bloody they were to be borne by our people; yet, at the first, indeed, made of some necessity. O subjects, how are ye trapped by evil persons! We, of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now, of ignorance, will ask them again! Since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how are ye blinded to ask them in blood!"[2]

During these commotions, rumours were prevalent that the Six Articles were to be renewed; and Foxe, using the liberty of an Englishman, as

(1) Southey's Book of the Church, p. 301, Edit. 1837.

(2) Southey, pp. 311, 312; Carte, vol. iii. p. 234; Mackintosh, vol. ii. p. 259; Turner's Mod. Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 251. Also Tytler, Walter, Burnet, and others. "The Six Articles, and the statutes that made words treason, and other such severe laws, ye seem to require again; the which all our whole parliament, almost on their knees, required us to abolish and put away; and, when we condescended thereto, with a whole voice gave us most humble thanks, for they thought before that no man was sure of his life, lands, or goods. And would you have these laws again? Will you that we shall resume the *scourge* again, and *hard snaffle* for your mouths? If all the realm consent, and ye require to have our sword again awake, and more nearer your heads, ye may soon have it by us and by parliament restored to his old power. But, we fear us, they that most desire it will soonest and sorest repent it. When we are content to rule like a father, with all mercy and clemency, ye do call for the bridle and whip. Ah! our loving subjects, who be they that put this into your heads? Do ye know what ye demand, and what the end will be of that request?"—Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, vol. i. pp. 180, 181. This is a different answer from that given in the text, which may also be correct; as Tytler says, (p. 182,) there are in the State Paper Office three contemporary *drafts* of this answer.

well as displaying the judgment of a politician and the spirit of a patriot, addressed the parliament as an individual against such re-enactment. In this address, he says, that "not only a rumour, but a most positive assertion had gone abroad, that those sanguinary laws, known by the title of the Six Articles, once laid to sleep, are about to be, as it were, recalled from Hades to earth." "If this be true," continues the bold and judicious remonstrance, "I know not how plausible it may be made by you, and how acceptable it may be to others, but I well know how deadly and ominous it will prove to the kingdom at large." He then proceeds to argue strongly and eloquently on the subject, and to deprecate the renewal of the act, bringing to mind the dread it has already excited, and the horrors it will produce. This spirited and admirable document was written at Reigate.[1]

Foxe thus continued at Reigate, attending to his pupils, instructing the people, and devoting himself to the most severe and indefatigable labour—to his books and pen—an useful, happy, contented student. He now began to be known as an author. His first work was written

(1) "Frequens hic per omnium ora ac aures jactatur non suspicio modo, sed constans certissimaque prædicatio, id vos, summi sanctissimique patres, moliri, ut sanguinariæ leges illæ *Sex Articulorum* titulo inscriptæ, quondam benè sopitæ, nunc demum, velut ex orco, revocentur ad superos. Quod si verum sit, quàm vobis plausibile, ac quibusdam sit gratum, ignoro; certè, quàm reip. funestum ac ominosum sit futurum, satis jam pridem declarat publicus mœror, tristissima rerum ferè humanarum ac luctuosa facies, optimi cujusque gemitus; nec tacita solum suspiria, sed ubertim ex doloris acerbitate prorumpentes lachrymæ, quotidiana bonorum fuga, totius denique reip. (si tamen resp. aliqua sit) squalor: ut interim taceam conscientiarum occulta judicia ac vulnera, in omnibus ferè horror, in nonnullis etiam funera, ac mortes ex rerum perturbatione contractæ. Quæ si calamitates (tot tantæque quidem illæ, quantas vix in ulla unquam rep. conspeximus) ex conceptâ rerum imagine atque recordatione duntaxat ipsâ, cives adeo perstringunt vestros, quid vos futurum tandem existimatis, suspiciendi domini, exhibitis jam rebus ipsis, ubi in exhibendis tanta sit trepidatio; ubi intolerabilis ipse legum rigor, et acutissima acies cervicibus jam incumbit civium; ubi tot millia hominum non vitæ libertatem, quam jam amiserunt, sed vitam ipsam cogentur deserere? Nec jam vita, sed et conscientia etiam erepta hominibus;—nec Deo quidem supplicare licebit pro arbitratu suo, sed ad libidinem paucorum.

"Quæ quum ita sint, vel deteriora etiam, quàm a me referri queant, considerabit prudentia vestra, quæ documentis nostris non eget, sed pro communi salute rerum, consilia vestra potissimum flectenda sunt. Hæc etiam jam ipsa aguntur tempora, quibus vobis jam in manu situm est, felices nos velitis, ac perditos? Si tam vilem habeatis civium vestrorum sanguinem;—si nihil vos moveant tot hominum gemitus, querelæ, lacrymæ, bonorum miseriæ;—si parum sit vobis una ab iisdem legibus accepta clades;—age denuò! revocetur Trojanus equus in urbem, quo soli, vel cum paucis, regnum hoc possideatis! Sin vero ulla subit animos vestros reip. charitas;—si quod patriæ studium maneat;—siquid denique reip. siquid ecclesiæ christianæ (quam advolutam genubus vestris existimetis) flebilis querela valeat;—efficite modo, pii proceres, pro summa pietate, ut pluris sit apud vos salutis publica conservatio, quàm privata quorundam solicitatio; nec quid possit pro imperio authoritas, sed quid æquitas potiùs civibus debeat vestra, velitis considerare.

"Nihil enim in omni officiorum genere fieri æquus arbitror, quàm ut quorum vos patria patres conscripsit ipsa, eos in filiorum loco ascitos tueamini; quique suam ad vos omnem reverentiam, ac dignitatis authoritatem transferunt, iidem a vobis salutis ac tranquillitatis vicissim accipiant suæ incolumitatem. Quod si communis patriæ respectus vos minus attingat, at quod vobis ipsis dignum, quod generosa ac heroica sanguinis vestri nobilitas tacito quodam sensu vobis suggerat, attendite. Nam quum inter humanos omnes affectus, nil sit tam hominis proprium, quàm clementia, quâ divinæ naturæ imaginem maximè referre vel infimi etiam videntur homines; quid tum a vobis expectari convenit, illustrissimi heroës, qui quo sublimiorem honoris in his terris gradum sortiti estis, hoc expressius supremo huic imaginis divinæ archetypo respondere omnibus modis decet?

"Porrò, habetis ad hoc reginam, ut nobilissimam, ita ad sana et salubria quaque obsequacem principem. Habetis et cancellarium, ut doctrinâ præstabilem, ita naturâ non improbum si quorum absint consilia. Verùm ut inter animantium genera, quædam noxia, alia ad hominis usum, creata existunt: rursus sunt, quæ in hoc tantum dicas nata, ut reliquis molestiam ac perniciem moliantur: sic, in humanis rebus, nulla resp. nec vitæ genus est, quod suas non habet vomicas, et κακοβούλους. Atque hi sunt potissimum, qui religione præposteri, naturæ sævi, alteri ecclesiæ, alteri reip. exitiales existunt. Quibus cum benè esse non possit, nisi perturbatis rebus, turbam, quantum queant, intendunt ad sævitiam. Mitissimos principum animos, hoc est, reip. fontes, vitiant; consilia instillant, non quæ honesto, sed quæ ventri suo, ac quæstui serviant: simile quiddam exercentes in humanis rebus, quale Ate tribuit Homerica narratio. Deinde quum tutius lædunt sub umbra nobilitatis, ac . . . . . se occultant, quo si quid adveniat adversi, illos postremo feriat: si quid boni sit, ipsi primi sint ad carpendam messem. Et quoniam juxta imperitorum legem, nihil his recte fieri videtur, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, ad arbitratum suum universam religionem, cum ipsa Scriptura, corrigendam putant. Quicquid ipsis non placet hæreticum est. Nil sibi placere potest, quod non illico alba amussis sit quantum libet a scopo alienum."—Strype, in his Memoirs of Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 937—939, I subjoin it here, that the reader may appreciate the latinity and eloquence of Foxe.

1548, while he was at Reigate, before his ordination.[1] It appears to have been originally written as an effort to obtain temporary relief, and probably to making himself known among the London publishers, from whom he sought employment on his arrival in town after leaving Warwickshire. His penury being, however, relieved by the less precarious occupation of an eligible tutorship, the work was not published till the second year after the duchess of Richmond had taken him into her service. We may infer the great care which he bestowed on this work from its correct diction, and the masterly treatment of its subject. It is preceded by an affectionate and able dedication, commencing thus;—"Generoso viro Thomæ Pictono. J. Foxus salutem et pacem in Christo." It is a duodecimo. The letter is a large and open Roman character, and the impression is on the whole uniform and good. It does not appear that the work ever reached a second edition; nor is it a subject likely to excite popularity. Though it is not equally noble, in either style or matter, to some of his other performances, the reader will find himself taken by surprise by brilliant flashes of originality and genius. Neither must he expect to find every proposition perfectly unobjectionable, and every point treated so as to accord precisely with present opinions. Even had the mind become so far advanced, the press had not then arrived at such a state of freedom as to permit the circulation of intellectual inquiries without restriction and without danger.

He next published, while at Reigate, a treatise, "De Censurâ, sive Excommunicatione Ecclesiasticâ, Interpellatio ad Archiepiscopum Cantuar." Londini, 8vo. 1551; then "Christus Triumphans, Comœdia Apocalyptica," 8vo. Basil, 1551; and "Tables of Grammar," 1552.

During his residence at Reigate, too, he must have begun his collections for the first portions of his "Ecclesiastical History." We may infer this by comparing the date of the publication of the first edition of his "Acts and Monuments of the Church," with the time of his leaving England. Edward VI. died, and Mary succeeded to the throne July 6th, 1553. Gardiner was released from the Tower, and made chancellor about the 20th of October following, when the laws of Edward concerning religion were repealed, after six days' debate in the House of Commons. The prisons of England began to be filled with victims. Judge Hales directed his brethren to proceed according to the laws of England. Gardiner began to send forth his spies in every direction. Foxe, who had not only taken advantage of the bishop's imprisonment and deprivation in the affair of his ordination, but, during the whole time he had dwelt in his diocese, had been industriously teaching the people that the superstitions and image devotions, which Gardiner still professed, were contradictory to Scripture, could not hope to escape condign punishment if he remained in Reigate. The old duke of Norfolk

(1) It contains about forty pages, without any number to them. Its title is, "De Non Plectendis Morte Adulteris Consultatio, Joannis Foxi." Impressum Londini per Hugonem Syngletonum, sub intersignio D. Augustini. Anno Domini. M. D. 1548. Some account of it will be given in the Appendix.

died in September, 1554. The young duke, when Foxe spoke of his apprehensions, and proposed to escape abroad, was unwilling at first to consent, and kindly offered to afford him his utmost protection, and share his fate. He left England after the death of the old duke in 1554, and arrived in Basil in 1555.[1] The first part of his great work was published at Strasburg, after he left Frankfort, and before he arrived at Basil. These circumstances enable us to ascertain that the materials must have been collected, and the MS. prepared, during his residence in Reigate. It exhibits no signs of having been hastily written, as it must have been if it had been prepared while he was travelling on the Continent. It was written in Latin. Its title was "Commentarii rerum in Ecclesiâ Gestarum, a Wiclefi temporibus usque ad annum MD.," and was published at Strasburg, 1554, towards the end of which year the author probably left England. It contains the ecclesiastical history of two hundred years; and it was as copious an account of that most interesting period as any which had then been published.

Such were the labours of John Foxe, in addition to his daily duties, before he had attained to the age of thirty-seven, and before he was driven from his peaceful abode at Reigate by the tempest which devoured so many of the noblest vessels of the reformation. He still remained in England, venerated by his late noble pupils, for some time after they had been transferred to the care of bishop White. Without any other occupation to engage him, he would be enabled to pursue his historical inquiries during the interval, and to make that progress which has hitherto seemed inexplicable to those acquainted with the difficulties attendant on such researches, and of arranging for publication such a history.

Whether he continued to reside at Reigate throughout the whole of this interval, or whether his place of abode was sometimes London, or elsewhere, we are not informed; yet we may infer that he was a sojourner in the vicinity of some residence of his friend and patron, the duke, either in town or country, at whose mansion, we may infer from a well-known anecdote, he was either a resident or a frequent guest. Gardiner had one day called to pay his respects, probably at Reigate, in his diocese, to the young duke, on whom he was in the habit of frequently calling. He inquired for his old tutor, and expressed a desire to see him. Foxe suddenly entered the room, but immediately withdrew, not knowing that Gardiner was there. The bishop inquired who that stranger might be. "He is my physician," said the duke. "I like his appearance," was the reply of the bishop; "and when necessity requires, I will employ him." Although the duke had, up to this time, persuaded Foxe not to leave England, he inferred, from this expression of Gardiner, that, under the newly altered laws and system of persecution which was commencing, the life of Foxe would be now in danger if

(1) Troubles at Frankfort.

he remained in England. Though he had hitherto been averse to his flight, he perceived that no time was to be lost in the effort to save him. Foxe was apprized by the duke of the necessity of hasty flight; and to render his escape as safe and pleasant as possible, he gave his commands for the preparation of every thing necessary for the journey. He despatched one of his own servants to Ipswich haven to hire a vessel, and to see that every thing was comfortably and expeditiously arranged for the voyage. The impression made on the mind of the duke, by the manner and speech of the bishop, proved the warmth and reality of his affection. His anxiety suffered no precaution to be omitted—no means that prudence could devise for the greater security of his friend to be disregarded or neglected. He was desirous to prevent the possibility of pursuit, by enabling the worthy fugitive to avoid cities and towns, and delays near any places of public resort, in his journey to the coast. He requested one of his tenants, who lived in a retired farm near to Ipswich, to shelter him till the moment when wind and tide served to put to sea; that he might not be detained, or put to any personal inconvenience, by the usages of a port town; to which one wholly devoted to letters, as John Foxe all his life had been, must be an entire stranger. All these plans and preparations being perfected for his safe emigration, the worthy and faithful historian repaired, as privately as he could, to Suffolk, "taking his wife," says their son, "as companion in his travels, then great with child, but resolved to go with him, not yielding to the entreaty of those who persuaded her to the contrary." They secluded themselves under the hospitable roof provided for them. till they had notice from the captain that they might set sail with safety

The anxiety of the young duke of Norfolk to provide for the security of his friend and tutor may afford us an additional proof of the morality, noble-mindedness, and amiable and gentle qualities of Foxe. He could not otherwise, at the end of eight years of intimacy and tutorage, have been thus beloved and esteemed by his illustrious pupil. We may be assured, that recantation, or the flames, would have been the lot of John Foxe if he had remained in England a few days, and possibly, only one day longer. "Scarcely had they weighed anchor," his son proceeds, "when suddenly a rough wind rising from the contrary shore, troubled the sea with so great violence that the stoutest mariners began to tremble. Then followed a dark night with continued showers; and a great multitude of clouds gathered together into a thick storm of rain and hail, which both hindered the seamen's work, and took away all possibility by the compass any longer to direct their course. That night, with much ado, they lay at anchor, and as soon as the day appeared, when the tempest seemed not likely to cease, they began to cast about, and to make back again to shore; so that the tide a little favouring them, at length, with much difficulty, they arrived in the same evening at the same haven again whence they had loosed the day before. In the meanwhile that Mr. Foxe had been at sea, a messenger from the

bishop of Winchester had broke open the farmer's house, with a warrant to apprehend him wheresoever he might be found, and bring him back prisoner to the city: but understanding he was gone already, after he had pursued him even to the port, and there found that the ship he had embarked in was yet scarcely out of sight, he returned back without his errand. Mr. Foxe, as soon as he came ashore, hearing what had passed, although the news somewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himself, presently took horse, and made as if he would have left the town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship to set sail again with the first convenience of the winds, telling him that so his business required, nor did he much care what shore he landed at; only desiring him to go forward, and not doubt but God would prosper so pious a work. Whether for reward, or piety's sake, the pilot took upon him the venturous task, and performed it accordingly: for loosing thence in the night's silence, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea was rough, and the weather blustering, within two days' space he landed Mr. Foxe and his company in safety at Nieuport haven, on the other side the sea."

Thus has been delivered to us, by the son of the fugitive, the particulars of his providential escape from the tragic scenes in which a conspicuous part had been allotted him had he been overtaken; unless, yielding to the weakness which prevented many from persevering in their faith and resolution, he had retracted his own opinions. So much benefit has accrued to the church of God from the publication of his useful labours, that we may believe him to have been delivered from danger by the especial providence of God. The death of the martyrs was essential to the stability of the spiritual and visible church of England: yet a chronicler of the actions and sayings—of the courage and patience of these martyrs, may be said to be no less necessary. The poet of pagan Rome could lament that many heroes of antiquity were unknown to posterity, because no poet had recorded their bravery.[1] The memory of the martyrs of Languedoc, and of the south of France, who were actually exterminated by the first agents of the newly-formed inquisition, have perished; or live only in the contemptuous triumphs of the papal historiographers. The record of the heroical opponents who died in the faith, protesting against the creed of Rome, condemned by the laws of Mary for opinion, not leading to treason; not as those by the laws of Elizabeth, for opinion ending in treason; was indispensable to the eventual establishment of a better system of ecclesiastical polity than that which the court and church of Rome, in any restoration of its influence, can hope to rebuild among us. The work of John Foxe has rendered greater service to the cause of true, primitive, scriptural, or reformed christianity, than a hundred battles, or than millions of soldiers in the field. Incalculable, therefore, would have been the loss to the

(1) Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona, &c. Hor. Od. lib. iv. Od. ix. v. 25—29.

church, if the emissaries of Gardiner had captured the writer; and destroyed the already prepared manuscript, with which he was probably travelling. The clouds of darkness were gathering over the Anglican church. The boldest hearts despaired. The writer of the deeds of the heroes who perished in the holy war was preserved to give the loudest warning to the churches; and to inflict the most deadly blow on the united system of superstition and cruelty—of priestcraft and idolatry, which had so long overshadowed and oppressed both liberty and truth. May God in his mercy grant, that whatever be the punishments with which he may afflict our guilty empire, we may both escape from infidelity on the one hand; and, on the other, from the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments—popery![1]

SECTION III.

FOXE'S RESIDENCE ABROAD.

A. D. 1554 TO 1559.

ARRIVAL ON THE CONTINENT—ORIGIN OF THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT—THEIR PROGRESS AND TERMINATION—FOXE ARRIVES AT BASIL—HIS LABOURS THERE—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THE expediency and prudence of the emigration of Foxe and his family was demonstrated by the conduct of the parliament, which met in the month following his escape to Nieuport. We may safely conclude that he was warned by his friend, the duke of Norfolk, of the severe measures against heresy and heretics now projected. Sixteen months had now elapsed since the death of Edward.[2] The friends of the reformation had seen, in that short space, the censure of a judge[3] for directing the people to observe the laws of the late reign, before they were repealed; the restoration of the mass at court;[4] the prohibition of preaching without an especial license from the queen;[5] the exclusion of the protestant bishops from the House of Lords;[6] the abolition of the reformed Liturgy;[7] and the re-establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation as a portion of the national faith. They had seen the arbitrary expulsion of religious foreigners;[8] the deprivation of the married clergy; and the excommunication of the archiepiscopal and episcopal defenders of the prayers in their own language. They had witnessed the increased power of the queen, by that event which, more

(1) Milton.
(2) July 6th, 1553.
(3) Judge Hales. August, 1553.
(4) August 18th, 1553.
(5) August 22d, 1553.
(6) October 5th of the same year.
(7) November 8th, same year.
(8) August 22d, 1553.

than any other, gives strength to a weak government—the suppression of an unsuccessful insurrection. They were now to lament over the enactment of the most severe and persecuting statutes. They perceived that, even if the queen herself had been inclined to milder measures, the foreign influence,[1] which is ever identified with the Italian form of Christianity, was gradually producing its effects; and that the pope and his adherents possessed the sovereignty over the sovereign of England. The houses of parliament, the proper defenders of truth, as well as of liberty, had changed with the change of the prince. The houses of convocation, the proper guardians of the church, had changed with the change of the bishops. The parliament, which was now to meet in November, after Foxe escaped in October, were about to be reconciled in form to the church of Rome, to receive absolution from the papal legate, and to revive the laws of the faggot and the stake. No executions had hitherto taken place. It is probable that the duke of Norfolk had represented to Foxe both the certainty of the revival of these shameful statutes, and the no less certainty, that Foxe himself would become one of their earliest victims.

Foxe arrived safely with his wife at Nieuport. The situation of his wife, who was probably either at this time or soon after delivered of a child,[2] may have detained him there some time. As soon, however, as he was able, he left Nieuport for Antwerp; from whence he proceeded, by slow stages, to Strasburg, where he committed to the press the first part of his labours.[3] Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, influenced by his friendship for Peter Martyr, who had been driven from his divinity professorship at Oxford on the accession of Mary, now resided at Strasburg. Foxe found in Grindal a kindred spirit. The principal narratives of the martyrdoms which took place in England from the revival of the laws against heresy[4] till the death of the queen, were transmitted to Grindal, who had been chaplain to king Edward, and was intimate with the chief advocates of the reformation. These communications to Grindal were given to Foxe, and subsequently formed the foundation of the more enlarged editions of his work, published at Basle in 1559, and in the following years. Foxe, however, did not now remain long at Strasburg, for we find his name appended to the letter which was sent from Frankfort to Strasburg on the 3d of December, 1554, in defence of the Service Book, which had been adopted by many of the exiles, in preference to the Book of Common Prayer, which had been used in England. On his arrival on the Continent, he found his fellow-countrymen engaged in those painful controversies which are more generally known by the name of the troubles at Frankfort; where the

(1) See Sharon Turner's Reign of Mary.

(2) Mr. Samuel Foxe informs us that his mother was pregnant at the time of their emigration. As we do not read of the birth of a child, we may conclude that either a miscarriage, or the premature birth of a child, who died soon after, took place at this time.

(3) The book was printed in Latin, under the title "Rerum in Ecclesiâ Gestarum quæ Postremis et Periculosis his Temporibus evenerunt, Maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum ac Sanctorum Dei per Regna et Nationes." Strasburg, 1554; 8vo.

(4) November 12th, 1554.

largest congregation of refugees had assembled, and to which, as Foxe took a part in the proceedings, it is now necessary more particularly to refer.

To understand better the origin of these controversies, we must consider some circumstances which took place in England in the reign of Edward.

In the year 1547 the emperor Charles, anxious to settle all religious differences, gave orders for the drawing up of a temporary formula called the *Interim*, which was to be binding upon all Romanists and Reformers until a general council should have fixed the articles of religion upon a more satisfactory foundation. The Interim was, in all essential points, agreeable to the doctrine of the Romish church.[1] The emperor, however, had influence enough to induce many of the reformed princes to accept it. Others resolutely refused so to do, and were put under the ban of the empire, and war was declared against them. It was sworn to, by all the diet of Augsburg, January 1548. It inculcated—That man can do more good works than God requires of him; that he must not, without doubting, believe that his sins are forgiven; that the church has the power of interpreting the Scriptures, and explaining the doctrines to be deduced from them; that the pope is the head of the church, the bishops having a certain degree of authority in their respective cures; that, by confirmation and unction, the Holy Ghost is received, so as to enable the receiver to contend against temptation; that sins are to be confessed to a priest; that by satisfaction, which consists in the fruits of repentance, especially fasting, alms deeds, and prayer, the causes of sin are rooted out, and temporal judgments are taken away, or mitigated. The Romish doctrines and ceremonies respecting the mass were confirmed; and it was decreed that the memory of saints is still to be celebrated, that they may intercede with God the Father for us, and help us by their merits; and that the dead also be remembered, and prayer made to God for them. Married priests were allowed to retain their cures; and where the cup had been given to the laity in the sacrament, it was to be continued.[2]

This formulary was accepted by the prince palatine, duke Maurice, and the marquis of Brandenburg, but rejected by many others. It gave satisfaction to neither party, and was a complete failure in procuring peace and reconciliation. It is generally ascribed[3] to Pflug, bishop of Nuremberg, Michael Sidonius (but called Hedding), suffragan

(1) For an account of the Interim, see Sharon Turner's Edward VI. p. 294.

(2) German Reformation, vol. ii. p. 322. The following letter from Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, vol. i. pp. 84, 85, agrees with the above. "Bishop of Westminster to sir William Petre. Orig. State Paper Office, Germany, April 3d, 1548. Augsburg. After my most hearty commendations to you: where, heretofore, I advertised you, that I heard say how the emperor had committed to Malvenda, and others his learned men here, to devise in the matter of *Interim* some order, which, peradventure, the commissaries in the said *Interim* might be persuaded to accept. I hear say now, that the said learned men's device is perfected, and delivered to the electors to view, but kept so secret, that by no means yet I can get no copy thereof, nor certainly learn the effect thereof.

"It hath been told to Mr. Mount, that it should reduce religion to the old state where it was before twenty years, except that *communicatio sub utraque specie* should be permitted to all those that would ask it; and that such priests as be already married should be tolerated, *ne ecclesiæ destituantur ministris*, and this only until the council should determine these matters."

(3) German Reform. ut supra (Naumberg).

bishop of Mentz, and John Agricola, (Eisleben, Ger. Ref.) preacher to the elector of Brandenburg; but Pallavicini[1] and Courayer, in his learned Notes to Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, assert that the author is unknown; and the bishop of Westminster says that Louis Malvenda, a Franciscan friar, and author of a work entitled "Lac Fidei pro Principe Christiano," drew it up.

Though this formulary was not received with the approbation which the emperor had anticipated, he resolved to compel its acceptance among all whom he believed he had authority to influence. The will and belief of the civil ruler in this instance, as in so many others, was the criterion of truth, and the rule of faith. The consequence of his violence was, that many clergymen were deprived of their churches, and took refuge in England. Among them was Valerandus Pollanus, a native of Flanders, and minister of a congregation at Strasburg. This man retired with his congregation into England, on his refusing to subscribe to the Interim, and obtained a settlement at Glastonbury. He was there permitted to use with his people the mode of worship which they deemed fittest when they had rejected the Romish service. On the death of Edward they were again compelled to seek refuge on the Continent. They established themselves at Frankfort, where they continued the same form of worship which they had adopted at Glastonbury.

On the 27th of June, 1554, a certain number of English exiles[2] arrived at Frankfort. They were welcomed to the city on the very evening of their arrival by Valeran Pullan,[3] and assurance was given them that a church was obtained in which they might worship without interruption from the common enemy.

"Why weeps the Muse for England?" was once asked by the poet[4] who mourned over the moral delinquencies of his countrymen. The historian of this lamentable period has, indeed, cause to mourn over the consequences of the restoration of the unreformed religion in the reign of Mary. The savage persecutions of the adherents of the reformation who remained in England were but a portion of the calamities which that event brought upon our devoted land. Though there had been some division of opinion among the reformers in England on the subject of the clerical dresses, the maintaining of discipline, and the best mode of church government; a general agreement subsisted on the value and excellence of the Liturgy, which had been recommended and approved by the convocation, the parliament, and the king, as the best form of national worship. The book had been almost universally regarded by the thousands, who desired to pray to God in their own language, in a spiritual manner, as an invaluable blessing. The curate of Lynn, in

(1) Book x. c. 17. Gerdesii, Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 203.
(2) Among whom were Sutton, Williams, Whittingham, afterwards dean of Durham, who married Calvin's sister, and others.
(3) His name is variously called—Valeranus, Valerandus, Valeren, Valeran—Polanus, Pollanus, Pullen, Pullan.
(4) Cowper's Expostulation.

Norfolk,[1] pressed the book to his bosom in the flames, in the course of the Marian persecution, and thanked God that such a book, under his providence, had been given to the nation. He spake only the common feeling of the people. Happy would it have been for England, if its religious population, had uniformly rallied round that admirable standard of scriptural truth, and spiritual religion. It was not so to be: and a fearful warning is given to all sects, and parties, and churches, to study peace and love, where truth is not compromised. The sanguinary war, which brought a moral and religious christian king, by moral and religious christian hands, to the scaffold—which disgraced alike the opponents of Romanism before the universal church, and the character of all Christians before the whole world—the controversy which still divides the nation, and which alike constitutes the weakness of the opponents, and the strength of the friends, of Rome, began in the quarrels of a few exiles in a petty town on the Continent, where they had been received with kindness, affection, and respect. The story has been often told. I repeat it here, because it affords us a key to the opinions and conduct of Foxe.[2]

On the day after the arrival of the exiles at Frankfort, a formal petition was drawn up and presented to the magistrates, requesting permission for themselves, as well as all other Englishmen who might flee thither, to remain safely within their city. The petition was granted. Philip Melancthon had already written to the governors of Frankfort,[3] begging them "not to oppress, but to cherish, the English exiles, as their sentiments in religion were found in the main articles of the christian confession; and that, whereas they differed in some points, they were to be instructed and informed, and not be rudely thrown out from among them by force and violence." The magistrates acted upon his recommendation; and the exiles were grateful for their repose. They were, however, naturally anxious to worship God in their own language, and in their own manner. Their brother-exiles at Strasburg and Zurich had already obtained this favour, and preserved their union as Christians and churchmen, in the enjoyment of their liberty, by adopting the services of the Book of Common Prayer, drawn up and ratified in the reign of Edward. The French exiles had obtained the favour of using their own form of prayer at Frankfort. Application was consequently made (July 8th) to Glauberge, one of the chief senators, for a separate church, where all the English might hear sermons, and worship in their own manner. It does not appear, however, that they preferred their request as they ought to have done, and probably would have done, if they had

(1) Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 379, Ed. 1839. John Hullier; he was curate of Babraham, but afterwards went to Lynn, where he was residing when taken by Dr. Thirleby.

(2) There is but one authentic account, and even that is tinged with the prejudices of its puritan author, of the circumstances to which I here allude—the well-known pamphlet in the Phœnix, entitled, "The Troubles at Frankfort." The original was published by a nonconformist in 1575; reprinted in 1662; and afterwards in the Phœnix in 1707. Strype and others relate the history; but that pamphlet is the source of their narrative.—See Strype's Grindal, pp. 13—15. Mr. Lathbury, in his History of the Episcopacy of England, has given a very good abstract of the history, p. 24, &c. See especially Fuller's Church History, folio edit. 1655, b. viii. p. 26, &c.

(3) Strype, vol. i. p. 508.

been zealously attached to the Liturgy—that they might possess the same privileges which had been granted to their brethren at Strasburg. They petitioned in general terms only, and could not therefore complain, if their petition was granted, subject to certain conditions. The required permission was granted July 14th. Liberty was given them to preach, and to minister the sacraments, in the same church which had been previously granted to the French exiles who had come from England. Both parties were to use the church on alternate days in the week; and on the Sundays, at different hours, as they might agree among themselves. As the English, however, had not solicited for the more definite toleration of their own Service Book, which must have been well known to their foreign brethren at Frankfort, who had previously taken refuge in England, and had only been banished thence by Mary, the condition was made—that the English should not dissent from the French, either in doctrine or ceremonies; that they should subscribe also to the French confession of faith. Compliance with these conditions was promised, and the use of the church was granted.

The question now arose, in what manner their worship was to be conducted. They were required not to dissent from the French Protestants in doctrine and ceremonies, but they were not bound to follow implicitly the French mode of worship. They resolved, therefore, after perusing the Prayer Book, to omit the audible responses and the Litany, to adopt another form of confession, to sing a psalm after the confession or prayers, in the common metres then in use, to pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and then to proceed to the sermon. A prayer for all estates of men was then to follow, at the end of which the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed[1] were to be repeated. A psalm was then to be sung, the blessing to be pronounced, and the people to depart. The beautiful and solemn services of the Communion, which have been handed down to the church of England as the best monument of catholic antiquity, were to be altered, as being, in many respects, superstitious or superfluous, and the use of the surplice was to be discontinued. A minister and officers, to whom they gave the name of deacons, were appointed, and possession was taken of the church assigned to them by the magistrates and senators, on the 29th of July.

If the exiles at Frankfort had been contented with the privileges now allowed them, without endeavouring to divide their brethren, by requesting their approbation to these novelties—or if they had declared that they adopted this new form of worship as a matter of necessity, or till they should return to England, or obtain permission to use the Prayer Book at Frankfort—the unity of the depressed and persecuted church of England would not have been broken by these proceedings. I am unwilling to believe evil of any man; and I know that at this time, as at most other times, the conscientious and the zealous

(1) So I understand the expression—"A rehearsal of the articles of our belief;" which seems to be taken from our Church Catechism—Rehearse the articles of thy belief.

victim and persecutor would have been willing to change places; and no man, and no party, and no church, is ever wholly right, or wholly wrong; but there must have been a great deficiency of attachment among these exiles to the Liturgy which they had used in their native land, or they would have made some effort to have been permitted still to use it: and, if the declaration of Bale be true, that the exiles at Basil, when the magistrates permitted the use of the Liturgy, refused to adopt it, and called it a popish mass,[1] we must believe that it is possible the exiles at Frankfort had already, before they appealed to John Calvin, begun to be affected with the love of novelty, and with disregard to the Book of Common Prayer. This conviction is confirmed by the painful fact, that, though the principal reason adduced by the Frankfort exiles against the use of the Liturgy, was, the disapprobation of the magistrates, Whittingham and his party, when these magistrates subsequently authorized the book, refused to accept it.[2] If they had done either of these things, or even if they had been silent under the circumstances, and permitted their countrymen to form their own candid conclusions respecting the supposed necessity of the case, the union of the church might have been preserved. Instead, however, of adopting either of these two measures, they resolved to admit none of their brethren who might afterwards come to Frankfort to their communion, unless they should subscribe and conform to the rules and discipline of this novel worship. Thus began the miserable schism which ended so fatally to the church of England. They next proceeded to communicate their doings to their brethren at Strasburg, Zurich, Embden, and other places; to applaud their own conduct; to invite their approbation to a church, which they declared to be "one free from all dregs of superstitious cerêmonies;"[3] and to request those who agreed with the new system to settle at Frankfort.

The exiles at Strasburg, at the head of whom was Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, were not willing to understand the purport of this letter. They could not imagine that their brethren at Frankfort had the least intention to do away the use of the Liturgy, which had been obtained by so much labour and learning in England, and for which so many were, at that moment, suffering in their own country. They believed only that the exiles at Frankfort intended to apply to them for a minister; and Grindal, consequently, wrote to Scory at Embden, to proceed to Frankfort. Scory offered his assistance. Before his letter reached them, the congregation had elected John Knox, who was residing at Geneva, and had attached himself with much ardour to the opinions and discipline of Calvin. They were reproved by their brethren at Zurich for their rejection of the English Liturgy; and they declared that they were fully determined to admit and to use no other. The letters from Strasburg were brought by Grindal, accompanied by Chambers, who came to

(1) Lathbury's Episcopacy, p. 29. (2) Lathbury, ut supra.
(3) This expression is in the letter, which seems to be a circular sent from Frankfort to Strasburg, Zurich, and some other places, dated August 2d, 1554. The principal signer is Whittingham. Foxe was not at Frankfort at this time.—Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 49.

tender his services. All attempts, however, to compose the differences, and reconcile their brethren once more to the use of the Liturgy, were too late. They had committed themselves before the world; and it is too much to be feared, that the pride of the human heart, which sometimes dupes the conscience as much as the affections dupe the understanding,[1] began to influence their conduct, and, under the mask of preserving consistency, or contending for truth, made them desire victory more than conciliation or repose. Grindal informed them that the object of himself and of Chambers was to solicit the re-establishment of the English Liturgy, which they had used only of late so partially, in its substance, at least, if not in its integrity. Knox and Whittingham eagerly inquired what he meant by the substance of the book; and the discussion proceeded from that moment in the manner which might have been expected. Grindal was compelled to answer indefinitely, because he could have no power to suggest or propose alterations; and desired to know what parts of the Prayer Book they were willing to accept—a question which was answered, as might have been also anticipated, by the declaration, that they should have its use, so far only as it could be maintained by Scripture, and the permission of the country. Other questions were proposed and answered, but not satisfactorily. Grindal and Chambers returned to Strasburg with a letter dated the 3d December, 1554, and signed, among others, by Foxe, who had arrived at Frankfort while these answers were being embodied, and whose name we now meet, for the first time, in these sad transactions. They declare that they do not dissent from the doctrines of their brethren, but they will not be ready to die for ceremonies which, as the book specifieth, may, upon just causes, be changed and altered. Knox, declining either to use the Prayer Book, or the Genevan form of worship without further consultation with the exiles of Strasburg, Zurich, Embden, &c., administered the sacraments as his conscience, that is, as his conviction of right, according to his judgment and knowledge, permitted him. He desired, in the most objectionable frame of mind in which a christian teacher can be found, to leave the business of prayer, the most solemn and useful part of public worship, to others, and to confine himself solely to preaching. He threatened to resign his charge, if this strange, and most uncatholic indulgence, were rejected.

It was under these painful and mournful circumstances that the celebrated letter to John Calvin was penned. Unwilling to accept either the English or the Genevan form, they resolved to apply to Calvin for his opinion and advice. They did not send, however, as they ought to have done, the book itself, without note or comment, but translated portions only, and wrote a description of the book in the language and manner of partizans, who disapproved of it themselves, and desired their opinion to be confirmed by one whom they considered as their friend, and on whose judgment they could rely. They affect to be ashamed

(1) L'esprit est toujours la dupe du cœur.—Reflexions Morales de la Rochefoucald, No. 102.

of some things in the book, which they therefore withhold, and they speak with much disparagement of many parts, especially of the occasional services. The answer of Calvin was such as might have been expected, and such as they most probably desired. He condemns the conduct of those who pressed upon them the English service, and argues from the persecutions in England, that they should endeavour to depart still farther from popery. He considers all attempts to reform the Liturgy, as advancing to a greater degree of purity and perfection; and regards those who throw away the present opportunity of improvement, as doating upon the leavings of popish dregs. He pronounces the book generally to contain some points, which, though of trifling importance, might still be tolerated; and expresses this opinion in the two well-known words,[1] which have served from that time to the present as the war-cry of the objectors to the services of the Anglican church. On receiving this letter, John Foxe, who seems to have been one of those who drew up the letter to Calvin, was requested, in conjunction with Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, and T. Cole, "to draw up some order meet for their state and time." They did so; which was the same as that used at Geneva.[2] This was not approved of, and caused much warm contention. At last it was determined that Knox, Whittingham, Parry, and Lever should compile a formulary for their public worship. One was completed partly from the English service, and partly from the Genevan form: it was decided on the 6th February, 1555; that this service should be used till the May following; and that any intermediate controversy on the subject should be determined by Calvin, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret.

I deeply lament the fact that John Foxe took this active part in opposition to our noble, primitive, catholic, and most spiritual service. He was guilty of the common fault of his day. Loathing and abhorring, as he ought to have done, the arrogance and cruelty of the church of Rome, he proceeded to the extreme of imagining, that in proportion as he departed, not merely from the perversions of the early doctrine and discipline of which Rome was guilty, but from the doctrines and discipline themselves; in that same proportion he was nearer to God and truth. He remained at Frankfort from this time till the November following, when he, in company with seventeen others, openly and decidedly seceded from the congregation there, and went some to Geneva, some, among whom was Foxe, to Basil. The following was the occasion of their secession and departure.

As the congregation at Frankfort had decided, whether rightly or wrongly is not now the question, in adopting a certain mode of worship,

(1) The well-known *tolerabiles ineptias*. Calvin's letter is dated January 22d, 1555. The words have been translated "bearable or tolerable fooleries, or fitnesses"—"tolerable foolish things." Bishop Williams, says Fuller, was accustomed to speak of Calvin's *tolerabiles morositates*.—Church History, b. vii. p. 375.

(2) It was called the *Order of Geneva*, because first used by the English church at Geneva: but it is not the same as that used by the church of Geneva in which Calvin ministered. It was afterwards used in the Presbyterian church in Scotland, under the name of *the Book of Common Order*, and is sometimes called Knox's Liturgy. M'Crie's Life of Knox, Vol. i. p. 148.

they possessed the undoubted right of adhering to the same, without hindrance or molestation. The principles of toleration, however, were not then rightly understood. Every religionist believed it to be his duty to compel others to be of the same external communion, as well as of the same opinion, with himself: and moral persuasion was only one, not the exclusive, means of influencing their brethren to the required conformity.

Among other exiles who had been driven from England was Dr. Cox, who had been chaplain to archbishop Cranmer, and successfully recommended by him to be tutor to king Edward. He had been elevated by him to the rank of privy counsellor, and to the office of king's almoner. He had been a member also of the commission which had been appointed to visit the university of Oxford. He had escaped from England to Strasburg, where Peter Martyr, and the other exiles were permitted to exercise their public worship according to the Liturgy. The report of the untoward proceedings of the exiles at Frankfort was soon brought to Strasburg. Dr. Cox imagined that his influence might persuade the innovators on the Liturgy, to which he was himself most passionately devoted, once more to adopt the discipline and worship of the Anglican Reformed Church; and he might possibly have succeeded in his object if he had proceeded with more moderation. Instead, however, of beginning to use his influence by quietly conforming to the service which the exiles had established, till he could convince them of their error in adopting the changes which were not evil in themselves, but which needlessly violated the union, which was the next blessing to truth itself,—he began his attempts by abruptly and presumptuously violating the compromise which had been made between the admirers and the opponents of the English Liturgy. It had been foolishly agreed that the responses should be discontinued. Whether wisely or otherwise, this was the agreement, and no power was vested in any brother of the common exile to violate the compact. When Dr. Cox, however, first attended the public worship of the congregation at Frankfort, he broke the conditions between the once contending, but at this moment peaceful parties, and repeated the responses aloud, after the custom in England.[1] He, and those who came with him, having been admonished by the seniors of the congregation, defended their conduct by affirming the necessity of maintaining the appearance of an English church. On the Sunday following, one of those who accompanied the almoner, without the knowledge and consent of the congregation, entered the pulpit, and read the whole Litany; Dr. Cox and the rest answering aloud. This induced Knox, who had been invited to become minister at Frankfort, in September 1554, and arrived there in November, to proceed to the extremity, which probably could have been otherwise avoided. He ascended the pulpit in the afternoon, it being his turn to preach, and in his own bold, unsparing, declamatory style, inveighed against the English Liturgy, and taxed the

(1) He arrived at Frankfort, March 13, 1555.

authors of the disorder with a breach of agreement. This rendered the separation from that moment utterly incurable. For this he was rebuked by Dr. Cox. Conferences were afterwards held between the two parties. Knox, who was as generously-minded as he was inveterate against what he believed to be error, prevailed with the congregation to admit his opponent and his friends to the privilege of voting with them. The result of this noble liberality was, that Knox himself was outvoted, and forbidden to officiate any longer. If the controversy had ended here, by the successful party conducting themselves with moderation, the wound might perhaps have been healed. They did not so. They submitted the dispute to the magistrates of Frankfort, who required them again to conform to the practice of the French exiles, in doctrines and ceremonies. They even complied with this at the request of Cox himself, upon being threatened with dismissal from the town if they refused:—but they then proceeded to an act of the most unworthy and un-English character. They privately accused Knox of high treason against the emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England, and to substantiate the charge, they put into the hands of the magistrates a book of his, entitled, "An Admonition to England," [1] with certain passages marked. They had been addressed to the inhabitants of Amersham in Buckinghamshire, on occasion of the rumoured marriage of Mary with Philip; an union much dreaded by the English. In this address he had compared the emperor (Charles V.) to Nero. The magistrates, therefore, were compelled either to deliver him up to the emperor, or advise him, through Whittingham his friend,[2] to depart from the city. They chose the latter alternative; and the reformer retired to Geneva, exasperated and embittered by his treatment. Cox and his friends procured from the magistrates of Frankfort, through the means of the nephew of Glauberge, permission for the unlimited use of the English Liturgy: and having done so, they actually refused to tolerate the use of the Genevan, or rather the mixed Genevan and Anglican service, which Whittingham, who offered to acquiesce in the new arrangement, requested permission to prefer. Whittingham, in return, exerted himself to recommend the French, and to depreciate the Anglican service. Cox wrote an apologetical letter to Calvin, whose influence with both parties was so great, that all desired his sanction to their proceedings. Calvin still further

(1) M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 153. It is called, in the "Troubles at Frankfort," p. 76, "An Admonition to Christians."

(2) "Knox, who was minister of this congregation at Frankfort, and invited by them the last year from Geneva, September 24th, now (May 26th) returned in some haste thither (to Geneva) again; for he was the chief opposer of the use of the English Liturgy, averring, that it was a superstitious model, borrowed from the papists; and refused to celebrate the communion, according as it was there prescribed to be done. And besides, Knox held and published some dangerous principles about government; which were so disliked by the chief of the English divines there, as Cox, Bale, Turner of Windsor, Jewel, and others, that they thought it fit, and that for their own security, to disown him publicly, not only by discharging him of his ministry, but also by making an open complaint against him to the magistrates of the town.

"The magistrates, upon this information, sent for Mr. Williams and Mr. Whittingham, willing them to advise Knox to depart; otherwise they should be constrained to deliver him unto the Emperor's council, which was then at Ausburge; that, upon this information, Knox makes a sermon in his lodging, to about fifty persons, of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the unspeakable joys prepared for God's elect, and then departed; and was conveyed by some, three or four miles out of the town."—Eccl. Mem. vol. v. pp. 406, 407.

increased the distance between the two parties, by returning an answer, condemning the exclusive use of the Prayer Book, and censuring many of its observances, which he calls hurtful and offensive ceremonies. He justly declares that the treatment received by Knox was neither godly nor brotherly. He concludes his letter from Geneva, dated the "last of May, anno 1555," by wishing that their agreement may be stable, and prays for a blessing upon them in their exile.[1]

John Foxe, with some others, made another effort to restore the mixed service, by submitting the controversy to four arbitrators, two for each party, and signed a letter to that effect with them on the 17th of August. One more useless meeting took place on the 30th. On the ensuing day, Whittingham, in company with Foxe and others, declared to Cox, and the heads of the congregation, their reasons for departing from Frankfort: among which were the treatment of Knox, and the affirmation that papistical superstitions, and unprofitable ceremonies, which were burthens, yokes, and clogs, were brought in. After a lapse of a few days more, Whittingham with one party retired to Geneva; Foxe and another party sojourned at Basil, where he obtained employment from the printer, Oporinus. He arrived at this city about the middle of November 1555.

The English Liturgy is so truly worthy of the several commendations which have been bestowed upon it, both at home and abroad,[2] that we cannot but deeply lament the decision of John Foxe, in the divisions of

(1) The following extract of a letter from Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, to Ridley, who was now in prison, or in confinement at Oxford, confirms the above account of the exiles abroad.

Grindal to Bishop Ridley.

Gratiam et consolationem a Domino, et servatore nostro, Jesu Christo.

SIR—I have often been desirous to have written to you and to have heard from you; but the iniquity of the times have hitherto always put me forth of all hope and comfort. Now at this present God seemeth to offer some likelihood that these might come to your hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to God's disposition. Your present state, not I only, (who of all others am most bound,) but also all other our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joined with the most miserable captivity that ever any church of Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we give God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you and others, your concaptives to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but that He that hath called you and them not only to believe upon hym, but also to suffer for hym, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the schole of the cross. He graunte that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as may be most to his honour, and your everlasting consolation.

Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partely of our state in these partes. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certayne be at Tigurye (Zurich) good students of either University, a number; very well entreated of Maister Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole citye. Another number of us remayne at Argentine (Strasburg), and take the commodity of Maister Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Maister Scory, and certayne other with hym be in Frysland, and have an English church there, but not very frequent. The greatest number is at Frankfort, where I was at this present by occasion; a very fayre city, the magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a church; and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudency of Maister Coxe, and other which met here for that purpose. So that now we trust God hath provided for such as will flye forth of Babylon, a resting place, where they may truly serve hym, and hear the voice of their true pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundredth students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God to work dyversly in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man.

God comfort you, ayd you, and assist you with his spirit and grace to continue his unto the end, to the glory of his name, the edification of his church, and the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom. Amen.

From Frankfort, the 6th of July 1555.—Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 16—18. Eccles. Mem. vol. v. pp. 410, 411.

(2) See the testimonials to its correspondence with the ancient liturgies, the case of the reformers, the adaptation to the wants of the people, the conformity to the services of the reformed churches, &c. in Durell, Comber, Nicholls, the Oxford Tracts, and in many other works.

It is, however, capable of improvement. Some of the alterations by the Episcopal Church of America must be so called. See Mr. Caswal's work on America. We might do well to omit the stories of Bel and the Dragon, Susanna and the two Elders, with some other portions of the Apocrypha. Another Collect also might be advantageously inserted in the Burial Service, over those who were not regular communicants, and of whom their best friends hesitate to speak as worthy of the stronger language of faith and hope.

Frankfort. We may, however, discover many circumstances which should lessen our censure. They were—the state of the controversy among the reformers respecting liturgies—the influence of Calvin, Knox, and others of the chief continental opponents of Rome—and the conduct of the principal supporters of the Liturgy itself, in the congregation of Frankfort.

Though the Liturgy, nearly in its present form, as the Second Service Book of King Edward, had been established by law in England, and John Foxe, therefore, in his ministrations at Reigate, must be supposed to have conformed to its vestments, rubric, and observances—to have joined in its holy prayers, and praises—and have administered the sacrament according to its prescribed forms, we must remember that the book itself was not regarded as being incapable of many useful improvements. Much, though unjust and unreasonable, prejudice was excited against it as a translation from the Sacramentary of Gelasius, and from other rituals used by the Romish church. It had not yet received that sanction of establishment and continuance, which adds so much to its estimation in the present day, that many deem it to be a crime even to hint a suggestion for the least change.

It has not been sufficiently observed by the historians of this period, that the Liturgy or Service, which was used at Strasburg, from which place the exiles under Valerandus Pollanus, settled at Glastonbury during the interim, had been framed by Calvin, about the year 1538, in the twenty-ninth year of Henry VIII. ten years before the first Liturgy of King Edward was given to the Anglican church. As this Liturgy of King Edward was afterwards changed by the influence of the foreign divines, the question respecting the final settlement of the best form of Liturgy in England was considered by some to be still undecided at the death of the king; and many, therefore, of the English exiles, though they had conformed to the second book of Edward, were probably already disposed to listen to the reasoning of their foreign brethren among the reformers, who advocated the liturgy of Calvin. Between the times when the two Service Books of king Edward were published; and while the controversy, therefore, respecting them was still continued, Valerandus Pollanus, in the year 1550, proceeded from Glastonbury to London, and there published in Latin "The Liturgy of the Strangers, used in their Church at Strasburg."[1] It was dedicated to king Edward, and was dated February 19th, 1551. He declares in his dedication that "he thought it worth his while to translate into Latin the rites and manners (never sufficiently commended) used by the Strangers' Church at Argentine (Strasburg), exiles for the gospel of Christ: being induced to it as a point of duty, understanding how this good church had been slandered by some for changing their religion; by others, for the licentiousness of their manners. He also mentioned, he says, aphorisms of their discipline, which

(1) The title was "Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesiâ Peregrinorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentini, 1551. Cum apologia pro hâc Liturgia. Per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum.

he intended ere long to publish; and gives this high character of the said church, that there was none purer, or that came nearer to that which was in the apostles' times." This liturgy is short. It was printed in October. Calvin was now a teacher of great eminence on the continent;[1] and as this liturgy, though now first published in London, must have been well known to Cranmer and his brethren before they drew up the First Service Book of Edward VI., I believe that the one principal cause of the spleen of Calvin against the English Liturgy, was not so much the non-acceptance of his service in the compilation of it by Cranmer, nor the letter of Whittingham and Knox, by which it was misrepresented, as the passing silently over the liturgy which Calvin had given to the congregation at Strasburg,[2] which was used both there and at Glastonbury; and which Cranmer had probably seen and rejected.

If I did not believe that the ambition of Calvin was of that kind, which rejected the appearance of submission to any ecclesiastical authority, I could have imagined that the assertion is true, which affirms that he applied to Cranmer for episcopal ordination. The letter, it is said, never reached the archbishop, having been intercepted by some of his enemies. If this be true—and if the declaration of Strype also, be true,[3] that the protestant foreigners took so much satisfaction in Edward VI., and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and "others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in England, with the tender of their service to assist and unite together," we

(1) His Institutes had been published at Basil in 1535. The work gave him a high place among his contemporaries. They idolized his name; and adopted his gloomy system.

(2) Calvin is said to have suggested alterations in the second prayer-book of king Edward; and to have offered his assistance to Cranmer; which the archbishop declined. Fuller gives as the reason of this, that he knew the man. Collier, vol. ii. p. 253.

When the manner in which he spoke of the progress of the reformation both to the king and Cranmer is considered, and the mode in which he expressed his disregard for antiquity, we cannot be surprised at the hesitation of the archbishop to receive his services.* The news, says Heylyn (of order being given to Cranmer, and some other prelates, to draw up a form for the administration of the sacrament) no sooner came unto Geneva, but Calvin must put in for a share; and forthwith writes his letter to archbishop Cranmer, in which he offereth his assistance to promote the service, if he thought it necessary. But neither Cranmer, Ridley, nor any of the rest of the English bishops, could see any such necessity of it, but that they might be able to do well without him. They knew the temper of the man, how busy and pragmatical he had been in all those places in which he had been suffered to intermeddle; that in some points of christian doctrine he differed from the general current of the ancient fathers; and had devised such a way of ecclesiastical polity, as was destructive in itself of the sacred hierarchy, and never had been heard of in all antiquity.

In his letters unto the king and council, as he writes to Bullinger, he had excited them to proceed in the good work which they had begun; that is to say, that they should so proceed as he had directed. Heylyn's Hist. of Presbyt. pp. 236—238.

Cardwell, in his "Two Prayer Books of Edward VI" Oxford, 1838, preface, p. 31, note W. says, "This statement"—of Heylyn and Collier—"seems to be overcharged." The words of the epistle, although not containing the direct offer, certainly seem to hint that he was ready to do whatever Cranmer chose in the business. He spoke slightingly of the reformation in England. Epist. p. 136. "Quantum ad me attinet, si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat." He expresses his joy at the prospect of the reformation principles being forwarded by Cranmer; and he rejoices to think that unity of doctrine and discipline will be established under his care. He greatly wishes that learned and pious men from the chief churches (reformed) could meet at a convenient place to discuss diligently each article of faith, and by the common decision of all, hand down to posterity the sure doctrine of Scripture. "Atque utinam impetrari posset, ut in locum aliquem docti et graves viri ex præcipuis ecclesiis coïrent, ac singulis fidei capitibus diligenter excussis, de communi omnium sententia certam posteris traderent Scripturæ doctrinam." See Instit. Christ. Relig. Genev. 1607. Epist. at the end, 1617, p. 135. Bene habet, quod non eundem modo animum Deus nobis contulit, ut Regem Angliæ et ejus consiliarios incitaremus ad pergendum; sed fecit etiam ut consilia nostra tam apte inter se congruerent. Hoc certe ad eorum confirmationem nonnihil, ut spero, valebit.—Calvin's Epist. pp. 131, 132.

(3) "Strype's Cranmer," vol. i. p. 296.

* Heylyn's History of the Reformation, p. 65; and History of Presbyterianism, p. 15.

might almost conclude that John Calvin was anxious to obtain from England episcopal ordination, that he might consolidate his power by canonically obtaining the bishopric of Geneva.

Calvin's liturgy was deficient in that deep homage to antiquity which characterises the English service. The Anglican reformers were anxious to prefer the words of the ancient services. They were as learned as they were devout. While they studied to be useful, they generally found that they could tender the most expressive services in the thoughts which had been hallowed by the early churches. They did not despise good sentiments because they were old, nor prefer them because they were novel. They avoided at once the superstition of Rome and the rashness of Calvin; and their liturgy has been approved, and loved by the wisest, the best, the most reasonable and learned, as well as the simple and the ignorant, both in life and death. Cranmer thus acted; and Calvin, I believe, neither forgot nor forgave the rejection of the liturgy he had given to Strasburg, which had been used at Glastonbury; and which has been used in the kirk of Scotland, without much alteration, to the present time. However this resentment might have been indulged on the part of Calvin, many of the English reformers did not at that time fully appreciate the value of their own liturgy. They were anxious for changes, and their opinions were supported not only by Calvin, but by the foreign reformers, who were well acquainted with the liturgy of Calvin. The details of this liturgy may not be interesting to all. As much attention, however, has been lately given to the subject, the curiosity of some may be gratified by a short account which will enable those who admire the spirit of the English liturgy to contrast it with their own.

The service of the Lord's Day began with "*Sursum corda.*" Then the first table of the Decalogue was sung in rhyme. Then the pastor, standing at the table, turning to the people, thus begins, *Our help is in the name of the Lord*, &c. A short exhortation follows to confess their sins. A confession.[1] Then the pastor rehearseth to the people some sentence out of the Scripture of the remission of sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the people either kneeling or standing all this while. The Gospel is read. The absolution is again repeated. The rest of the Decalogue is sung. The pastor exhorteth them to pray. A very short prayer follows, like one of our collects, that God would give them grace to keep the commandments: and the same collect is sung. The pastor then ascends the pulpit; where he first prays, and then preaches upon the New Testament, beginning some one book of it, and going on till he hath ended the whole book in several sermons. Then follows a prayer. The banns of marriage are published, baptism is celebrated, the sick are particularly prayed for, alms are collected by the deacons; a long prayer, the same with that prescribed in

(1) The sentence, the exhortation, and confession are the same which are at this day used in the French congregations, and prescribed in their liturgy.

the French form, for the whole church, after sermon, following. Then the Apostles' Creed. Then, when there is a communion, the pastor first rehearseth the institution of that sacrament out of 1 Cor. xi. and subjoins an excommunication of all idolaters, blasphemers, heretics, schismatics, perjured, seditious, contentious, disobedient to parents, whoremongers, thieves, covetous, &c. forbidding any such to partake of the said supper. He then makes an exhortation concerning the Lord's supper. He communicates in both kinds himself; next, the deacon in both kinds; then, all the men first; and after them, the women approach reverently to the table, where the pastor, at one end of the table, gives to every one of them the bread one by one; and the deacon, at the other end of the table, gives them the wine; a psalm of praise being sung during the time, by the people. The pastor, in giving the bread to every one, says, *The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.* The deacon, in giving the cup, says to every one, *The cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ.* Then follow the same thanksgiving and benediction which are at this day used by the French protestants. Here ends the morning service.

At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children are catechised and instructed in the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, for an hour.

At evening after a psalm was sung, a sermon follows, with a prayer, and the benediction.

In the daily service; every morning a psalm was sung, a prayer, a sermon, a prayer and benediction in the pulpit.[1]

There was a service of repentance. Every Tuesday was a day of more solemn devotion, to deprecate God's judgments and to confess their sins: a psalm, the confession, a sermon, a long prayer, the same as above.

The service of baptism was the same which is used by the French, except that the parent and godfathers brought the child. The minister asked them, Will you have this child baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? They answered, This we desire, &c.

The service of the blessing of wedlock, and of visitation of the sick, was the same with the French.

The service for ordination of ministers, and for ecclesiastical discipline, did not much differ from that which the French now use.

Such was the service used by the exiles when settled at Glastonbury, and no doubt, at Frankfort also when they left England. I omit the description of the English liturgy, drawn up by Knox and Whittingham, and sent to Calvin, which elicited the celebrated *tolerabiles ineptias.* Whoever compares the two—that is, the published form of Pollanus, and the epitome sent from Frankfort, will perceive that the variations between them ought not to have excited the bitterness which both then,

(1) This is the Sunday service now general among the independent dissenters.

and subsequently, characterised the congregation at Frankfort, and their followers, the future nonconformists. There were common to each—sentences of Scripture—the exhortation to confession—absolution[1]—the gospel—the decalogue—prayer before sermon—sermon. In the English form there are, in addition, the great improvements of the two lessons—the psalms — the epistle — jubilate — the versicles before the Lord's prayer—with the collects, litany, and part of the communion service.

This was the liturgy to which Foxe had conformed before he left England. We may justly regret that he did not adhere in the troubles of Frankfort to those of the exiles who preferred their own service. He did not, however, depart from the Anglican church on his return to England, four years after, on the accession of Elizabeth: and he remained a stedfast conformist to the services, to the hour of his death.

Another motive, which might at this time have been influential with Foxe, was the eminence, in those days of trouble and confusion, of the two men who have now been the chief causes of the great schism among protestants. Personal piety makes error popular. Decision and uncompromising energy often render it permanent. John Calvin and John Knox were the two leaders of that great army of pioneers and guerillas which has cleared the intermediate space for the more disciplined warfare, between episcopacy and papacy. One spirit ruled them. If the rude and fiercer soldiery of the Calvinist and nonconformist had not carried on the war in the manner which, in many instances, cannot be justified, we may rightly doubt whether a greater evil than the temporary ascendancy of their power would not have recurred, in the gradual succumbing of episcopacy under the power of the ancient usurper of its authority. When Foxe took refuge on the continent, the reformer of Geneva, and next to him, the impetuous, the rash, yet noble-minded reformer of Scotland, were regarded as the two most illustrious Christians of their age. The church of England had again received the deadly enemy of its spiritual greatness and influence. The hopes of those who wished well to the freedom of man to worship God in their own language, to possess the Scriptures, and to resist Rome with success, were turned from the dungeons of England, in which those hopes were perishing, to Geneva, Strasburg, and Frankfort. May we not here find some apology for the zealous and humble

(1) The work of Pollanus, which was published, as we have seen, at the time that the Second Book of Edward was being compiled, contained a slight form of absolution, embodying only a sentence of Scripture relating to the remission of sins.—"Hic pastor ex scriptura sacra sententiam aliquam remissionis peccatorum populo recitat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti"—but Calvin's Liturgy, published in 1545, for the church at Geneva, and originally drawn up, and used at Strasburg, contains no absolution of any kind, although he at first intended to have added one, but was overruled by others.* Durell, p. 34, says, that most of the reformed liturgies have confessions of sins, and also absolution, but this is wanting in the liturgy of the French reformed churches (p. 35). Whether the English absolution was taken from that of Pollanus, as Lawrence says, or from that of John-à-Lasco, as Cardwell writes, is not probably easy to decide. May not each form have contributed a portion, both having been published in the interval between the publication of the two Prayer Books?

John-à-Lasco's confession and absolution, bear a strong resemblance to those adopted in the Second Book of Edward the Sixth.

Vide Forma ac Ratio tota Eccles. Min. in Pereg. Eccles. anno 1550.

* Lawrence, Bamp. Lect. p. 207. Cardwell, Preface, p. 30. Durell, p. 35.

student, who loved the truth, and imagined that, though it was being extinguished in England, it was beaming on the Continent? Foxe was dazzled by the brightness which still bewilders the aliens from episcopal government, and which still demands our admiration for many great and good qualities, though we deprecate the error which prevents the union of the Trinitarian Christians throughout the world. John Calvin was at this moment the most influential teacher among all the opponents of Rome.[1] Luther was dead. Cranmer was imprisoned; and, what was worse, Cranmer was wavering in his stedfastness. Other bishops of the protestant church of England were firm in their resistance; but the disputes about vestments, and the great eagerness of some of their adherents to proceed still further from Rome, had weakened the cause of the protestant English episcopacy, and therefore of the protestant Liturgy. The attention of Europe had been now for more than twenty years directed to Calvin. From his earliest age he had been eminent for his dedication to the study of the Scriptures. He had been compelled, when still a very young man,[2] to make his escape from Paris in consequence of an harangue spoken by Nicholas Copus, at the suggestion of Calvin. Nicholas Copus was rector of the university, and this harangue is said to have caused the persecution of those who had embraced the reformation principles. Calvin returned, and met Servetus in Paris, during the year 1534; but being again driven away, he settled at Basil. Before his return to Paris, in 1534, he had been received into the house of Lewis de Tillet, canon of the church of Angoulême, where he wrote the greatest part of his "Christian Institution." It was published at Basil in 1535. He first arrived at Geneva in 1536, after a visit to the duchess of Parma, by a circuitous route through Savoy, to escape the spies who were observing him. Geneva at this time abounded with zealots, hating every thing that savoured of popery to such a degree, that many most useful laws and practices were abolished merely on account of their adoption by the church of Rome. Calvin's zeal and energy, his learning and endurance of persecution, so commended him to Farel and others, now at Geneva, that they declared the curse of God would be upon him if he did not undertake the spiritual superintendence of the anti-papal population of that city. The confused and agitated state of christian people at this moment, can alone afford the least palliation for the conduct of Calvin in departing from the ancient axiom, that none should speak in the name of the church, without the authority of the church; and without the external setting apart also of the person who so spoke, by those to whom the administration of that authority had been confided. He was indefensible in complying with the request of Farel, if, by any possibility, he could have procured the

(1) Nothing perhaps can demonstrate the weight and authority of John Calvin at this time more than the remarkable fact, that even Cox apologized to him for restoring the English Liturgy to the church at Frankfort without previously requesting his sanction to the undertaking.—Troubles at Frankfort, ap. Phœnix, p. 82.

(2) He was born in France in 1509, and originally intended for the church, but afterwards for the law.

sanction of his episcopal brethren to the office of teacher, preacher, superintendent, or bishop. If this had, indeed, been impossible—if the whole mass of the bishops of his age had so taught, and enforced unscriptural and antichristian error—and if they had, therefore, refused to recognise the teacher who, from the purer fountains of the inspired page, with deep study and devout humility, desired to oppose their errors, and to instruct his brethren—some apology might have been made for his compliance with the request of Farel. We do not read that Calvin endeavoured to obtain at this time, whatever he might have subsequently done, the episcopal authority for his efforts, as the report of his having applied to Cranmer for ordination, is not corroborated by any evidence to give it validity. He had already preached before he went to Geneva, without having received episcopal ordination.[1] Neither was he any further an ecclesiastic, than that he had received the first tonsure. He seems, however, whether there was any necessity or not to justify the measure, to have acceded to the request of the people, and to have acted as their bishop, without any effort to obtain the sanction of the bishops of the neighbourhood to his proceeding. But his influence was increased by his boldness. He had the courage to propose, and the skill to institute, the most strict system of ecclesiastical discipline, and he enacted the most indefensible innovations. The arbitrary spirit, upon which Beza so justly comments, was suited to the hour. He obliged all the people to swear solemnly to a body of doctrines, of which the chief merit seems to have been, that they were the antipodes of popery. He refused to administer the Lord's Supper until certain irregularities (as he deemed them) which subsisted in the church at Geneva, should be rectified. He also declared, that he could not submit to the regulations which had been lately made by the synod of the canton of Berne, and which required the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, the replacing of the baptismal fonts, which had been removed out of the churches, and observance of the feasts which had been abolished, to be restored at Geneva.

The dissensions thus produced occasioned his expulsion; and he appeared before the world as spoken against, by all men, for conscience' sake, as a severe and ascetic reformer, when severity and asceticism were most valued and admired. Between the time of his expulsion from, and return to, Geneva, he went to Basil, and from thence to Strasburg, where he was made professor of divinity; and planted the church or congregation, to which he gave both a liturgy and a discipline.[2] The imperious, haughty, ambitious, and most decisive character of Calvin, made him act as if the whole religious reformation depended on himself; and as if the discipline he had established was essentially necessary, not only

(1) "Quo loco," says Beza, "(ponte-episcopi) constat Joannem ipsum Calvinum antequam Gallia excederet (nullis alioqui pontificis ordinibus initiatum) aliquot ad populum conciones habuisse."
(2) He was succeeded by Peter Brulius, who was followed by Valerandus Pollanus.

for the welfare of the churches, but even for the salvation of individual souls.[1] All this, however, contributed to that superiority which minds of his high order always obtain over their contemporaries. Such men are the true aristocracy of mankind. The unjustifiable tenacity with which he adhered to an opinion which he had but once expressed, so that he is said never to have retracted a sentence or proposition, which he had delivered either in speaking or in writing; together with that arbitrary exercise of his power, which never allowed any deviation from his decision, or any opposition to his mandates; had the beneficial effect, for a short time, of planting a standard, round which the converts might rally; and established a temporary anti-papal infallibility, which neutralized the papal infallibility, till the Anglican episcopal church recovered from the double error of both the Calvinistic and popish presumption. Heresy was still deemed a crime. While the church of Rome anathematized both Calvin and the English reformers, the influence of Calvin was maintained by his inflexible severity towards Castalio, Bolsec, and Servetus; as the influence of Cranmer and his brethren had been upheld by their condemnation of Joan Boucher. Castalio, though he had been recommended by Calvin himself to the college at Geneva, was expelled thence by the counter-recommendation of Calvin, in consequence of some difference of opinion. Bolsec disagreed with him respecting the doctrine of predestination; and this was alleged as a reason why he should be imprisoned. His treatment of Servetus, whom Beza, in the spirit of the age, calls wicked (impius ille Servetus), however reprehensible we may deem it to be, was not condemned by the zealots of the age.[2] He was the great man of

(1) "Calvin thought himself," says Collier, "wiser than the ancient church, and fit to dictate religion to all countries in Christendom." Vol. ii. p. 309. "Calvin had no sooner conceived and brought forth this discipline," says Heylyn, "than he caused it to be nourished and brought up at the charge of Geneva. When he found it strong enough to go abroad of itself, he afterwards commended it to the entertainment of all other churches in which he had credit. He finally proceeded so far as to impose it upon the world as a matter not to be refused on pain of God's displeasure."—Heylyn's History of Presbyterism, p. 10.

(2) On the sentiments of Calvin concerning this deplorable transaction, I collect the following additional passages. In the introduction to his "Refutation of the Errors of Servetus," which was published the year following, and subscribed by fourteen other ministers of the Genevese church, he says, "Whatever was done by our senate is everywhere attributed to me. I do not deny that by my advice and exertions he was, in due course (*jure*) committed to prison; for by the established law of this city, it was fit that he should be charged as a criminal. So far, I confess that I prosecuted this cause. But that, after his conviction, I uttered not a word concerning his punishment, not only will all good men bear me witness, but I challenge even bad men to produce the proof of the contrary, if they can."—Scott's Continuation of Milner, vol. v. p. 429.

To Farel he writes, August 20, 1553, "I hope at least that a capital sentence will be passed; but I wish the severity of the punishment to be remitted." "Spero capitale saltem fore judicium: pœnæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio." (Ep. p. 154.) In the same letter he adds, "One thing more I will add, that the treasurer of the city, who bears this to you, is right-minded in this business, that he (Servetus) may not escape the punishment or death (exitum) we desire." "Tantum unius rei te admonitum volo, quæstorem urbis, qui tibi has literas reddet, in hac causâ recto esse animo, ut saltem exitum quem optamus, non fugiat."

And again, 26th October, "To-morrow he will be led out to punishment; the kind of death we have vainly endeavoured to change." "Cras ad supplicium ducetur. Genus mortis conati sumus mutare, sed frustra."—Epist. p. 156.

"Servetus, in 1553, published at Vienne in Dauphiné, a new treatise called "Christianismi Restitutio;" and escaping from thence, as he vainly hoped, to the protestant city of Geneva, became a victim to the bigotry of the magistrates, instigated by Calvin, who had acquired an immense ascendancy over that republic." (Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe, vol. ii. p. 107.) In the note he says (p. 109), "Servetus in fact was burned, not so much for his heresies, as for some personal offence he had several years before given to Calvin. The latter wrote to Bolsec, in 1546, 'Servetus cupit huc venire, sed a me accersitus. Ego autem nunquam committam, ut fidem meam eatenus obstrictam habeat. Jam enim constitutum habeo, si veniat, nunquam pati ut salvus exeat.' A similar letter to

his time, in the worldly sense of the word *great*. He desired to make Geneva the mother and mistress of the reformed churches, and to make himself the pope of the anti-papacy of Europe. Such a man could only be the instrument of temporary good. Geneva has become among the lowest of the reformed churches; and the name of Calvin, because of his ambition, error, and dogmatism, has sunk in honour below its proper estimation. The reformers of the church of England, free from personal ambition to exalt themselves—free from political ambition to exalt their church to supremacy over other churches—have been honoured above Rome and Geneva to be the benefactors of the christian world. They have been honoured as the instruments of establishing a church which combines all the spirituality and truth which Calvin demanded; and all the valuable discipline which Rome is justified in desiring. Foxe had approved their labours before his emigration; he approved them after his return. We may justly believe that he approved them at this moment; but he believed that the prayer-book of Calvin, which was first used at Strasburg, afterwards at Glastonbury, and then at Frankfort, did not clash with the use of the English prayer-book in other parts of the continent, or in England, if the exiles returned. He submitted to the influence of Calvin in the places where that influence had banished the common enemy, which was now beginning to consign his brethren at home to the dungeon and to the flame.

The zeal with which John Knox, who had taken priest's orders in the church of Rome,[1] and who had been employed by Cranmer, after many

Farel differs in some phrases, and especially by the word *vivus* for *salvus*. He had, in some printed letters, charged Calvin with many errors, which seems to have exasperated the great reformer's temper, so as to make him resolve on what he afterwards executed."

Jacques George de Chauffie published the Life of Servetus, and endeavours to palliate the conduct of Calvin. He is, however, compelled to acknowledge and to condemn the giving of information to the magistrates to procure the seizure of the heresiarch, and the advising, as Calvin seems to have done, all the subsequent proceedings. It is impossible to acquit the reformer of being the cause of Servetus' death, and his conduct appears to be indefensible. Taking into consideration the strong feelings of the reformers towards every dreg of popery, and giving the utmost latitude to their desires for rooting out all blasphemy and idolatry, the process by civil proceedings in a court of law was not concurrent with the profession of religious toleration which they made. The following extracts will, in some degree, explain the animus with which Calvin entered upon the prosecution of Servetus; and he appears to have had some compunctions of conscience as to the propriety of his conduct, however he might deceive himself that he was seeking God's glory.

"Quum Michael Servetus jam ante annos viginti christianum orbem virulentis suis ac pestiferis dogmatibus infecerit: nomen tibi non ignotum esse arbitror. Quod si librum non legisti, fieri tamen vix potest, quin de ipso genere doctrinæ aliquid audieris. Is est de quo fidelis Christi minister, et sanctæ memoriæ D. Bucerus, cum alioqui mansueto esset ingenio, pro suggestu pronunciavit dignum esse, qui avulsis visceribus discerperetur. Sicuti ab eo tempore non desiit venenum suum spargere, nuper Viennæ majus volumen, sed ex iisdem erroribus consarcinatum excudi clanculum curavit. Re vero patefacta, in carcerem est conjectus. Unde nescio quomodo elapsus, per Italiam erravit fere quatuor menses. Tandem huc malis auspiciis appulsum, unus ex syndicis, me auctore, in carcerem duci jussit. Neque enim dissimulo, quin officii mei duxerim, hominem plusquam obstinatum et indomitum, quoad in me erat, compescere, ne longius manaret contagio."—Calvinus Sultzero, Epist. p. 154.

(1) "It is undeniable," says M'Crie (Life of John Knox, vol. i. p. 346, note E), "that Knox was so ordained in that church." Some have hesitated to admit that Knox was in priest's orders in the church of Rome: I think it unquestionable. The fact is attested both by protestant and popish writers. Beza says, "Cnoxus, igitur (ut manifeste appareat totum hoc admirabile Domini opus esse) ad *Joannis* illius *Majoris*, celeberrimi inter sophistas nominis, veluti pedes in sanctandreæ oppido educatus, atque adeo sacerdos factus, appertaque celebri schola, quum jam videretur illo suo præceptore nihil inferior sophista futurus, lucem tamen in tenebris, et sibi et aliis, accendit" (Icones Illust. Viror. epist. iii. Comp. Spottiswood's Hist. p. 265: London, 1677.) *Ninian Winzet*, in certain letters sent by him to Knox in the year 1561, says, "Ye renunce and estemis that ordinatioun null or erar wikit, be the quhilk sumtyme ye war callit Schir Johne." And again: "We can persave, by your awin allegiance, na power that ever ye had, except it quhilk was gevin to you in the sacrament of ordinatioun, be auctoritie of priesthed. Quhilk auctoritie give ye esteme as nochtis, be reasoun it was gevin to you (as ye speik) by ane papist bishope," etc. (Winzeti Letteris et Tractatis, apud Keith, Append. p. 212, 213.) Winzet's drift was to prove, that Knox had no lawful call to the ministry; consequently, he would never have mentioned his popish ordination, if the fact had not been notorious and undeniable. *Nicol Burne*, arguing on the same point, allows that he had received the *order of priesthood* from the Romish

vicissitudes at Berwick and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, embraced also the opinions and discipline of John Calvin, may have much influenced the mind of the martyrologist. Knox was of the same unbending, bold disposition as Calvin. Having made his escape from England, in the year 1554, he landed at Dieppe, travelled through France and Switzerland, and settled at Geneva, where he formed a friendship with Calvin. In the September of this year, he was invited to Frankfort. He had a higher opinion of Calvin than of any other reformer. Before he left England, indeed, his opinions had not been in strict accordance with those of the English reformers, and he diverged much further from them during his residence near Calvin. He considered the liturgy which Calvin had drawn up, to be more perfect than the Service-Book of Edward, and was anxious, in compliance with Calvin's own desire, to introduce it wherever he was appointed to minister.

But though the influence of these zealous opponents of the Service-Book of king Edward, may have contributed to the unfortunate inconsistency of Foxe, I believe the principal cause of his secession from the party at Frankfort, who adhered to the Anglican service, was the rashness and vehemence of that learned and eminent reformer, whose zeal was equally directed against both papist and puritan. Richard Cox, like all his brother reformers, had been attached to the doctrines of the church of Rome. He had been admitted a junior canon of Wolsey's "Cardinal College" at Oxford, and left Cambridge for that preferment. He became attached to the principles of Luther, and of the reformation; and demonstrated his zeal for his new opinions by destroying, in the various stations to which his learning and merit raised him, a great number of rare and valuable books which favoured the church he had forsaken. He retained, as so many did, the intolerance of Rome, without its other errors. The same vehemence with which he assailed Rome, characterised his defence of the liturgy, and his hatred of the service-book of John Calvin. The manner in which he introduced the Anglican form at Frankfort, has been already related. As the church of England is the middle ground between popery and puritanism, so churchmen are then rightly understood, when they resist the mass on the one hand, or ill-considered modes of worship on the other. Cox proved his sincere admiration of the liturgy, by refusing, when he was bishop of Ely, to administer in the chapel royal, because the queen continued to use the crucifix, and lights on the altar.[1] He resisted the injunctions of the queen in

church. (Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, p. 128: Paris, 1581.) And in a scurrilous poem against the ministers of Scotland, printed at the end of that book, he calls him,

"That fals apostat *priest*,
Enemie to Christ, and mannis salvation,
Your maister Knox."

The objection of the Roman catholics to the legality of our reformer's vocation, was, that although he had received the power of *order*, he wanted that of *jurisdiction*; these two being distinct, according to the canon law. "The power of ordere is not sufficient to ane man to preache, bot he man have also jurisdiction over thame to whom he preaches. Johann Knox resavit never sic jurisdictione fra the Roman kirk to preache in the realme of Scotland; thairfoir suppoise he receavit from it the ordere of priestheade, yet he had na pouar to preache, nor to lauchfullie administrat the sacramentes."—Nicol Burne's Disputation, ut suprà, p. 128.

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. i. Appendix No. 22.

respectful language and submissive demeanour; but his firmness was equal to his courtesy. If he had behaved with equal courtesy, but with no less unflinching firmness, at Frankfort, I believe it to be probable that the schism between the exiles would not have been continued in England; that the prayer-book of Calvin, being weighed by its own merits, would have been regarded, as it is, less preferable to that of the Anglican Church; that the puritan rebellion itself might not have taken place; and that the painful inconsistency which John Foxe shared in common with so many of his brother exiles, would have been avoided. The church of England, and the individual churchmen who uphold her sacred cause, will only then do justice to the ark of God committed to their trust, when they boldly declare to their countrymen of the communions both of Rome and of Geneva, and all others, that their liturgy is worthy of reception and adoption, not only because of its antiquity, and of the authority which enforces its observance; but because of its usefulness, holiness, and adaptation to the spiritual necessities of those who believe in the divinity and atonement of the Son of God. They must convince the world, as they may do, that it commends itself to the heart, by its force—to the intellect, by its wisdom—to the ignorant, by its simplicity—to the learned, by its fulness. It has conquered, and it does conquer, in Scotland, America, and England; and it will, wherever it is known, gradually conquer throughout the civilized world, all other forms of worship. As mankind progresses in knowledge, and adds to that knowledge, faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ, the holy, useful, humble eloquence of these prayers, will present the best clothing of christian devotion. But it is with religious truth as with any other. If a man is suddenly commanded, by rude and uncourteous violence, to believe that two and two make four, though the truth is immutable, the offended pride of the insulted man inclines him, at the moment, to deny the very truth which his own calm reason would perceive and approve. So it was with the exiles at Frankfort, and with John Foxe among the number. The violent interruption of the worship at Frankfort, and the forcible introduction of the scriptural liturgy of the Anglican church, alienated some for the moment, and some for a longer period, from the very prayer-book which their reason would have approved. The puritan rebellion might, possibly, have been avoided, if Cox had either remained at Strasburg; or if he had persevered in commending the English liturgy by reasoning and persuasion, and not by rashness and violence, to the exiles at Frankfort.

Immediately prior to his departure from Frankfort to Basil, Foxe had written to Peter Martyr respecting the desire of the English at Frankfort to appoint that reformer to the office of lecturer in divinity among them. We learn from his letter that Foxe was not anxious to leave Frankfort.[1] He was deeply sensible of favours. The opulent

(1) John Foxe to Peter Martyr, urging him to accept the invitation of the English at Frankfort, to read divinity to them.

"Suscipiende Domine, salutem et gratiam in Christo. Elmeri nomine, et subscriptione nostra, ad

men of the city had bountifully contributed to the support and protection of himself and his fellow-exiles; and he has permanently recorded his gratitude to them by his Epistle Dedicatory to his "Christus Triumphans."[1] His friend Nowell, too, remained at Frankfort; and if Peter Martyr would have accepted the offer of the exiles to lecture to the congregation who were now united under Cox, it is probable he would have continued his residence in that city. We may lament that he did not. In that case the very appearance of sanctioning the opposition to the unaltered English liturgy would have been withheld. Whatever were the opinions he had formed respecting the proceedings of Cox, in the disputes concerning the liturgy, by which the breach among the refugees was rendered irreparable on the continent, and eventually in England, John Foxe never thought of resenting this conduct by separating from his communion. He seems to have been utterly exempted from that strange and most unjustifiable weakness, of permitting his decision in questions of religion, to depend on his good or bad opinion of the theologian, who propounded them. Peter Martyr declined to accept the divinity chair at Frankfort, for reasons which cannot now be ascertained. It is possible that he believed his instructions would be unacceptable; or that he could not depend on the willingness of the English merchants to continue their support. He was at Strasburg when the invitation was sent to him; and he does not appear to have been much attached to that place, as he accepted, in the following year, the situation of lecturer at Zurich. The precariousness of provision was, therefore, the probable motive:[2] and his refusal to leave Strasburg for Frankfort,

te veniunt literæ, in quibus graves et necessariæ causæ ad persuadendum continentur. Cæterum ne omnino occultis tuis cogitationibus satisfaciant vereor. Scio enim quam difficilis sit τρόπος ἢ μετάθεσις locique mutatio, præsertim in ea urbe, ubi et diu assueveris, et plausibiliter victitas. Quin nec scio an occultiora adhuc avocamenta in hac re subsint, abs te perspecta, quæ nos non advertimus. Verum quæcunque incerta sunt Deo permittentes interim ut simpliciter tecum urgemus, καὶ κατεγορικῶς, primum, cogitet modo eximia prudentia tua, sic te productum esse, ut multo maximas utilitates vitæ et reip. Christianæ pro singulari excellentia tua afferre queas; nec minus certe parem virtutibus industriam in te defuturam arbitror. Jam etsi nullus locus te vendicare poterit, attamen si indigentiam spectat excellentia tua, nulla certe Germaniæ pars impensius eget opera tua; si voluntatem ac vota hominum, nulla impotentius desiderat, quam Anglia nostra Francfordiana. Cui genti quoniam te peculiariter esse apostolum suspicamur (suspicamur enim omnes) idcirco audacius te literis solicitare atque ambire ausi sumus.

"Quod si vero ita res pateretur, ut per conjuges nostras, et conscientiam aliquo pacto ab esse ab ecclesia liceret, facile isthuc momento traheremur. Nunc quum nobis non perinde licet ecclesiam deserere, ut cæteris ad vos accedere: deinde quum in te uno situm sit, ut Anglos omnes ubicunque dispersos intra unas caulas eademque septa compellere; magnopere obtestemur, ne quibusdam e nostris ita gratificaris, ut reliqua Anglorum multitudo inopia tui destituatur. Ut hic de Argentinensium studiis ac favoribus nihil dicam, ut quotidianos temporum ac vitæ humanæ casus prætereram, certe si senectam hanc, etsi satis adhuc florentem, ac viridam, consideres, quid tam consultius, quam ut illic quod superest ætatis exigas, ubi quam plurimis esse queas utilis.

"Postremo, vel illud reputa ad fovendam interim senectam tuam, quam non mediocri solatio fuerit, postquam tot tam diversis locis dispalantes Anglos, tua unius causa coire in unum cætum te amplecti, ex te, imo ex Christo potius per te pendere, tuis consiliis regi, te in illo observare, videas.

"De salario, de propensione magistratus, quid cum illis, quid inter mercatores nostros conventum sit, fidelis hic Tychicus noster, frater in Dno. charissimus, abunde significabit; qui communem hanc causam multo facilius dicendo, quam ego scribendo, perorare poterit. Attamen hæc apud te seorsim pro audacia mea commentare libuit.

"In versione libri Dni Cantuariensis maturabimus, quantum Dominus dederit. Audio Crawlæum quendam esse, qui priores libros illius habeat ex versione D. Chyclæi (Chychæi *Cheke*) quos,—si per Whittinghamum nostrum ad te mittendum cures, gratum feceris. Dns. Jesus te quam diutissime incolumem ecclesiæ suæ servet, ac tueatur in omnibus. Francfordiæ, 12 Octob.

Tuus Jo. Foxus.

"Incomparabili ac summo viro Dno. Doctori Petro Martyri."

Harl. MS. 417. art. 67, fol. 116. Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. vi. pp. 311—313, Oxford edition.

(1) "Clarissimis viris D. Brynksio, D. Alcosto, D. Kelko, cumque his universo Christianæ pietati faventium sodalitio, Joannes Foxus, salus."

(2) This precariousness seems to have been implied in an expression in Foxe's letter. He makes his own supplies depend on the mutual agreement of the merchants—"quod inter mercatores nostros

together with the representations made to Foxe, by both Martyr and Grindal, that he would find more encouragement at Basil than at Frankfort, and not any intention or desire to unite himself to John Knox, and his brethren, who had preceded him to Basil, finally induced the martyrologist to proceed with his family to that destination; and to become the corrector of the press to his friend Oporinus, the printer.

The more public life of Foxe, as an author, may be said to commence at this period, 1555. Basil was, at this time, says his son, "much celebrated for the great friendship and courtesy showed to those of the English nation: for which cause many famous men, withdrawing themselves from the cruelty of the times, had escaped thither out of England. Of these were many but of slender estate, who, some one way and some another, but the most part, gained their livelihood by reviewing and correcting the press. This place, for careful printing, and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that profession, then surpassed all the cities of Germany; and they preferred the industry of our men, in that employment, before any of their own countrymen."

"To these men Mr. Foxe joined himself, so much the better liked of, because having been always inured to hardness, and in his youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to endure labour; and that which seemed the greatest misery to others, to suffer want, to sit up late, and keep hard diet, were to him but the sports of fortune." He did not, however, devote himself to the mere mechanical labours required in a reader for the press. He proceeded to collect the materials for the completion of his Ecclesiastical History. There were no annual registers, magazines, journals, nor newspapers, in that day for recording the events which daily took place in the courts of law; or of the transactions, whether at home or abroad, which most interested the public. The want of such sources of information was deeply felt. It appeared to the reformers, and to the protestants of tho day, absolutely necessary that the cruelties which the enforcement of the laws against heresy had inflicted so mercilessly, and so needlessly, against the Anglican anti-papal church, should be permanently recorded. They could not any longer permit such transactions to be confined to the registers of the bishops, or to the memory of their contemporaries. Foxe was already known to the reformers as a laborious and zealous annalist; he appeared, therefore, to be the fittest instrument to record the consequences of the re-enactment of the persecuting statutes; and Foxe was as anxious to write, as they were to contribute, the materials of his pages. Details of the transactions in England were sent, therefore, to Grindal, one of the chief refugees, who communicated them to Foxe; and thus commenced the authentic compilation which the church of England, till within the present age, has uniformly deemed so useful and so valuable. The letter is still extant which proves this to have been the origin of the chief part of the

conventum sit." Endowments, not casual subscriptions, are the proper rewards, and the right dependence of learned men. These alone produce the ease of mind which is essential to quiet study.

work of Foxe. It is preserved among the Harleian manuscripts. Foxe, in that letter, acknowledges having received from Grindal the account of Bradford's death. He highly extols his faith and diligence; and does not doubt but that he has many such histories; also, that he will as faithfully and diligently make like inquiry for the future. He then says, he had at length concluded a bargain with Froschoverus, and that in October his first book would appear.[1] He adds, that he was completely without money, and reduced to the last penny: and that for two months he had been occupied in completing the agreement. Froschoverus had come to him with letters from Aylmer and Bullinger, bargaining with him for certain things at the next fair, which he readily agreed to. He was about to write to Haddon, but suddenly heard he was dead. He wished to thank Haddon for a kindness conferred, and also to tell him what he was doing.[2] He lived with Anthony Gilby, at Frankfort, when John Knox was unjustly accused, and afterwards banished the city.

In the reply of Grindal to a second letter of Foxe, he alludes to another request, that he would send him, with equal fidelity, the narrative of the martyrdom of Cranmer.[3] There can be no doubt that similar communications were the chief sources of the histories of the martyrdoms which Foxe relates. The accounts were sent by the spectators of the murderous executions, to their friends on the continent; and from these, as well as from other authentic records, after the most ample examination, they were printed by the martyrologist. An expression occurs in the first of the letters to which I have last alluded, which requires some attention from the light which it throws upon the many labours in which Foxe was now engaged. He informs Grindal that he doubts whether two of his letters had been received, because he makes no mention of the books of Cranmer. This

(1) The first of Foxe's works published after he settled at Basil, was "Christus Triumphans," in 1556; and which, it is presumed, he had just come to an agreement with Froschoverus to publish, as alluded to in his letter to Grindal; or it may have been a portion of his Acts and Monuments, which was published and circulated in parts, on the continent, before it came out entire.

(2) *Ad Edmundum Grindallum.*

Salutem in Christo. Recepi cum litteris tuis historiam Bradfordianam, cum variis illius aliò atque aliò missis epistolis. Qua in re video (mi Edmunde) quam bonæ fidei sponsor sis, citroque noxum quod aiunt. Utinam ad eandem diligentiam cætera omnia τα μαρτυρικα congesta habeamus. Atque ut non dubito, quin magnam harum rerum faraginem (ut scribis) jam etiamnum habeatis, ita nec diffido in cæteris conquirendis vigilantiam vestram, fidemque non defecturam. Jam ante te absente, binas ad te misi litteras, quas an receperis ideo subdubito, quod nullam video in litteris tuis de libris Cantuariensis mentionem. Jam dudum transactus (*transacturos* alia manu) cum Froschovero, jamque mense Octob. primum librum meo magno tædio iterum descriptum illis in gustum miseram (*sic*) interim autem dum expecto ab illis responsum, delatum mihi est a Frobenio et Episcopio, Chrisostomi exemplaria cognoscendi et conferendi: eramque tum omnibus plane exutus pecuniis, adeoque pœne ad extremam assem redactus. Itaque in ea monenda farina perierunt mihi duo menses. Interea temporis venit ad me Froschoverus cum litteris D. Elmeri et Bullingeri, pasciscens mecum inducias ob certa negotia in proximas nundinas, quas nec minus libenter ipse accepi; scis enim in hieme ubique fere conquiescere τα πολεμικα, ducibus se in hyberna recipientibus. Habes itaque hujus negotii statum. Quum hæc ad te scripsissem, alteras ad Jacobum Haddonum literas eodem simul tempore destinabam, jamque charta ad eam rem parata erat, quum subito affertur, eum istic Argentinæ defunctum esse, ad quem si vixisset libenter scripsissem, partim illi acturus gratias de *coronato*, quem ad me nuper te absente miserat,—partim etiam submoniturus, quod his diebus mihi in mentem venerit. Eram enim Francofordiæ tum in ædibus Ant. Gilbij, quum Jo. Knoxius satis indigne eo tempore accusatus a quibusdam et ejectus ea urbe post colloquium nescio quid initum cum Jac. Haddono tandem mecum præsentibus palam illi denunciarunt futurum si sic pergeret, ut evidenter sentiret divinum in se supplicium in hac ipsa quoque vita, erant enim hæc illius verba, aut non multo perfecto diversa. Dominus meæ ignoscat tarditati. Nunc verò quoniam serò ad eum scripturus sum, votis (quod solum superest) opto illi fælicem in Domino requiem.—Harl. MS. 417, art. 59, fo. 113 b.

(3) Salutem in Christo Servatore. Accepi literas tuas 4 Maii ad me dedisti, (frater amantissime) in quibus meam operam in vitâ, et obitu D. Cantuariensis describendo postulas.—Harl. MS. 417. Art. 57, fol. 113.

refers to the subject of Cranmer having defended the doctrine of the Eucharist, as still received in the Anglican Church, against the arguments of Gardiner in favour of Transubstantiation. As early as 1550, Cranmer had published a work to refute the advocates of the celebration of the mass.[1] Gardiner, who was then a prisoner in the Tower, wrote an answer to this publication.[2] The controversy caused considerable excitement. The doctrine of transubstantiation was maintained with so much zeal by the Romanists—its denial was made so uniformly the criterion of heresy—it was regarded with so much devotion by the people, in consequence of the great earnestness with which it had been so much insisted upon, that it was resigned with more difficulty than any other of the long-received errors—it was the last tenet which Cranmer himself, who, in common with all his brethren, had been educated a Romanist, believed to be indefensible. When, therefore, Cranmer had arrived at the conclusion that this doctrine was untenable, and announced that conclusion to the world, his book may be said to have sealed his doom. Gardiner undertook to refute Cranmer; and to prove the truth of the long-received opinion of the transformation of the wafer into the very body and blood, which had been sacrificed upon the cross. The result of their respective works would consequently be considered, at such a moment of religious fervour, as of vital or fatal interest to the cause of the Reformation. The reply of Cranmer was completed and printed in September 1551, but the power of the press was at this moment so much dreaded, that even the primate, the chief person of the commission which ruled the kingdom during the minority of Edward, was compelled to ask the favour of the permission of its publication. A proclamation had been issued while the work was at press, prohibiting the printing or sale of English books without the allowance of the king or privy council. Both parties had frequently resorted to these intolerable prohibitions, by which free discussion was prevented; and both religion and liberty alike suffered. The archbishop himself, therefore, was compelled to solicit, from the secretaries of state, permission to publish his book after it was printed, by which the public were obliged to wait a month for the contents. The day, we may believe, will never again arrive when two controversialists, who had held the respective offices of archbishop and lord chancellor, will again discuss this topic; or if they do so, be debarred from the free use of the press. I subjoin Cranmer's letter.[3]

(1) "A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ; with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same, grounded and established upon God's Holy Word; and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church."

(2) "An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith, touching the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a Book written against the same."

(3) "After my veray hertie commendations. Thies be to signify unto you, that Rayner Wolf, at my desire, hath fully fynyshed the printing of my book, for answer to the late Bishop of Winchesters, written against myn of the doctrine of the sacrament. And forasmuche as both printing and selling of any matiers in thenglishe tounge is prohibited by a proclamation set furthe, onles the same matier be first allowed by the king's majestie, or vi. of his majestie's privey counsail, as you shal more plainly perceyve by the proclamation, which herewith I send unto you; therfor I hertily pray you to be a sutor to the king's majestie, or to the privye counsail, that Mr. Rayner may have licence for the printing and selling of my said book accordingly. And the same so obtained to send me with convenient spede. For in the begynning of the terme I thinck it wer veray necessary to be set furthe, for the contentation of many, which have had long expectation of the same. Assone as I shal receyve advertisement, whan the

The book was at length published under the title—"An Answer by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the True and Godly Doctrine of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such places of the Book of Dr. Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also, a True Copy of the Book written, and in open Court delivered by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or diminished; but faithfully, in all points agreeing with the Original." Gardiner, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius,[1] answered the archbishop through the Paris press.[2] Cranmer undertook the rejoinder to this work also. He completed three books. Before, however, his labour was finished Edward died; Gardiner was released; Cranmer imprisoned; and two of the books perished with their author at Oxford. "The third," says his biographer, "fell into the hands of Foxe, and has, by this time, probably perished also."[3] What use Foxe made of the pages to which Strype refers, we know not; but the second work of Cranmer, which he published in reply to Gardiner, was deemed by Peter Martyr, Grindal, Aylmer, and other reformers to be so conclusive, and so valuable, that they requested Foxe, when he was at Frankfort, to translate it into Latin for the common benefit of the reformed church. Foxe complied with their request, but had not completed the undertaking when he removed to Basil. He seems to have experienced more difficulty in translating the sentences of Gardiner than he could possibly have anticipated.[4] "Most learned sir," he says, in a

king's majestie will be at Hampton Courte, I wil come thither to see his grace, and do my duty towards the same. Thus fare ye hertily wel.—From my mannour at Croydon the xxix of September, 1551.

"Your lovynge frende, T. CANT."

"To my veray lovynge freendes Mr. Cecill one of the King's Majestie's two principal Secretaries. Or to Mr. Cheeke."

Strype's Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 901, 902. Oxford, 1812, App. No. lxii.

(1) A priest of Lorraine.

(2) The title of his book was—Confutatio Cavillonum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet.—Paris, 1552.

(3) Strype's Cranmer, p. 571.

(4) It was on this occasion that Grindal wrote the following admirable letter. It has ever been since, as archbishop Grindal declares it to have been then—that while various opinions were formed respecting Foxe, the friends of the Reformation spoke well, its enemies spoke ill of him—Boni de te benè loquentur, mali, malè. Satis est laudari à laudatis viris; omnibus placere nemini unquam datum est.

Grindal to Foxe.

"Quod ad judiciorum varietatem attinet, non est cur multùm labores. Boni de te benè loquentur, mali, malè. Satis est laudari à laudatis viris; omnibus placere nemini unquam datum est. De ratione vertendi nemo melius judicabit quam tuipse, cui non est incognita fidei interpretis libertas. Verbum verbo reddi, qui exigerent, seipsos statim proderunt, quàm nullius esse judicii. Sensum sensu redidisse, semper in laude fuit, modo scriptoris mentem, non suam explicuisse appareat. In his omnibus mediam quandam viam tenuisse, ut ferè etiam in cæteris, tutissimum erit. Idémque etiam judicio de stylo. Nam neque ecclesiasticus stylus cum fastidio rejiciendus est, (quod faciunt quidam) præsertim cum capita controversiarum sine eo nonnunquam perspicuè explicari non possunt: neque è diverso tam superstitiosè consectandus est, ut orationis lumen aliquando aspergere non possimus. Hujus rei egregium nobis exemplum ob oculos posuit D. Calvinus, quem honoris causâ nomino, qui et styli ornatum non neglexit, et ecclesiasticas loquendi formulas, tanquam civitate donatas, sæpe numero usurpat. De librorum inversione quâ utitur Wintoniensis, meum quidem hoc est judicium; ut omnino permittatur ille suo arbitratu, uti, atque ordine, neque moveas quicquam. Duo sunt quæ me præcipuè movent. Primum, vociferabuntur adversarii, fraude et dolo malo mota esse argumenta loco suo. Nam ut in præliis, non semper eodem ordine pugnam ineunt imperatores, sed aliquando primam aciem invadunt, aliquando in cornua impressionem faciunt, nonnunquam equestri pugna, sæpius etiam tenui armaturæ velitatione hostes primum aggrediuntur. Iniquissimum enim esset, de ordine pugnæ ineundæ ab hostibus leges accipere. Ita et de vobis querelabuntur, si Wintonienses copiæ alia ratione, quam ipsemet instruit, in aciem producantur. Deinde et hoc mihi videtur ad autoris ingenium patefaciendum pertinere. Nam qui in tota vita præposterissimus (ut ita dicam) fuit omnium rerum humanarum et

letter to Peter Martyr, "you would scarcely believe how much pains that great dispute of my lord of Canterbury cost me; which by means of you, and the persuasion of my friends, I undertook to translate. I never saw any thing more unpleasant, rough, and intangled, than Winchester's discourse: wherein sometimes he is so full of depths, that he needs some sibyl rather than an interpreter. Yea, I doubt whether any sibyl be such a riddle resolver, or Apollo so great a prophet, to be able everywhere to comprehend his sense. In the third book there be one or two places, where you may sooner draw water from a pumice, than find light for the sentence. In his periods, for the most part, he is so profuse, or rather infinite, that he seems twice to forget himself, rather than to find his end. The whole phrase hath in effect that structure, that consisting for the most part of relatives, it refuses almost all the grace of tránslation. Whence how great difficulty arises upon me, it will be easy for you to guess. The archbishop of Canterbury is somewhat softer, but so much the longer; whereby, if it doth not create me more trouble, yet certainly as much labour. To these dark sentences happeneth moreover the want of books and doctors, cited up and down herein. And you know, how it is not handsome to bring in doctors speaking otherwise than in their own words. This thing will oblige me shortly to resort to your Strasburg for a month or two, to beg the aid of some library. In the first book Winchester cites your name with Luther and Bucer, laying to your charge the imputation of a forger or a liar. But the archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, omits nothing for the defence of the name of his friend Peter. I shall send over to you the very place translated, together with the remaining part now finished.[1]

Peter Martyr, however, encouraged him to proceed. The murder of Cranmer at the beginning of 1556, before the translation was finished, gave new interest to the task. Grindal, also, exhorted him to persevere. The love of labour in Foxe was so great that these exhortations were seldom necessary. Yet, whether it was that the harshness and obscurity of Gardiner's style, of which he so much complained, prevented him from

divinarum inversor, consentaneum est, ut in scribendo etiam præposterum sese ostentet, et ut vulgo dici solet, *Joannem ad Oppositum*.

"Hæc mea est sententia, tu pro tuo candore aliter consulas. Quod ad titulum libri, nemo melius adaptabit quàm interpres, qui non modo singulas sententias, sed et verba etiam et apices pœnè excussisti.

"Mihi impræsentiarum libri copia non fuit: itaque nunc nihil habeo quod in medium proferam. Si posthac aliquid occurrerit quod acuminis aut gratiæ aliquid in se habeat, non illibenter communicabo. Verùm quiddam est quod nunc scribenti mihi in mentem venit, cujus tuam prudentiam admonere, non inutile fore existimari. Audivi hoc mussitatum aliquando in Anglia, Cantuariensem aliquando Papistis attribuere, quod ipsi non profitentur. Et si benè nemini habet quasdam antitheses inter Papisticam et doctrinam nostram; hâc formula, *Illi dicunt, Nos dicimus*. Ibidem credo habet, *Papistas corpus Christi ubique esse* asseverare. Quod illi nusquam docent, sed in omni alteri pertinaciter esse contendunt. Siqua similia inter vertendum repereris (nam illud exempli causa tantum affero) aut sicubi tuo ipsius judicio non plene satisfiat, faceres meo quidem judicio non malè, si ad D. Petrum Martyrem catalogum hujusmodi locorum mitteres; et illius consilium in amantis, sui patroni opere requireres. Communicaret sat scio libentissimè, et fortasse siqua ipse præterea annotaverit similia, subindicaret.

"Hac ita à me scripta sunto, ut tuo tamen judicio omnia geri vellem; tantum meæ mentis sensa apud amicum et fratrem, candidiùs fortasse quàm prudentiùs in medium profero. Saluta D. Balæum, et cæteros amicos. Opto te in Domino quam optimè valere.

"EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, tuus."

"Argentina V. calend. Jan. 1557."

(1) Strype's Grindal, pp. 22, 23.

succeeding—whether his historical labours demanded his leisure—or whether his daily task for his employers, the printers, occupied his time, this translation was not finished till the year 1557. The printing of it then commenced at Basil. It was not then all published, though it was finished.[1] I mention these things to show the severe labours which John Foxe was now undertaking at Basil. He toiled in a printing-office for his daily bread. He maintained a correspondence in Latin with M. F. Illyricus, and with the most learned persons in Europe. He was collecting materials for the most voluminous work which England has hitherto seen on ecclesiastical history. He was engaged, moreover, in translating a large controversial work, in which rapid progress was prevented by the fastidiousness of his refined taste and scholarship, contending with wilful obscurity disguising or perverting truth.

In addition to these harassing engagements we must remember that the miserable dissensions which had divided the exiles at Frankfort now broke out at Basil. The party which seceded from Frankfort still continued their wretched antipathy to the English prayer-book. Their inconsistency in so doing was perhaps most decidedly proved by their objecting to the use of the Ten Commandments as a portion of the service, when that very part of our Liturgy, though it was not actually borrowed from the Liturgy of their master, Calvin, was incorporated in the amended service-book of that reformer, commended to their approbation by Valerandus Pollanus.[2] They called the communion-office a popish communion; and said it had a popish face. They undertook to set up a new service in the congregation of Basil. The account of these sad contentions may be seen in Strype.[3] The part which Foxe might have taken in them is not recorded. He could not have commanded leisure to have embarked in them very actively. They probably disturbed his peace, though they might not have employed his time. A letter from Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, gives us the best account of these painful disputes; and from the forcible manner in which it appeals to the understanding on a question which must again be discussed, it is worthy of attention. It was addressed to Mr. Ashley.

"My special friend, master Ashley, after my accustomed salutations in the Lord: This shal be to assure you I have received your gentle letters, and am very joyful for that you are willing now to resort unto us. And whereas you desire before your coming to know the state of our church; to be plain in few words, it is troublous at this present. I find the admonishment of S. Paul to Timothy, and of S. Peter to the dispersed

(1) The original manuscript, says Strype, under Foxe's own hand, is in very elegant Latin. I have it lying by me. It bears this title:—"De tota sacramenti Eucharistiæ causa institutionum Libri V. autore D. Thoma Cranmero Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Quibus et Stephani Garneri Episcopi Wintoniensis, et Smythi Doctoris Theologi impugnationibus, respondetur."—Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 375. Strype must be wrong in saying it was never published; or the translation in Latin published at Embden, under the care of sir John Cheke in 1557, was different from that of Foxe. "In that translation," says Mr. Jenkyns, "some supplementary authorities were inserted, which were collected by Cranmer during his imprisonment, but were not published till after his death."—Could these supplementary authorities be the pages to which Strype refers as having perished?

(2) See Notes to the First Sermon in Laurence's Bampton Lectures, p. 200.

(3) Eccles. Mem. vol. v. pp. 408, 409.

brethren, most true, and in full force in this miserable age. They said, that *in the latter times should come mockers, liars, blasphemers, and fierce despisers.* We have them, we have them, Master Ashley; we have them even from among ourselves: yea, they be at this present our elders, and their factious affinity. When we require to have *common prayers*, according to our English order, they tell us, that the magistrate wil in no case suffer it; which is a most manifest ly. They mock the rehearsal of God's commandments, and of the epistles and gospels in our communion, and say, they are misplaced; they blaspheme our communion, calling it a *popish mas*,[1] and say, that it hath a popish face, with other fierce dispisings and cursed speakings. These mocks, and these blasphemies, with such like, they take for invincible theology. With these they build, with these they boast, with these they triumph, in erecting their church of the *purity*.

"But wheras they report our communion to have a *popish* face, I desire you to mark that which followeth here, and to judge their impudency. The face of a popish mas is the shew of the whole action, with the instruments and ceremonies thereunto appertaining. To that face chiefly belongeth a monstrous brothel, or ape of antichrist, with shaven crowns, side-gowns, oyl in thumbs, tippet, portas, and mas-book. Our communion hath none such. To the face appertaineth an autre: which we have not. To that face belongeth a superaltare, a chalice, a cover, a cake, a corporas, cruets, candlesticks, censers, and lights; which we have none. To that face belongeth vestments, crisable, amyss, albe, girdle, stole, altar-cloth, torch, and towel; beside the holy suffragre for pope, for pestilence, and for old meseled swine: which our communion hath not. What then may be thought of our unnatural and bastardly brethren, that so falsely report it, so maliciously mock, so unlearnedly ly upon, so seditiously slander it, so wickedly blaspheme it, and so villainously contemn it.

"Our communion, on the other side, beginneth with prayer unto God in the mother tongue; so doth not the mas. It sheweth us the commandments of God; it teacheth us the necessary articles of our christian faith; so doth not the mas. It bringeth both the law and the gospel, to shew us both damnation and redemption; so doth not the mas. It moveth us to acknowledg our sins; it stirreth us up to repentance for them; it exhorteth us to mortification of our sinful flesh; so doth not the mas. It preacheth the Lord's death til he come; it calleth for a worthy preparation for so heavenly a supper; it promiseth ful remission of our sins through Christ's gainful sufferings: so doth not the popish mas. It giveth high thanks to God for our redemption; it praiseth the eternal Majesty for the same, and wisheth the true receivers to depart from thence in his most holy peace and perpetual blessing, and continue always; so doth not the abominable mas: *ergo*, our holy communion

(1) Spelling of the MS.

hath not the face of a popish mas, as our new Catharites have most wickedly, maliciously, mockingly, falsely, frantickly, unlearnedly, loudly, seditiously, blasphemously, and beastly reported and written to their affinity or proselytes; yea, more like devils than men. And they boast of the glory of God, of sincerity, of the world, and of the highest *purity* in religion.

"But the truth of it is, they seek to set up in their idleness (as they are all idle, saving in this point) a seditious faction, in contempt of the English order, for their own pharisaical advancement, planting the foresaid lyes, mocking, and blasphemies, as the first principles of their building.

"This write I unto you, that they should not in this behalf pervert you, as they have done other men. I would not in the mean time, that this should discourage you from coming towards us, but that you might come the sooner, with other good men, to help to repress their malicious and idle enterprizes. Thus, though we be not in England among the wicked papists now, yet are we molested of idle brethren, as wickedly occupied as they, though in another kind. The times are perilous. Thus farewel in the Lord, and commend us to al our good brethren."[1]

This letter is valuable on another account. It gives us the time and place when and where the puritans, as a party, first took their rise. Nonconformity was kindled at Frankfort; Puritanism at Basil, among a few exiles. They have rent the church of Christ, and done infinite harm to pure and vital Christianity. "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

About the time of his arrival at Basil, Foxe is supposed to have written to the honourable Robert Bertie[2] and his wife, the duchess of Suffolk, the beautiful letter, of which a part is still preserved.—"The grace of God, in Jesus Christ," it begins, "which aydeth, governeth, and conducteth all such as truly put their confydence in hym, be multiplied

(1) Eccles. Mem. vol. vi. pp. 313—315.

(2) This is an error as to the name. The duchess married for her second husband Richard Bertie, esq. (not the Hon. Robert Bertie, as is generally written), son of Thomas Bertie, captain of Hurst Castle, Hampshire. He took his degree of bachelor of arts, as member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, May 3d, 1537, one year before Foxe. In the first year of Mary, Gardiner, who knew that the duchess favoured the Reformation, was determined to persecute her; and he issued an attachment to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, commanding him to bring Richard Bertie to London without bail. He, however, accepted his bail, in two sureties of one thousand pounds each, to appear before Gardiner, which he did on Good Friday following. The day after, a conversation took place between them, when Gardiner asked him whether the lady, his wife, was now "as readie to set up the masse, as she was latelie to pull it downe, when she caused, in hir progresse, a dog in a rochet to be caried and called by my name; or dooth she thinke hir lambs now safe inough, which said to me, when I vailed my bonnet to hir out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was merie with the lambs now the woolfe was shut up?"* The one she did not, said her husband: and the words were not intended to be offensive. And although Gardiner dismissed him with apparent friendship, yet was it known that he only waited an opportunity to summon the duchess before him. Mr. Bertie obtained leave from the queen to go abroad, under colour of looking after some debts due from the emperor to the late duke. He departed in June, 1554, leaving the duchess behind. In January following she made her escape, and joined her husband, and proceeded to Santon, in the duke of Cleves' dominions. About five miles from this place is a free town, Wesel, where they took up their abode. They obtained protection from the magistrates by means of Francis Perusal, then called Francis de Rivers, minister of the Walloon congregation, who had been in London, and had formerly received kindness at the hands of the duchess. Here their only son was born; and they named him Peregrine, from the circumstance that he was born in a foreign land, but given to them as a consolation in their exile.†

* Holinshed, p. 1143.

† "Eò quod in terra Peregrina pro consolatione exilii sui piis parentibus a Domino donatus sit."—Camden's Britannia.

upon you and your vertuouse yok felow, that as by the holy institutyon of the Lorde, ye are called to be one flesshe, so by fayth you being one in mynde may in the unytie of Christes spyryt lik true yook felowes beare the crosse with pacyence, and folowe our guyde and fore leader Christ Jesus, Amen.

" Whan I understood by your fryndly letters sent to my brother what our good God and moost sweate father hath donne for you and other members of his mystycall bodye, in delyveryng you out of that myserable land, from the danger of Idollatrye and fearefull companye of Herodyans: I was compelled with a gladde hart to render unto his dyvine majestie moost humble thankes, besechyng hym that as he hath delyvered you from their contagious venym and deathlie stinge with a saffe conscyence, so he will vouchsafe to protecte and preserve it styll undefyled. To forsake your countrey, to despice your commodyties at home, to contempne rycheis and to set naught by honours which the whole woorld hath in gret veneracyon for the love of the sacred gospell of Christ are not workes of the flesshe but the most assured frutes of the holye goost and undeseueable argumentes of your regeneracye or new birth. Whereby God certyfyeth you that ye are iustyfyed in hym and sealed (to) eternall liff: therefore ye have gret cause to be thankfull, first that he hath chosen you to liff; and secondly that he hath geven you his holy Speryt which hath altered and changed you quite a newe creature, working in you thorow the word such a mynd that thes thinges are not paynefull but pleasant unto you. Agayne to be delyvered from the bondage of conscyence from the" .... (Unfinished.)

On the back of this, reversing the leaf, is the following:—

" Not but the lord wyll bryng us as he did them into our dere countrey, or into his kyngdom which further excedeth it than the bright sunne doth the dark night. I can not (derely beloved) recompens the gret gentyllnes I have receyved at your handes, but I leave that to God my father which hath moved your hart to such liberalytie, who I am well assured wyll not leave it unrecompensed; not withstanding to testyfye my dew thankes, I have sent you this poore letter, poore indede but yet playne and true, following the example of a poore Persyan named Cinata who being farre from whom (home) and sodaynely metyng with the kyng of the land named Artaxerxes, and seeing every man presenting him with giftes made haste to (a) certayne well called Cyrum and toke up a lytle water in his hand, and after he had saluted the kyng he said having nothing o kyng better to present" .... (Unfinished also.)[1]

Though this letter is generally thought to have been addressed to Mr. Bertie and his wife, the duchess of Suffolk, upon their arrival abroad, it is difficult to trace any connexion between Foxe and these parties. Charles Brandon, the first duke of Suffolk, married Mary, sister to Henry VIII., and widow of Lewis XII., king of France, to whom she had been married at Abbeville the 9th of October, 1514,

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 89, fol. 144.

being St. Dennis's-day. Lewis died about three months after his marriage. His widow soon after was privately married to the duke of Suffolk, before they quitted Paris. They had three children—one son, Henry, earl of Lincoln, who died without issue, and two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Frances married Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, who, after the death of Charles Brandon, in 1545, and of his two sons, was created duke of Suffolk, in 1551, by Edward VI., at the instigation of the duke of Northumberland, of which marriage Lady Jane Grey was the offspring. We have evidence of the high estimation in which Foxe's talents and knowledge were held by this amiable and accomplished princess, by the acknowledgment from himself of the first suggestion respecting his undertaking to write the Acts and Monuments of the Church having been made to him by Lady Jane. The duchess of Suffolk,[1] mother of Lady Jane, who, after the death of the duke, married Adrian Stokes, died on Midsummer-eve, 1563. Eleanor, sister to the duchess, married Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland. Thus may the purport of this strain of congratulation be associated with recollections, dearer to the writer, than are expressed in the fragment of the epistle.

The latter part of this letter would almost lead us to suppose that Foxe had received kindness from the hands of Mr. Bertie himself, while at Oxford. The circumstances related in the note will fix the place whence it was written, Basil, though not the date. It could not have been earlier than 1555, nor later than 1558, as it was addressed to them when abroad. It shows that Foxe was always ready to give consolation under afflictive dispensations; as his pleading against the wicked statutes of Mary prove him to have anticipated, as great minds only can anticipate, the spirit of a more enlightened age, and to have been the zealous and eloquent advocate of religious forbearance.

While these transactions were harassing the exiles on the continent, the storm of persecution was raging in its utmost severity in England. Pole had arrived in London[2] to reconcile the nation to the still unreformed and unchanging church of Rome. The council of Trent was still sitting. In that council the several doctrines which divided the believers in christianity were supposed to be discussed. The results of the deliberations of this council were not waited for, by the legate. His desire, and that of the court, was to uphold the supremacy of Rome at all hazards, as a bounden duty to God. This may be inferred from the language of the absolution. The two houses of parliament were summoned to Whitehall. The bishop of Winchester addressed them, stating that the cardinal had come from Rome as legate *a latere*, upon business of the most weighty concern, which, at the queen's pleasure, he would make known to them himself. He made a long oration to them, in which he thanked the king and queen for the repeal of his attainder—

(1) Thus it happened that there were two contemporary duchesses of Suffolk,—Frances Brandon, married to Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset; and Catherine, baroness Willoughby de Eresby, relict of Charles Brandon, married to Richard Bertie, esq. Nare's Life of Lord Burghley, vol. iii. p. 145. Also Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 308, and Burke's Peerage.

(2) November 24th, 1556.

exhorted them all to be reconciled to the holy see, and expressed his readiness to receive them into its bosom. The next day[1] a supplication was drawn up, to be presented to the cardinal, desiring their reunion and absolution. This the parliament presented to the king and queen, who, having risen from their seats and made obeisance to Pole, presented it to him. He then caused his commission to be read, and pronounced their absolution, and reception into the bosom of the church; the two houses being upon their knees before him. The form of their humiliating pardon, and restoration to the favour of his holiness, was this:—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious bloud hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church; he by his mercie absolve you. And we, by the apostolike authoritie given unto us by the most holie lord pope Julius the third (his vicegerent in earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm, and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schism, and from all and every judgements, censures, and pain for that cause incurred. And also wee do restore you againe to the unity of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commission more plainly shall appeare."[2]

Such restoration to the unity of the church, was but restoration to the authority of Rome. This, and this alone, was the real object of the papal party. This was the object at which they aimed in the reign of Elizabeth, when the pope offered to sanction the liturgy of the church of England, provided his supremacy was acknowledged by the queen. This is the object which is still pursued, with unabated zeal, by the same reviving party, in our own day. The great controversy does not respect religion so much as it respects the ascendancy of an ecclesiastical dictator, and the predominance in the political government of Great Britain, of the faction, who are servants of the pontiff.

When the reconciliation of England to the ecclesiastical usurpation of Rome had been completed, the next step unavoidably and naturally followed—the attempt to compel the subject to profess the religion and to follow the example of the sovereign, the court, and the legislature. It was deemed advisable, as one of our modern historians smoothly and courteously observes, to revive the statutes which had been formerly

(1) November 29th, 1556.

(2) Mention is made of this circumstance by Bullinger, in a letter to Calvin, bearing date January 18th, 1555, from Zurich.—"Angliam recepisse papam et papatum non nescis. Usus est diabolus in illa recuperanda duobus eximiis organis: in regno quidem Vintoniensi episcopo, extra regnum Reginaldo Polo cardinali, qui jam et primas regni et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis creatus est. Receptus est solenni pompa Londini ad S. Crucem in æde Paulina. Projicerunt se ad ejus pedes magnates, et absolutionem benedictionemque apostolicam supplices postularunt à bestia, confitentes se xv. annis à catholica Romanaque ecclesia abscissos, per vepreta hæreticorum aberravisse. Orationem habuit in cæco illo cætu Vintoniensis, qui et ipsam revocavit orationem, quam olim sub rege Henrico de obedientia edidit. Cardinalis cum venisset ad reginam Mariam destituereturque salutandi formula tanta reparatione digna, placuit uti verbis Angeli. Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum. O cæcas hominum mentes, o pectora cæca. Veni, veni, D. Jesu, et vindica contumeliam tuam, et assere gloriam tuam. Fratres nostri episcopi et nobiles adhuc incarcerati tenentur, brevi forte tradendi judicio spirituali quod jam reparatur, mox brachio sæculari. In vincula conjiciuntur quotidie innumeri. Inhibetur sub pœna capitis ne cui exuli feratur auxilium. Jactat Vintoniensis effecturum se, ut exules omnibus ejecti locis, cogantur tandem fame perire, adeoque proprios ungues rodere. Qui apud nos versantur Angli, valde tristantur, sed consolamur ipsos. Orandus est sedulo Dominus, ut afflictæ suæ ecclesiæ dexter et propitius adesset."—Hollingshed, vol. i. c. 2, p. 1123. Cal. Ep p. 233.

enacted to suppress the doctrines of the Lollards. "It had been held," says Dr. Lingard, "that, by the common law of the land, heresy was a crime punishable with death: and it was deemed advisable to revive the Anti-Lollardian statutes."[1] They were revived; and the consequence of their revival is too well known to render necessary the recapitulation of the fearful consequences that followed these proceedings, or to enlarge upon the wretched executions that disgraced the legislature of England for three years and seven months, from the martyrdom of Rogers, the prebendary of St. Paul's,[2] to the proclamation which forbade the spectators of the executions to pray at the burning of heretics; and the increasing severity of the government till the death of the queen. I omit, therefore, the queen's directions to her council for their proceedings in matters of religion, with the commission of Philip and Mary "for a severer way of proceeding against heretics." The death of the queen alone prevented the establishment of an inquisition, and the probable extinction, therefore, in England, as effectually as in Spain, of the united liberty, and pure christianity, of the protestant episcopal church. The conduct of the queen was in unison with the determination of all the Roman Catholic princes. They had determined to root out heresy, by fire and sword. The parliament of England supported the queen. The people were in despair. There was no opposition in the legislature, no periodical press, to submit to the court, the public disapprobation of its measures. The exiles only ventured to remonstrate at the commencement of the persecution; and John Foxe, after the deaths of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, addressed to the queen and principal nobility an expostulation, worthy of his gentle nature, and the holiness of the cause of the anti-papal church of England. The petition of the exiles[3] represented to the queen "the danger of being carried away by a blind and furious zeal to persecute the members of Christ's church, as St. Paul had done before his conversion." They remind her of "the manner in which Cranmer had preserved her in her father's time, so that she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak truth to her, than all the rest of the clergy." They collected many passages out of the writings of Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstal, against the pope's supremacy, and her mother's marriage; concluding thence, that they were men, who, by their own confession, had no conscience in them, but measured their actions and professions by their fears and interests. They told her that the persecution which she had set on foot, was like that which the scribes and Pharisees raised against the apostles, who, it was pretended, had been once of their religion, and so were heretics and apostates. They reminded her, that in her brother's reign, none of the

(1) I am sorry to observe that Dr. Lingard expresses no grief at the folly—no sorrow at the wickedness of our ancestors in re-enacting these odious laws. (Lingard, vol. vii. p. 190.) I may observe here, too, that Dr. Lingard, in a note in the same page, impugns the accuracy of Hume respecting the different conduct of Pole and Gardiner, on the best mode of enforcing the laws against heretics. That Dr. Lingard has either misrepresented or mistaken Hume, may be seen by referring to Collier, vol. ii. p. 371; Andrews's Continuation of Henry, vol. i. p. 184; Warner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 363; Carte, vol. iii. p. 319.

(2) Feb. 4, 1555.

(3) Warner's Eccl. History of England, vol. ii. pp. 369, 370.

catholics had been used with the rigour which she had authorized; and, in conclusion, they represented to her, that she was entrusted with the sword by God, for the protection of her people, as long as they did well, and was to answer to him for their blood, if she delivered them to the mercy of such wolves. From the queen, the petition turns to the nobility, and the people; warning them of the danger of losing their liberties, and the abbey lands, and of being brought under the Spanish yoke. In the conclusion, it exhorts them to repent of their great sins which had brought such heavy judgments upon them, and to intercede with her majesty to put a stop to this deluge of blood, by granting her subjects the same liberty that she allowed to strangers, of transporting themselves abroad. This petition had no effect.

The expostulatory letter of John Foxe was addressed to the commissioners. It has been considered one of the most eloquent appeals of that day. It is contrary to my disposition, he says, to interfere with the duties of my superiors in their high stations; yet the people had now fallen into such straits, that as they could neither be silent without impiety, nor speak without danger, he begs them to consider, not so much what courtesy, as what duty, might require. "Who," he says, "most exalted fathers, can bear this; who will not deplore it; whom will it not draw to groans and tears, even if he have never seen England, to hear of so much christian blood being shed in the land: that so many ingenious citizens, so many honourable and innocent men, promiscuously, with women, are daily in danger of their lives and fortunes—are slain, burnt, and torn to pieces, almost without bounds and number? If the barbarians from farthest Turkey, or a fierce enemy from some other quarter, invading England, had caused such a slaughter of the nation, perhaps neither the calamity nor the complaint would have been less. This cruelty would have been the same in reality, yet the opinion of the nation would have lessened it. But now those persons, whose safety belongs principally to you, ye see and allow to be apprehended, to be hunted after, to be torn in pieces and lacerated—English, their countrymen—magistrates, those under their command—Christians, those of the same religion. Those who, under the government of the most celebrated prince Edward VI., enjoyed when at home, not only security of life, but even pleasure; now, the aspect of human affairs being changed towards them, are deprived by dreadful torments of that life which they cannot protect; not that their life or manners are changed, but because the times have changed.

"And where is the gentleness of Paul, where is your mercy, most gentle lords, where that ancient and ever-lauded piety of the English, even towards their enemies, if among yourselves, ye desire to be so fierce and deadly? I know that the variety of dispositions in the world is great, almost numberless, both among men and among animals; but surely nothing is so becoming and natural to honourable men, nothing is so agreeable to this nature as a certain generous disposition and

ingenuousness of manners; which benefits every one, does harm to none, unless it hath received an injury: and not then indeed, unless more by compulsion than of its own desire: and that more for the public good, than its own cruelty. Generous piety will indeed forget its own injuries, and be more desirous for the preservation than the destruction of the wretched (offenders); excusing, defending, assisting them, and relinquishing the accusation, whenever they can find an opportunity of mercy.

"But now so great is the degeneracy of men, or shall I say, of the times, that towards men, not only not wicked, but of an innocent and blameless life, by whom none of you have been injured, or are likely to be injured, but towards men, good, publicly as well as privately, the cruelty of some so burns, that there is no hostile nation however barbarous, where they cannot sleep safer, than among their own people." He expresses deep regret that "what nature among unbelieving nations, and literature among civilized ones, have been able to accomplish, piety, the power of the gospel, and that kindness so often inculcated by Christ, are unable to excite among the English: but for the slightest cause, yea, even for no cause at all, they are hurried to punishment, so cold every where is brotherly love, that I know not but that the same will be inflicted upon me which happened to Justin Martyr, the apologist for the early Christians, who, while he pleaded for the martyrs, himself suffered martyrdom."[1] The date of the queen's commission against heretics,[2] determines this letter of Foxe to have been written from Basil.

The circulation of this admirable letter; the publications which Foxe had already given to the world; and the knowledge which his fellow-exiles possessed of his former volume published at Strasburg in 1554, containing the account of the Wicliffite persecution, pointed him out to his brethren as the fittest person to record the actions and deaths of the martyrs in England. While, therefore, he continued to correct the press for Oporinus, he devoted all his leisure to the reconstruction of his Ecclesiastical History, and to the compilation of the materials for its invaluable additions, up to his own time. The edition of 1559, published at Basil soon after the death of Mary, was chiefly prepared for Oporinus. In his address to the reader prefixed to the first book of this edition, he observes, that as his former attempt had succeeded to his wish, he now rejoiced to turn his attention to the martyrs of Germany, Gaul, and Italy. The first book contains the account of the persecutions of the Wycliffites and Hussites—the second, the stormy times of Luther to the death of Henry VIII.—and the third, the persecutions under Mary up to that very time.[3] In this part of the work, he received

(1) See Strype's Life of Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 961—963. Appendix lxxxv.
(2) February 8, 1555.

(3) "*Ad Lectorem.*

"Quum primùm hunc historiæ Martyrologicæ librum, ante annos complures a nobis in Anglia descriptum, jam ante sexennium Argentinæ impressum in lucem dedimus, satis perfuncti officio nostro videbamur, si tum Wiclevianam persecutionem, resque illorum temporum gestas, à seculi nostri memoria remotiores, qualicunque industria nostra à tenebris ac oblivione vindicaremus: aut si aliis saltem

material assistance from Grindal, who was then at Strasburg; he designed it to be a "History of the Persecutions of the Church of Christ, and especially in the later times of it." Many accounts of the acts and disputations, of the sufferings and ends of the godly men under queen Mary, came from time to time to Grindal's hands; who had a correspondence with several in England for that end and purpose. And as they came to his hand, he conveyed them to Foxe. Nor did he only do this; but he frequently gave Foxe his thoughts concerning them, and his instructions and counsels about them; always shewing a most tender regard to truth; nor adopting common reports and relations till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands. And because a complete account of all particulars of those that suffered in that sharp persecution could not so soon be procured, he advised Foxe, for the present, to print separately the acts of some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic relations came to hand: and that a larger and more complete history of these martyrs should be printed together afterwards, when he should be supplied with fuller accounts of the whole persecutions. And, finally, that his history might be both in Latin and English, for the more general benefit,[1] he began soon after Bradford's death[2] to transmit papers to Foxe, and continued to do so till he returned to England. In the year following,[3] Foxe requested Grindal to take some pains to describe the life and death of archbishop Cranmer. Foxe profited much by his advice, and in the year 1557 recommended that the History as far as the end of the reign of king Henry VIII. should be got ready.[4] In the year following, Mary died, when the greater number of the exiles returned home. Foxe, at the persuasion of Grindal and Sampson, continued at Basil to complete his work; and till they might have more certain and larger intelligences out of England of the late persecution.[5] This must have

hac occasione calamos expergefacerem, ut per ecclesias alias, suaque quisque in patria idem facerent, quod nos in Brytannia nostra fecimus. Id quod evenisse secundum votum nostrum, tum in Germaniæ, tum Genevæ, tum etiam alibi, in Gallicis, Germanicis et Italicis martyribus conquirendis, gaudeo. Neque putavi posthac fore, quòd vehementer mihi in hoc argumenti genere necesse deinceps foret nervos intendere, maximè post exactam Henrici octavi Illustriss. principis tempestatem. Atque utinam tempora ipsa ocium mihi et dimissionem ad reliqua studia mea permitterent, quo in lætiori aliqua scribendi materia versari liceret. Sed incidit rursus nescio quo fato Angliæ nostræ infelici et calamitoso, longè præter expectationem nostram Mariana persecutio quinquennalis, ita per se scriptorem necessario flagitans, ut vix sciam an unquam exoriturus sit, qui tot tantasque res exiguo gestas tempore, tam gravitate insignes, varietates innumeras, atrocitate plusquam tragicas, non dico oratione et stylo, pro rerum dignitate explicare, sed enumerando complecti omnia, aut singula pervestigando indagare atque eruere poterit, quæ tam variè dispersa persecutionis hujusce tempestas atque ruina suppeditat. Nos etsi Anglia procul abfuimus, ubi res certissime cognosci potuit; usi tamen Anglorum quorundam adminiculis, quum præstare omnia non dabatur, nihil tamen conari in historia tam necessaria non potuimus. Itaque priorem hunc Wiclevianæ historiæ librum, jam ante diu Argentinæ, ut dixi, impressum, cum posteriorum temporum perturbationibus conjungentes, seriem rerum gestarum à Ducentis annis perpetuatam, per continuas ætates ad hunc usque diem deduximus, ita distinctis historiæ partibus, ut prior ætas Wiclevicas et Hussianas res, ad exortum D. Martini Lutheri, complectatur. Secunda, Lutheri perturbatissima tempora ad exitum regis Henrici 8 contineat. Tertiam deinde sectionem Mariana hæc persecutio possideat. Illud doluit, in recognoscendis istis et perpoliendis justam nobis operam curamque defuisse. Sic enim urgebant cum temporum ratio, tum duo pariter typographi, alter Basiliensis, qui Latine imprimeret, alter Genevensis, qui Gallicam etiam hujus historiæ editionem efflagitabat. Oporinus. Basil. edit. 1559."

(1) Life of Grindal, pp. 25, 26. (2) 1555. (3) 1556.

(4) He once sent Foxe two dollars in a letter. It was thought to have been money conveyed to him from England for the benefit of those abroad.

(5) "*Grindal to Foxe.*

"Sal. in Christo. Mutationes temporum meum etiam institutum mutarunt, doctissime et charissime Fox; ego jam cogor urgentibus amicis in Angliam iter instituere, qui alioqui Basileam ad vos transvolassem. Jam quod ad Historiam attinet, Sampsonus et ego existimamus optimum fore, ut ad aliquod tempus premeretur; donec ex Anglia et certiora et plura comparemus. Dubium enim non est, quin

been supplied to Foxe, from England; because the edition of 1559 contains the account of the disputations and deaths of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

In the proœmium to the second book, he says, those who have attended to the nature of different lands, say that in Egypt, which is much infested with poisons, there also the best remedies are to be found. He applies the comparison to England. Having treated, in the first part, of those who contended for the faith before the times of Luther, he now proceeds to those from his time till the end of Edward VI. placing them in order as the events of their life occurred: so that the light of history for the future may be more apparent, when a continued succession of blessed martyrs is known to be in the church. In this book Thomas Hylton and Patrick Hamilton are mentioned; and it begins with the story of Richard Hunn.

The third book was probably completed after the departure of Grindal from Strasburg, and was no doubt compiled from the accounts and letters which were sent to him from London. In the proœmium, Foxe says it cost him much labour to collect the number of martyrs, whom the five years' tempest had swept away, to the number of more than five hundred: and if he has not related their histories so graphically as the reader could wish, his excuse might be, the magnitude of the affairs related, and his incompetency to do them justice. He adds that lady Jane Grey was the first to hint to him his writing concerning the martyrs; and that Philpot collected the disputations.

There is no proœmium either to the fourth or fifth books, though there is to the sixth, in which he mentions that the book contains the disputations of the three bishops. He laments that the holy eucharist, which is the symbol of peace and union, should be the chief cause of dissension. "And oh!" he adds, "that it was nothing else than disputations and strifes of words! But they have verged into such a butchery of the most gentle martyrs of Christ, of whom I can set forth not less than two hundred and seven put to death in one year, and in England only: and what was the subject which afforded cause for their execution, but the differences of opinion on the eucharist?" So, indeed, it has ever been from that time to the present; and so it will continue to be until the church of Rome adopts another criterion of attachment to christian truth, and of submission to ecclesiastical authority, than the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Such were the labours of Foxe before he returned from Basil to England. This edition of his book was printed in Basil, and great must have been the difficulties with which the author had to contend in the accomplishment of every part of his design. Every material of his work

multa tum in lucem prodibunt, quæ antea in tenebris delitescebant. Si tibi etiam idem videatur, benè est. Nos quæcunque possumus ibi corrademus, et ad te transmittenda curabimus. Levis erit jactura temporis, si rerum copiâ et certitudine compensetur. Vale in Christo, quàm optime.

"EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, tuus."[a]

"Argentinæ, raptim 19 Decemb. 1558."

(a) Life of Grindal, p. 31.

was to come from beyond the seas: and to travel far over land, when there were impediments and restrictions innumerable to prevent the safe transit of such papers as those which he would require. Those who sent them, as well as those to whom they were addressed, would be exposed to constant danger. There was then no free press. An *imprimatur* was necessary to give currency to every publication. One edition of this work in Latin was being printed at Basil. Another edition, in French, was in the press at Geneva, so that the burthen upon him was very great. In addition to all these impediments to his more rapid progress in his labours, the pope was exerting himself to the utmost to prevent the free circulation of the books which were being published by the Reformers. Leo X. had issued an ordinance commanding that no book be printed until it had been previously subjected to examination. This decree had been confirmed in the tenth session of the Lateran Council held in 1515. The popes assumed the power of prohibiting any publications that opposed their policy. Paul IV. anxious as any of his predecessors to suppress the efforts of the Reformers, issued a prohibitory index in 1559, the very year of the publication of the edition of Foxe's "Commentarii" published by Oporinus, forbidding by name, Oporinus,[1] Stephens, and many others, from printing any book whatever. It is not improbable, that the papal decree was more especially aimed at the work of Foxe.

Nor were these the only labours to which this indefatigable student devoted himself. When he saw that his brethren and fellow-disciples, who were united with him in common hostility to the persecutions of Rome, deserved censure, he did not hesitate to reprove them.

John Knox, who had returned to Geneva, at the end of the year 1557, published, early in the year following, his treatise called, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women;" in which he attacked with great vehemence the succession of females to the government of nations. With many of his sentiments it appears Foxe did not agree; and he, therefore, wrote to him expostulating with him, in a friendly manner, upon the impropriety of his book, and the use of such strong language. To this Knox returned the following characteristic answer.

"The mightie comforte of the Holie Ghost for salutation.

"Dearlie beloved brother, albeit at the departure of this our brother, from whom I receaved your loving and frendlie lettre, my selve could writ nothinge be reason of the evill disposition of my bodie, yit becaus I could not suffer him to depart without som remembrance of my deutie to you: I used the help of my left hand, that is of my wief, in scribling these fewe lynes unto you, as touching my purpose and mynd in the publishing The First Blast of the Trumpet. When the secreates of all hartes shall be disclosed, that shall be knowen which now by manye can not be perswaded, to wit, that therin I nether have sought my selve nether yit the vain prase of oney; my rude vehemencie and inconsidered

(1) Hallam's Literature of Europe, vol. ii. p. 509, London, 1839.

affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from coler than of zeal and reason, I do not excuse; but to have used anye other tytle mor plausible therby to have allured the world by any art, as I never purposed to do, I not yit purpose. To me it is yneugh to say the black is not whit; and man's tyrannye and folishnes is not Goddes perfite ordinance; which thinge I do not so much to correct comon welthes as to delyver my own conscience and to instruct the consciences of som semple who yit I fear be ignorant in that matter; but further of this I delay to better oportunytie. Salut your wief and dowghter hartlie in my nam. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you now and ever. From Geneva the 18th of May, 1558.

" Youre brother to power,

" JOHNE KNOX."

" I your sister, writer hereof, saluteth you and your wief most heartlie, thanking hir of hir loving tokens which my mother and I receaved from Mrs. Kent."[1]

From the conclusion of the letter it may seem as if the bearer of it was Lawrence Kent, to whom Knox was known at Frankfort, he being one of the number that seceded from Dr. Cox and his adherents. There is also another piece of intelligence contained in it, not yet noticed in his life, and of which his son makes no mention; that a daughter had been born to Foxe while abroad.[2] This is also mentioned by Strype, when recording Grindal's generosity to him, or rather his dispensing part of the charity of others to him.

Foxe was thus employed at Basil, when the death of Mary gave new hope to the reformers, both at home and abroad. The English exiles began immediately to return to England. Foxe still remained abroad. It is probable that he continued on the Continent to complete his Commentaries, as his dedication to the duke of Norfolk is dated from Basil. A strange anecdote is related by his son, which the present age would call a singular coincidence, but which our ancestors would attribute to divine interposition. I am willing to believe anything on sufficient evidence. The testimony on which this anecdote rests is the affirmation of Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London. " He was accustomed," says Mr. Samuel Foxe, " in the presence of many living persons, to declare that he was present at a sermon, wherein Master Foxe, among many other things which he preached to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them, that now was the time come for their return to England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God. For these words," says his son, " he was sharply reproved by the graver divines there present." He was, however, excused afterwards by the event; for, by comparing dates, it was found that the queen died but the day preceding the prediction uttered by Foxe.

(1) Harleian MSS. No. 416, Art. 34, p. 70.

(2) There is mentioned in a parenthesis by his son after this, that his family was increased with two children: and as Samuel, who wrote his life, is called his eldest son, we may conclude they were both daughters. It appears probable that one was born at Basil.

It is most probable that the martyrologist, on considering the cruelties in England—the depression of the protestant cause on the Continent—the promises of God that the pure truths of Christianity and the faith of the catholic church should never perish—had inferred, that the time had arrived when these promises would appear to be overthrown, unless some great deliverance had occurred; and he concluded that such deliverance could be only obtained by the death of the queen. The conclusion so rested on his mind, that it influenced his imagination, and became eventually the conviction of his reason, a portion of his faith, and the substance of a sermon. He expressed his belief in the form of a prophecy.

Some difficulty is found in reconciling the account of his biographers as to his resources at this period. In the second year after Mary's death he returned to England. His son informs us that he was so poor that he was compelled to remain at Basil with his family, which was now increased by two children, till money was sent him from England to bear his expenses in travelling. Fuller and Strype[1] speak of the success of his literary labours in language which prevents many from giving implicit credence to these statements.

We may infer, from the narrative by his son, that the disputes on the Continent had begun, even at this early period, to divide the reformers in England. By this writer of his life we are informed that, in consequence of the delay of the martyrologist in returning to England, some hard speeches were spoken against him, as "if through pride he had delayed to come, thereby seeking a shorter, and more speedy way to preferment, as being due to him when he should be sent for." Foxe paid no attention to these and similar observations. He was the retired and secluded student, despising injuries, and neglecting his own right, says his son. He hid himself in his study. Though he was now eminent for his exertions, and was favoured with the friendship of the great, and might easily have attained to honours, neither avarice nor ambition tempted him to leave his retirement. Disinterestedness of this kind is seldom credited. It is understood by few, and appreciated by fewer. Yet the whole tenor of the life of the martyrologist compels us to believe that his son has described him rightly, when he thus represents his father as the contented, unambitious, religious, laborious, and happy student.

Though he did not return to England immediately on the accession of Elizabeth, Foxe wrote to her a Latin address, congratulating the queen, in the name of the German nation, on her accession to the throne. It does not consist of merely complimentary and eulogistical phrases, but abounds with useful advice to the queen, the court, and the clergy.[2]

In the year after the queen's accession, this edition of his work appeared, dedicated to the duke of Norfolk.[3] The dedication is written

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 151. Fuller, lib. viii. p. 36.
(2) It was printed at Basil by Oporinus.
(3) The title of this edition was "Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt maximarumque per Europam persecutionum ac sanctorum Dei Martyrum cætera-

in his usual elegant Latin. He mentions to his former pupil his endeavours to form his youthful mind, and requests him to accept this literary labour from the hands of his old tutor, or, if he would rather, from his now new client. He hopes that it may tend to establish him in the protestant religion, and that the commentaries will not be read only by him, but by all men of his rank and station, from the highest to the lowest, public and private, not in England merely, but by Christians every where. He ascribes the glory to Christ, and adds, what can be a more delightful contemplation than that, casting one's eye around, we may, in such small space, consider so many changes of times, see such instability in the mass of the people, that they always follow where the prince leads; to behold so many heroes and chief men—dukes, counts, knights, and esquires—so many, both learned and unlearned, passing in review before one, each performing so bravely and admirably his part; to look upon such an army of most chosen martyrs, O blessed Jesus, contending for thee with such constancy, dying with such fortitude, and disputing with such prudence! He then says, that it will show God's providence, afflicting upon the heads of some that which they assigned to others; that to many who find there—some perhaps their parents, others their sons, some again their wives, another part husbands, some relations and near connexions, others neighbours and friends, it will be pleasant to read of them in these records, as if each affectionately desired to listen to them speaking. Here, also, is afforded the character of both churches, so that a judgment may be found without much trouble. There are also the decisions, testimonies, reasonings, and arguments of the most learned martyrs in the weightiest controversies; so that there is left no place for error or doubt. He concludes by saying, "that he desired to say much more to his highness (*sublimitatem*), but his time was short, and that both printers and markets were urgent, and that he could not write as he desired."

The poor student was writing his history for his bread; and though his labour was his amusement and his passion, as well as his means of subsistence, he had no leisure to devote himself further to the language of courtesy and kindness.[1] His task was now, however, completed, and Foxe returned to England by the month of October 1559, the year after the accession of Elizabeth, in great peace of mind, but in precarious health of body, and in the deepest privation and distress.

rumque Rerum si quæ insignioris exempli sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes Commentarii. Pars Prima in quâ primum de Rebus per Angliam et Scotiam Gestis: atq: in primis de Horrenda, sub *Maria* nuper Regina, persecutione, narratio continetur. Auctore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basileæ, per Nicolaum Bulingerum et Joannem Oporinem." The dedication was "Præpotenti ac pietate non minus quam generis claritudine ornatiss. Principi. D. Thomæ Duci Norfolciæ, supremo Regni Ang. Archi-Marschallo, etc. Mecænati suo Joan. Foxus perennem in Christo cum salute felicitatem."

(1) "Volebam præterea de iis apud te multo plura: sed vix dieculæ pars mihi ad compellandam sublimitatem suam debatur ita festinabant typographi et urgebant nundinæ.

"Dominus Jesus, principum omnis quæ celsitudinis princeps, celsitudinem tuam diu nobis velit incolumem: teque cum martyribus, et sanctis suis, sanctificet in regnum gloriæ suæ simulque ad publicam Reginæ patriæque tuæ utilitatem.

"Basileæ Anno 1559. Septembris 1. Tuæ Cels. Multis nominibus devinctus addictusque in Christo.

"JOAN. FOXUS."

SECTION IV.

FROM HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND AFTER THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH, 1559, TO HIS DEATH, 1587.

RETURN TO ENGLAND—RESIDENCE AT NORWICH—FIRST ENGLISH EDITION OF THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS—HIS PREFERMENTS—LABOURS—CORRESPONDENCE—SERMONS—PRAYERS FOR THE ROMANISTS AT PAUL'S CROSS—ADDRESS TO THE PURITANS—DEATH—CHARACTER—ESTIMATION OF HIS WORKS.

THE time of the return of John Foxe to England is ascertained by the date of a letter, October 1559, written from London to the duke of Norfolk. From this letter we learn, too, the severe privation and distress under which he still laboured. The printers at Basil, had only, it seems, requited his valuable services with shelter, bread, and water. His own delightful pursuits and employments in the service of the best Master and the best cause, had given him that inward happiness which is the greatest earthly blessing. The letter to his former patron, the duke of Norfolk, reveals to us the embarrassments under which he suffered, and the deep sense of the religion which comforted him.

"I have so often," he says, "written to your highness, that I feel ashamed to trouble you any more. However, I am so conscious of the ingenuous kindness of your nature, that I know there would be no necessity for my petition if there was only wanting the will to bestow aid. But perhaps these times hinder you sending to us, and me urging you. I cannot think that it is from forgetfulness of us, nor from pride, you have so long withheld assistance to us. But whatever may be the cause why your liberality has thus ceased, one thing I know, that it is most easy for thee, in the midst of your great fortune and abundance of all things, to set aside for us some small allowance out of, as I hear, your immense and unbounded expenditure. More earnest prayers would be necessary where benefactors are less inclined to confer benefits. But your disposition always seemed of that character, that you gave rather from your own nature than the prayers of others. I think, alas! my disposition is not unknown to you, which is not to be importunately craving, although dying with hunger."

"That as yet I have dedicated nothing to you;[1] apprehension of danger to you, rather than my own will, has prevented me, which your highness, if God permit, shall afterwards rightly understand.

"As far as regards religion, I think there is no necessity for me to

(1) This must refer to the fact, that Foxe had inscribed nothing to the Duke since he had returned to England. Or the allusion may mean that he had dedicated nothing to him of a merely political nature; or, in the estimation of the tutor and supplicant, which he esteemed worthy of the attention of so good and great a friend. Foxe had, as we have seen, dedicated to the Duke the Basil edition of his work, published in 1559.

advise. Wherever the truth be, may God grant that you manfully stand with it. In the mean time bear this in mind, that if you cannot help Christ at this juncture, let no mortal persuade you in any way to become his adversary. He will at length conquer all opponents. The time which others spend in courtly pomps and dice, if you devote to reading the sacred Scriptures, you will in this act wisely."[1]

The duke was not in London when this letter was addressed to him. His reply is—"I have received your letter, my excellent preceptor, from which I learn your affection towards me, which is very acceptable to me. And unless the return of my servants had preceded my letters, you would have been here with me before this. For I wrote to them that they should so provide you with all things, that you might speedily come to me: which would have so happened had they not returned more quickly than I expected. Now, since I shall be in London shortly, I wish you to await me there, where, as I desire and ought, I will look to you. In the mean time I bid you farewell.—From my house at Reyningate, the 30th October, 1559.

"Your pupil, "THOMAS NORFOLK.[2]

"To my right-loving schoolmaster, John Foxe."

The duke performed his promise, and received Foxe into his Manor-house, Christ's Church, Aldgate. The following letter to Mr. Hickman,[3] at Bugden, proves that his health at this time was in a precarious state.

"The grace of Christ Jesus grant us hys everlastyng comfort, through true fayth in hym. Amen. Of your long looked for return I am glad. Of your reformed health I am more glad. As also, yf yt so please ye lord, we may mete here at London I wyl not be sory. Yf strength and courage had been corespondent to my wyl, I wold have been glad to have seen you at this present at Bugden, and to have seen Bugden for your sake. But this doubtful whether, this could ayr, ye foule way, and ye weakenes of my health would not wel matche together, or els no travayle, nor lack of good wyl, shuld have witholden me from rydyng to Mr. Hyckman, to no man in England more sõner. Notwithstandyng yt which serveth not now, may serve an other tyme, if yt so please ye Lord, our merciful Saviour, who confirme and stablyshe us dayly increasyng in the trew knowlege of hys name, and if yt be hys pleasure, graunt

(1) The original is in Harl. MSS. No. 416, Art. 65, p. 115. b

"Cur nihil nomini tuo inscribere adhuc ausim, obstat periculi tui metus, potius quam voluntas accincta. Id quod celsitudo tua (Christo aspirante) posthac rectius intelliget. Quod ad religionem attinet, non arbitror opus te admonere. Ubi stet veritas, Dominus det ut tu cum veritate stare queas viriliter. Illud interim imprimis vide, nequis eo te adducat mortalium, si Christum laborantem juvare non queas, attamen ut illi te adversarium ulla in re præbeas. Vincet enim ille tandem invitis omnibus. Tempus quod alii pompis aulicis et aleis impendent, si tu literarum sacrarum lectioni impertias, prudenter, ac in rem tuam ageres."

(2) "Accepi litteras tuas, optime preceptor, quibus mihi quod animi haberes, significasti, quodque mihi valde charum est. Et nisi famulorum meorum redditus literas meas prævenisset, multo antehac tu hic mecum fuisses. Scripsi enim ad illos, ut ita tibi de rebus omnibus providerent, ut ad me subito venires: quod et ita factum fuisset, nisi citius quam credideram, rediissent. Nunc quoniam ipse brevi te Londini videbo, velim ut ibi me expectes, quando tibi (sicubi et debeo et volo) prospiciam. Interea jubeo te valere. Ex ædibus meis Reningatiæ, tricessimo die Octobr. 1559.

To my right loving schoolemaster John Foxe. "Tuus alumnus, "THOMAS NORFOLC."

Harl. MSS. No. 417, Art. 66.

(3) Harl MSS. No. 416, Art. 81, fol. 134.

we may both safely and shortly see yow here at London. Londini, Octob. 5.[1] I pray you commend me to your good hoast, and to your good hoastes, and to your good wife.

"Your in Christ, "JOHN FOXE."

It was probably in consequence of the bad state of health into which the duke of Norfolk perceived Foxe to be falling that he sent him to Norwich soon after they met, on pretence of executing some commission. He was collecting additional materials for a new and enlarged edition of the "Acts and Monuments" in English, and his intense application and studious habits were impairing his constitution. One additional cause might be his deep anxiety to see further improvements in the manner of worshipping God in the service of the church. Though he conformed to the Book of Common Prayer as it had been lately restored by Elizabeth, he believed that certain changes in the liturgy would be improvements, and he wished to see them established. We have no evidence respecting the part he took in the private discussions which probably took place among his friends, who entertained the same views. The duke of Norfolk gave him some commission, as already intimated, to proceed to Norwich, where the friend, though an opponent of Foxe, at Frankfort, was now bishop. Dr. Cox had been elected to Norwich by the dean and chapter, after the death of bishop Hopton, June 1559. He was appointed to the see of Ely in the December of the same year; and Parkhurst succeeded him at Norwich, March 27th, 1560. Foxe was the intimate friend of both Cox and Parkhurst, as well as of the duke of Norfolk. He continued at Norwich for some time; and is said, by Strype, to have been residing with the bishop at the end of the year 1560. "The bishop," says Strype, "took Foxe down to Norwich with him, not only for his company, but to preach the gospel, being of excellent eloquence; and to instruct the people in good religion, which was much needed, as bishop Hopton, the last popish bishop in the reign of Mary, who died in the same year with that queen, had leavened the diocese with popery."

This anecdote of Foxe affords us a pleasing illustration of the comparatively happy state of England as to matters of religion in the earlier years of the reign of Elizabeth. Nations progress slowly, and learn only by experience—the experience of evil. Great calamities and sorrows bear to states, the same analogy which the Iliad of Homer bears to the laws of epic poetry. The poem of the author preceded the rules of the critic. The sufferings of a nation arising from bad laws precede the regulations and theories which aim at better government, and wiser institutions. The intolerable severities by which the Romanists had endeavoured to promote uniformity of belief made the people rejoice in the supremacy of a native sovereign instead of a foreign bishop, of whom the temporal ruler was only vicegerent and minister: and though

(1) We have here the earliest date under Foxe's hand, after his return from exile.

the doctrine of toleration was not fully developed, and the magnificent freedom which permits every man to inquire fully into the truth, and to believe those conclusions only which he adopts upon evidence, appearing to him to be satisfactory, was unknown to the legislature; yet the people welcomed with rapture the cessation of the persecutions, the restoration of the liturgy, the temporal supremacy, and the general repose. One hundred and sixty-two beneficed persons, from the bishop to the priest, out of ninety-four hundred beneficed clergymen, (the number who survived the reign of Mary,) adhered to the church of Rome. The rest submitted to the change. The council of Trent had not ceased its sittings, when the thirty-nine articles were reappointed as the faith of England. The church of Rome in its present form is, consequently, of later origin than the church of England, in its present form. The decisions at Trent, had not yet erected the insurmountable barrier between the two churches. The friends of the church of Rome in England then attended their parish churches. The queen desired to conciliate all; but the papists, more than the puritans. The objectors to some portions of our church service on the principles of the Frankfort seceders, remained with Foxe, stedfast to the communion of the episcopal church; and fought against the common enemy without any schismatical separation. The foreign religious societies, which had not, unfortunately, retained the best bond of union—episcopal government—were considered as churches deserving the name of our dear sisters in Christ. Episcopacy was upheld in England, both as of divine appointment, and as the best form of church government; without any offensive declaration that those who had not adopted it, were unworthy of being considered as partakers of the covenanted mercies of God. The pensions of the monks, and of others who had been ejected from their *asyla*, were paid; and though a proclamation was issued this very year, in which all anabaptists were commanded to leave the kingdom, this very enactment was the proof of the great change which had already taken place in the spirit of the public law, which substituted the punishment of exile, in the place of death, for religious opinions. John Foxe, we know, had not changed his long-recorded objections to some portions of the service-book. He was probably, on this account, not deemed eligible to the higher preferments, with which his labours, talents, and usefulness would otherwise have been rewarded: and a church and a government are right, while they permit every citizen to express his opinions without punishment, to exempt from the list of candidates for the higher stations, those who are not devoted to the existing institutions. No state can be desired to give power to those citizens who would endeavour to destroy the institutions, for the very defence of which, they are invested with that power. If the opinions of any citizen, when submitted to the people and their rulers, so influence the mass, that those opinions are urged upon the rulers as the will of the majority; the ruler may be justified in calling the propounder of those conclusions to the high places of authority, that

the change may be made more peacefully, and more effectually. The opinions of John Foxe, and of the rest of the Frankfort objectors to the liturgy, were not sanctioned by the people; and he was justly, therefore, excluded from the episcopate of England. He was happier, far happier, in his liberty than he would have been in further advancement. He was employed in those departments of the public service in which he could be useful by preaching through the diocese, in conjunction with his friend, the bishop of Norwich; and he was admitted, as we shall see, to the lesser preferments, which gave him comparative competence and provision, without authority and power.

There is a moral influence exercised by an eminently useful and good man, upon the minds of his contemporaries, which is more gratifying to the heart than the fascinations of power, when unattended by similar homage. Though Foxe was not raised to the episcopacy, he appears, from many evidences, to have been regarded with much veneration and affection by his contemporaries. We learn this from various letters published by Strype, or preserved in the Harleian manuscripts. I shall give a few evidences of his moral influence, and the value set upon his friendship and interest, exercised on various occasions, from some of these letters.

He is solicited by one to remember those near him in his prayers to God, they not having bowed the knee to Baal, as also to obtain for others some preferment: he himself being still without either a benefice or an ecclesiastical dignity. Strype informs us that the letter, of which the following is a copy, was addressed to him at Norwich.

"Derelye beloved in Christ Jesus oure onlye comfort in all extreame assaultes, &c. These fewe words are but as a testemonie of my hartie salutacions unto youe, contynuallye wysshynge your prosperous successe in the Lordes harveste, and that many laborers maye by your meanes be sent forthe in that good worke to call the yonglinges to the greate supper of the lambe that was slayne from the begynninge of the worlde, &c.; and for your memento I have noted a fewe names (which have not bowed their knees to Baall) which I commit to your remembrance, not that I judge ye have them in oblivion, but that I must have somwhat to blot my paper wythe, to make matter, &c. Mr. Brull,[1] James Yonge, Mr. Playfer, Wylliam Fausset, mynister of Linseye, and thys berer Peter Foxman,[2] and are all vertuous men, fearinge God. These fewe, with many others, I trust shall not be forgotten. Elyzabeth my wyffe, and our brother T^o^. Upcher, salutethe youe, desyringe youe, when ye speake unto God, to tell hym of us. Thus the eternall Spirite governe youe in all youre affaires, to hys glorie and your everlastinge comforte in hym. Thys 18 November, Anno D^o^. 1560, in London.

"Syr, yf ye can procure some lyvinge of 50^li^. a yeare, or upwarde, for Robarde Cooll, he ys mynded heare to give up wheare he ys; and allso

(1) Strype writes this "Bull," Annals, vol. i. p. 310. It is, by some, written Bruel, Bruil, Brule.
(2) "Forman," Strype.

Rycharde Berde, a good mynister. I comyt them all to your remembraunce. Once agayne byddinge yowe hartely farewell in Christ. Amen.

"Youres in the Lorde assuredlye, "WYLLYAM WYNTROPP."

"To hys very ffrende Mr. Jhon Foxe, preacher in Norwiche."[1]

The following will be read by those who have appreciated the moral as well as literary merits of Foxe, as a gratifying testimony from one whose voice in his praise could be lifted up only from proof of his virtues.

"I am greatly rejoiced, my Foxe, since your coming is so near at hand: and I think every day a year until I behold yourself. Your love and labour bestowed upon me in my youth and poverty, I forget not; and, God willing, you shall find that it has not been bestowed upon an ungrateful man. I am ashamed of my unskilfulness in the letters I write to you, but my affection compelled me to do that for you, which I wish to do for no other, because I have not, for five years past, written a Latin epistle. As other business calls me, and that I may not detain you from other engagements by these barbarous letters, hoping to see you in a few days, I wish you, in Christ, the happiest life and arrival.

"*March* 5. "Your most loving scholar, "THO. NORFOLK."[2]

The following is part of a letter from one under temptations to blaspheme, and requesting Foxe's counsel thereupon.

"I have writyn a longe letter, but I will not trobell your wurshype no more but to have your avise, howe, if you were so provoked yourself withe orribill temptacions of blasphemye, what you wold do, and howe youe wold overcome it and be thorowlie comforted and quyeted, for my feithe is not strong to overcome suche a ferfull matter, and dowtinge myche for that Syente Peter in feithe fayled in a grete dele lesse terror: but if one myghte gather this hope and comfort that if one shold do all the syn that ever was doñ or shall be, so as he do it not of a pretenced wilfull malise and purpose agaynst the holie gost, but faull by fere or weknes or by fraylte, or by any other cause and combred mynde, or by temptacion obpressed, but he myghte be remytted, then thes feres and dowtes wold be mytigated, and if one faull some hope he wold gather in God's mercie, for it is wrytyn his mercie is in gretnes lyke to hym selfe and hathe no ende. And also to have your avise whatt youe wold do if in such sorte youe shold offende as God forbydd, for to despeyre none maye, nor to slee themselves none maye, for that

(1) Harl. MS. 416. art. 61, fol. 106.

(2) "*Dux Norfolciensis ad D. Joh. Foxum.*

"Incredibili gaudio obruor, mi Foxe, cum tuum adventum, jam appropinquare conspicor; et tamen computens unumquemque diem, (ut) annum, donec tuam personam intueor. Tuum amorem, atque laborem, in juventute, et paupertate mea, in me impensam, non obliviscor, et, Deo volente, in memorem hominem collocatum invenies. Pudet me meam dissuetudinem in literis tibi his scriptis indicare, sed amor cogit me tibi id facere quod nemini alii volui; nam nunquam scripsi epistolam Latinam istis jam quinque præteritis annis, sic aliis negotiis me tempus appellavit, et ne longo tempore his barbaris litteris te in rebus tuis impedire possim, sperans te hic videre infra paucos dies, opto tibi in Christo felicissimam vitam atque adventum. Die Martii 5.

"Tuus scholasticus amantissimus, "THO. NORFFOL."

Harl. MSS 417. art. 23, fol. 102.

is a grete offence, and of this I desyre your councell, for I am not in this trubele alone, but all men have that nede of councell that I have if suche things come into there heds and be moved therewithe. And also to have your avise howe to discharge my herte from suche movings and fere. They come on me sodenlye, but they be hard to avoide and put aweye, if I maye be clered agayne and held (*healed?*) I am not abill to make yowe amends, for this is the hevest burdyn that ever was, to be in suche fere that if men falle to such things, and beinge of them selves se weke and prone, they shall have no mercye. Jobbe nor Davuhe (David) were never in that case.[1] . . . . ."

Another letter of T. H. to Mr. Fox, desiring comfort, as byinge wonderfully appawlede to se no frewt to follow the herynge God's worde thys 20 yers: but that rather he wexsythe worse and worse.

" For somitche, mi adopted father, y^{t} unthankfulness ys hated of God as dothe manifestlye apere in his holy wordes, and of all men hyely detested, which I may justly be charged withall consyderynge the great consolation and fatherly councell I received at youre handes, beynge then sore deseased in sowle and body allso; the where in youre ortcharde I reseyved most happy consolation, yf grace had so governed me as the spirit oft provoked me and dayly dothe, but this old putrifyed Adam, mi synfull flesh, I n^{ed} (*named*) carythe styll so lofty a sayle y^{t} by no meanes yt wylbe made subject to the spyryt, butt evermore rebellythe and lustethe after carnale and fleshly thynges, not worthy onse to be named, as the apostell testifyethe, and where yt pleasythe owre Savior Crist to comand all syñers, excludyng non, to com boldly unto hym. I in truthe beynge the greatest synner in all Christendom am provokyd oft to call upon God by Christ mi only Redemer, he of hys great mercy preservythe me from desperation byinge wonderfully appawled to se no frewt to follow the herynge God's worde thys xx^{ti} yeres, but rather wexsythe worse and worse, therefore yett ones agayne I make bold in Christ to send unto you for helpe in this mi dystres, beynge as it were overladyn with the multitude of mi synes, and greatly affheared to aprotche in yowre presense, yett so longe as lyeve endurythe, God's grace assystinge me, I wyll hope for pardon, knowynge y^{t} God, in his good tyme, wyll send helpe. Into whoes handes I holly comend mi weke and synfull body and soule, requiryng pardon for mi syns past, and grace to amend herafter; besychynge you, good father, to remember me in your dayly prayers to the throne of —— y^{t} att the least wyse, allthowe I am most unworthy to be God's (*servant*), yett by the dayly medyation of Christ Jhesu, I may be amounge the number of his chosyn and elect children and hyred servants, which were rewarded all alyeke, as well thos y^{t} laboured but one ower as thos y^{t} bore the burden and heat of the hole day, for in hym we all do lyve and have owre beynge, and are to be caryed wether yt pleasethe hys goodnes, and without hys spetyall grace

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 79, fol. 131.

cannot of owreselves thynke somitche as a good thought, mutche lesse do a good deed, thus you se what I am beynge left to miselfe, even a thynge of nothynge, ye in lyfe worse then a Jewe, hatynge all goodnes and doinge all that yll ys. Beloved in Christ, thus I end for this tyeme, knowynge y^{t} you are allways occupyed in good thynges, and thys mi letter shuld rather offend yowre sowle and body then aniweys to perfect ether, seyinge in me no amendyment att all, butt yett herby I confesse I am greatly dysburdyned of y^{t} longynge desyer I had and dayly have to here from you, in y^{t} I cannot cum to you as I wold, accordynge to dewti. Good father, herin I have sent you a small tokyn of a great good wyll, which I pray you accept in good part, and pray for me as I do for you, allbeyt God knowythe mi prayer ys very cold, mutche encumbered with worldly vanites, even when I am most desyrus to serve me God. Vale.

" T. H."[1]

" To mi dere and faythfull frend, Mr. Fox, geve these."

The following letters show what interest Foxe took in the welfare of his fellow creatures, and what respect he must have been held in, when so many and so various applications were made to him both for his advice and his assistance.

" Draught of a Letter from Mr. John Foxe to some friends, in behalfe of a poor man wronged by Stephen Bechyng.

" Beati pacifici. (Blessed are the peace-makers.)

" Grace in Christ. Mr. Boyne, Peter Woodgat, and Thomas Petter, yf yt shal please you. Concernynge ye case of this pore man, as I understand yt, ye matter ys playn, hys vexation gret, his injurie intolerable, and suche as none of you wold ever suffer to be done to your selves. Yf yt would be so, that evyl persons by fraud and injurie may oppresse and circumvent ye simple, and no redresse in such wrongfull sufferyngs, then the Lord gyve us pacience and be mercyful to thys realme. But yf yt be the parts of godly and christen men to helpe in suche wrongs and iuries (*thus, but meaning injuries*) and to sett peace, wher disquyetnes is, and to doo for others as they would to be doen to them selves. Then I pray you aforenamed, joynyng also Edward Barcoke with you, in your zeale of ye Lord, to worke in thys matter, what ye can, to talk ernestly with Steven Bechyng, and to requyre hym in ye name of the Lord Iesus, to defraud thys pore man no longer from hys ryght, to ye gret disquyetyng of hys mynd, and undoyng of hys wyfe and her children. Yf he doo, let hym understand, blessed be ye Lord, ther be lawes in the realme, iustice is not al asleape, ther ys also a court of concience and a godly overseer of ye same, ye Lord Keaper, who both by hys wysedome wyl sone find out ye matter, and upon hys lawful authoritie wyl see ye wronge to be redressed. And yf ther were no ryght at al here to be had in earth, yet let the saed Steven Bechyng thys understand, that ye Lord Iesus ys

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 72, fol. 120.

alyve in heaven, whose hand he can not eschape, nor yet able to abyde yf yt falle. But beste ys, that your wysdomes gentlely and quyetly compose the matter at home. Wherein I beseche you, as a peacemaker, to do in y^s^ matter what ye can. The zeale of the Lord Iesus dwel in you. Amen." [1]

" Mr. John Foxe to the Lord Chief Justice, recommending Mr. J. Smythe to be made Schoolmaster of Ippeswiche.

" Forasmuch as thys yong man, for whom I wryte, ys not so well known to your honour, peradventure, as he ys to me, by long acquayntance and continuance, to signifie therfore to your lordshyp, not only upon privat affection but upon treuth and knowlege in hys behalf: thys ys breifly to testifie to your good L. that if ye town of Ypswyche stand in neede of a worthy, godly, and lerned scholmaster, for all such indewments and ornaments requisite in such a function, or trew religion, lernyng, diligence and practise, for these, and such other gyftes of abilitie, I know not how, nor where they may be better spedd, then in receavyng thys Mr. J. Smythe, beyng hym self born in ye same town of Ypsewyche: whom both present occasion of tyme, and ye good vocation of Christ, I trust, offereth now unto them. Certefying, moreover, your good Lordship, and not only you, but also ye whole town of Ypsewyche, that who soever shall receave hym for guydyng of theire schole, shal doo no such pleasure to hym, as profyte to them selves, and commoditie to theire yougth. D. Iesus tibi benedicat, et tuis. Amen.

Lond. Novemb. 23. " Yours in Christ Iesu,

" JOHN FOXE." [2]

" To ye ryght honorable and hys very good lord,
ye Lord Cheefe Justice of England."

From this it would appear as if the lord chief justice either had the appointment of a schoolmaster for Ipswich, or else his recommendation would be so much respected, that the person bearing it would be elected. Yet Foxe, not content with having endeavoured to interest the chief justice, wrote the following letter to the inhabitants, or authorities of Ipswich, in favour of the same person.

" Allthough privat affection and good wyll I beare to thys good man moveth me to doo for hym as every man wold be glad to do for hys frend, yet not so much that, as publike dewtie I owe to others, namely to your worshypes and the whole townshype of Ypswyche, to whom I am not a lytle bownde, also the consideration I have to the ryght education of youth, which I wysh in al places to be brought up in godly vertue and good letters, causeth me to wryte to your worshypes, not so much for the preferment of hym for whom I wryte, as for your own comoditie I trust, and furtherance of your youth. Understandyng therfore y^t^ you are in some consultation about placyng a mete instructor for your schole,

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 92, fol. 147. (2) Ibid. art. 98, fol. 157.

as ye matter in my mynd requyreth good advisement and deliberat circumspection, so I doubt not but your wysdoms may have sufficient choyse of a number in dyvers places, wherin, yf my opinion and censure were required herein, whom I cold commend or wold wysh unto you, I know none other." [1]

The next letter is one of a very different character, for it is one recommending to a gentlewoman, a very godly gentleman, a friend of Foxe's, for a husband.

" As your discret circumspection is not unprovided of sufficient counsail what you have best to doo in your own affayres, to yourself best known, to me nothyng appertaynyng; so nether do I enterprise so boldly to wryte to you, as havyng any nede to be advertised by others. Yet notwithstandyng for so much as we are so wylled by the Apostle to exhorte one an other, I trust you wyll not be offended, if I shal wryte unto you by way of persuasion, in ye behalfe of a certen godly gentleman, and deare frend of myne. The same gentleman I meane, whom you dyd see not long ago with me at Mr. Moultons, whose syncere integritie, vertuous lyfe, myld and softe conditions, stayde and satteled discretion, hys amiable lovyngnes, loved of all men that know hym, with no lesse singular affection workyng in hys hart especially towards yow, yf they were so well known to you, as they are to me, and others which have experiènce of hym, I shuld not nede to bestowe thys laboure herein, eyther in exhorttyng of you, or commendyng of hym: yow wold soone understand yourself what ye had to doo best for your self.

" But because ye partie as yet as unacquaynted, ys not so wel known unto yow, to thentent therfore by report of others ye shuld not waynt some intelligence herof, I thought thus much to wryte in hys behalf, who nether wryteth for hym self, nether ys privye, I assure yow, of my wrytyng for hym, testifying to yow simplely what I do thynke, and not only what I thynk meself, but heare also testified by some others, which knoweth yow better then I doo, that yf the favour of your mynd culd be no lesse inclined to hym, then the lord hath wrought in hys hart toward you, verely it is supposed a meyter matche culd not be found for you, nor wysshed unto you, al thyngs on both parts considered, both that I heare of you, and know by hym. Thus much have I signified to you what I thought, and know of hym to be trew. You for your part doo what you thynk good, better in my mynd ye cannot doo, then to counsail in thys matter with ye lord, who as he hath ordayned maryage betwen man and wyfe, so gyveth housbands as he pleaseth. Nether am I ignorant, but there may be, that come to you with gretter offers, which in deede myght be somethyng for you to harken to, yf your case stoode in any such neede of worldly goods. But now you havyng enough, and blessed be God, abundance; what can you desyre more now, then a quyet lyfe with that which God hath sent you? And let the offerres be

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 82, fol. 135.

never so great, ye shal fynd at length trew godlynes joyned with stayed temperance more fytter for your condition as yt standeth, then gretter supperfluytie of worldly substance. And furthermore, when all your counters shal be cast, ye shal prove yt trew, and so counte with your self, that an hundreth pounds by yeare with thrifty and prudent guydyng wyl goo further at ye yeares end, then v or 6 hundreth, with wastful spendyng. I say no more, but as I sayd, I repete agayn, you are wise enough, ye know herin what ye have to do. The lord almyghtie disposer of all thyngs, directe youre wayes and counsails to that which best shalbe to your quyetnes and commoditie, per Christum Jesum dominum nostrum. Amen."[1] "J. FOXE."

The following letter is curious. It was addressed to him by an individual complaining of his temptations, and seeking the advice and prayers of the martyrologist.

"Mr. Foxe—I wish you pacem Deo et consolationem Spiritus Sancti, whiche, I praye God, I maye once fynde with you. Sir, you shall understande that I have bene of late, and am presentlye merveylouslye troobled with my accoostomed passions, et subit animum dubitatio, num filii Dei talibus tentationibus occupentur, tentatione namque desperationis cencior. I remember that of Sawle, after he was rejected, hit was thus written: Spiritus autem Jehove recessit a Saule et terruit eum Spiritus malus a Jehova, whiche woordes make me merveylouslye afrayed, for when I consider the case wherin I stande, methynketh I am vexed even with Sawles evill sprite. There is also another place of Scripture whiche Sathan objecteth agaynste me, which is this, (Rom. ii.) his vero qui sunt contentiosi et qui veritati quidem non obtemperant, sed obtemperant injustitiæ indignatio et ira afflictio et anxietas, etc. methinketh y^t^ here indignatio ira afflictio et anxietas is even ye same that was in Sawle. Good Mr. Foxe for Christes sake resolve in these doubtes, and praye to yours and my allowed lorde Jesus y^t^ in mercye he will strengthen me and other his servantes with ye invincible force of his grace agaynste ye maliciouse assaultes of Sathan, for you know what S. James sayeth: confitemini vicem peccata vestra et orate invicem alii pro aliis ut servemini, multum valet deprecatio justi efficax (*James* v. 16) wherfore good Mr. Foxe per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum obtestor rogo etiam atque obsecro ut in precibus tuis coram Deo mentionem mei facias. Idem pro te facturum policeor, aliquid rescribas obsecro quicquid velis et modo consolatorie valeas in domino, amen, paracletus ille tui meique sit custos nostraque studia dirigat ad sui nominis gloriam propriam salutem ecclesiæ suæ utillitatem amen. Datum nuberie anno 1566. 4° mensis martii. "Tuus in Christo frater,

"THOMAS DOLLMAN."[2]

"To my good frende Mr. Foxe at Mr. Dayes,
over Aldersgate geve these."

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 88, fol. 143. (2) Ibid. art. 69, fol. 116.

This letter, and many others of the same kind, fully confirm the truth of the statement made by his son, that he was by nature an amiable man, who desired always to be friendly to others. "By good advice," says his son, "by comfortable persuasions, or by a charitable hand, he relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires, of innumerable persons. No man's house was more thronged with clients than that of John Foxe. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common persons of all degrees; and almost all for the same cause—to seek some salve for a wounded conscience."

Foxe continued in the same poverty in which he returned to England for some years. The provision allowed him by the duke of Norfolk was but small. He alludes to this circumstance in a letter to his fellow collegian, Lawrence Humphrey, who was appointed president of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1562. He condemns Humphrey for leaving his post. "Are you not ashamed," says he, "to become such a fugitive. You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition as when I first returned to England from Germany." This poverty did not, however, induce him for one moment to waive his objections to some of the ceremonies and canons of the church. He desired to see a further reformation effected. He was a decided episcopalian;[1] and as such, never united himself to any schismatical separatists from the church; yet he professed to hold some objections to the new changes, as not proceeding sufficiently far from popery; and these objections prevented him, as before intimated, from receiving the higher preferments in the church. They did not, however, keep him back from all. In common with many others, who held similar objections, he was admitted to the preferments, of which I shall proceed to take notice.

During his residence at Norwich, when he was engaged in preaching, in translating, or rewriting his laborious work in English, and making many, and carefully studied, additions to it from all quarters, his exertions were well known to bishop Parkhurst, who held frequent conversations with him on the subject of preferment. He wished Foxe to be constantly near him; and endeavoured to procure for him a prebendal stall at Norwich, that he might there pursue his studies, and remain the companion and friend of the bishop. No opportunity occurred of this favour being conferred upon him; and Foxe was compelled to return to London to labour in the printing-office of John Day. The desire to devote his life to the perfecting of his history seems now to have overruled all self-considerations. Upon his return to London from Norwich, Foxe, for some time, resided in the town mansion of his friend the duke of Norfolk, the duke being himself with his family at Framlingham,[2] where the

(1) Strype. Annals. Vol. I. cap. xvii. ad fin.

(2) The duchess of Norfolk was, at this time, expecting her confinement. She was the second wife of the duke. His first duchess was the lady Mary Fitzalan, who died in August 1557, about two months after the birth of Philip, earl of Arundel, the eldest son. In 1560 the duke married the lady Margaret Audley, by whom he had three children—Thomas, created earl of Suffolk, the lady Margaret, and the lord William Howard, who settled at Naworth, and became warden of the marshes. He is the ancestor of the present possessors of Castle Howard. His birth took place at Framlingham, in December 1563, and his mother survived the event scarcely a month.

death of the duchess occurred. On this account the duke did not return to London; and Foxe accepted an invitation from Day to remove from his residence under the roof of the duke into his house. That he was now busily engaged in superintending the first English edition of his work, appears from the date of its publication in 1563. In the February of that year, bishop Parkhurst wrote from Ludham, about ten miles from Norwich, to Foxe in London, on the subject of his preferment.

"Salutem in Christo Jesu.—I have received your loving letters, and do understand thereby your visitacion at Goddes hand, in this tyme of mortalytie, you are not ignorant that he ys wont to chastise whom he lovethe. As tochynge the prebend, what I with other your frendes have donne in that behalfe I am sure you have herd. Howbeit the successe is not suche as we hoped at Foules hands, but ther ys one Mr. Smith in Cambridge that hath another of the prebends who, as I hear, can be content to part from the same uppon reasonable condicions. Good Mr. Foxe appointe you and come down, as soon as convenientlie you may, and doubt you not God will provide for you eyther that or some other thing as good, wherunto there shall want nothing in me that I am able to doo. And this with my hartie commendacions to my good frends with you, I commit ye to the keping of Almighte God. From Ludham this xxixth of January, 1563.

"Your assured frend,

"JOHN NORWICH." [1]

This unsuccessful attempt of bishop Parkhurst to procure a prebend in his own cathedral for Foxe, that he might be near both his friend and fellow-exile, the bishop, as well as near his patron the duke of Norfolk,[2] was made early in 1563. Three months after this, another and more successful effort was made to serve him. He was inducted on the last day of May in that year into the canonry and prebend of Shipton in the cathedral of Salisbury. We cannot now ascertain by whose interest this was obtained. It is thought to have been at the instance of secretary Cecil. The date of Foxe's institution to this prebend is generally placed in 1564, a little later; but the extract from bishop Jewel's Register, marks it distinctly in 1563.[3] He was instituted by his pro-

(1) Harl. MSS. No. 416, art. 109, p. 175.
(2) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 44. Oxford Edit.
(3) "Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo tertio. Shipton prebendæ institutio.
"Ultimo die mensis Maii anno Domini prædicto, prænarratus Reverendus pater dominum Johannem Foxum clericum ad canonicatum in ecclesia sua cathedralis Sarum, et prebendam de Shipton in eadem per mortem naturalem Petri Vannes clerici ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, juxta præsentationem Serenissimæ in Christo principis et dominæ, dominæ Elizabeth, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defensor, &c. veri et indubitati ejusdem prebendæ patroni, admisit. Ipsumque canonicum et prebendarium et de eisdem in persona Johannis Randall procuratoris sui legitime constituti instituit et investivit cum suis juribus et pertinentibus universis prestitis primitiis per eundem procuratorem in antejam dicti Johannis Fox prebendarii sic instituti juramento corporali juxta formam statuti in ea parte editi &c. Necnon de legitima obedientia dicto Domino Episcopo et successoribus suis commisitque sibi cura sive onusque vel quod dicto canonicatui et prebendæ incumbit. Et scriptum fuit Decano et Capitulo pro ipsius installacione et inductione."—Register of Bishop Jewel in *anno suprà*.
In addition to this the following entry appears in the Chapter Register of Salisbury:—
"Die lunæ vij. ultimo die mensis Maii Anno Domini 1563 in domo capitulari ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sarum Magistris Parry, Presidente, Lancaster, Chandler, Proctor, et Bradbrydge, Canonicis residentibus, ac Stephano Cheston, Roberto Ryve, Ric. Reade, Johnne Fawley, et Roberto Mody Canonicis prebendatibus, et capitularibus congregatis et capitulum facientibus, dictus Magister Jacobus Pctor (Proctor) procurator Magistri Johannis Fox prebendarii prebendæ de Shipton exhibuit procurationem

curator John Randal, as appears by the extract from the bishop's Register, who is called *Thomas* in his letter to the dean and chapter of Salisbury, in which he requests them to set their seal to the transaction with "Thomas Randal:" at the same time not wishing to do any thing that might be detrimental to his successors in the prebend.[1] The poverty of Foxe was at this time so great that he petitioned the queen to remit the first fruits of his new preferment.[2] He appointed as his vicar William Masters, who was not unknown to the queen, as he was the orator of the university of Cambridge, who delivered a speech to the queen after her address to that university.[3] Such, says Foxe, was the poverty of both, that they had not one farthing to pay the first fruits; and the petition therefore prays that the queen would release both from the payment.

The prebend of Shipton not only gave him a respectable maintenance, but afforded him an opportunity of transmitting a valuable lease to his descendants. It was enjoyed by his family until sir Richard Willis married the heir, or heiress—the daughter of Robert Foxe, the physician.

The other preferment which Foxe enjoyed in the English church, in addition to Cripplegate, which he soon resigned,[4] and the prebend of Shipton, was a stall at Durham, which he held only one year.

Among other fallacies frequently maintained by those who object to the

suum literatorium pro dicto magistro Johanne Fox, et fecit se procuratorum pro eodem ac literas mandaturias Reverendi in Christo principis et Domini, Domini Johannis Sarum Episcopi, Decano et Capitulo Sarum directas pro sua admissione, installatione et inductione nomine domini sui in canonicatu et prebendâ de Shipton prædicta realiter obtulit et præsentavit."—Blacher. Register in Cath.

The following from the Harl. MS. 419. art. 60, fol. 171, is also inaccurate. "Mr. John Fox was Prebend of Shipton in the sixte yeare of Queen Eliz. which is above a hundred years since."

"In the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth John Fox Clarke Profesor of Devinity; was by the particular favour and bounty of her Majty made Parson and Prebendary of the Parsonage of Shipton under Whichwood in the County of Oxd. In requitall of his paines in writing the Booke of Martyrs."

Elizabeth came to the throne November 17, 1558, consequently May 1563 would fall in the fifth year of her reign.

Foxe took his corporal oath that he would observe the statutes of the foundation of the cathedral at Salisbury, and the laudable customs of the Church: he gave the usual security of fifty pounds that he would perform all the duties and support all the burdens attached to his office.—Register, *ut suprà*.

From the same Register it appears that Foxe was not present at the Pentecostal synods held in 1564 and 1565, nor probably at the ensuing ones. He was not present at Bishop Jewel's visitation in June 1568. An hour was allowed for his appearance after his name was called, but he was not present. In December he was proclaimed contumacious, but his penalty reserved until the octave of the next Epiphany. Foxe refused to agree to the payment of the tenth of his income for the repairs of the cathedral, and process was ordered against him with others for its recovery. He was neither present at the election of bishops nor yet of deans.

(1) Ad Decanum et Capitulum Sarisburiensem:—Ornatissime D. Decane, cæteriq. charissimi mihi in Christo fratres ac Domini, in Domino salutem. Nisi æqua vobis videatur petitio, non postulo ut annuatis. Sin nihil a vobis postulaturus sum, quod vel a justissima ratione vel a communi vestro jure et consuetudine sit alienum; peto ut quod illustriss. D. Episcopus, æquissima sua voluntate, passus est a se impetrari, idem a vobis exorare liceat, ut syngraphum hanc nostræ cum Tho. Randallo transactionis publicâ sigilli vestri approbatione, ac benigno suffragio confirmare ne denegetis. In quo ut mihi rem non ingratam, tum nec incommodam his qui mihi successuri sunt, in hanc præbendam, vos pro solita vestra benignitate facturos confido. Harl. MSS. 417, art. 24, fol. 102.

(2) The following is an extract from the letter which is still extant:—Divina largiente providentia contigit, non ita pridem, mihi dono majestatis tua prebendiola in ecclesia sarisber. Quo nomine quantum debeam munificentiss tuæ sublimitati, alias dabitur (Christo volente) explicandi opportunitas (*sic*). Nunc vero ita habet res. Ad prebendam hanc, quam dixi, spectat parochia, in qua vicarium designari Guliel. Masterum, virum optimum, et tuæ forsan majestati non incognitum. Jam utrique hæremus in solutione illius pecuniæ, quæ tibi pro primi anni fructibus debetur, quum neuter tamen teruncium habet ad persolvendum. Ejus pecuniolæ ut remissam nobis faciat Reginea tua pietas, rogare vix audet verecundia, at necessitate tamen impulsi rogare vel inviti cogimur, freti deinde mansuetissima tua benignitate etsi non sine timore aliquo, audaciores tamen ad supplicandum reddimur; nihil diffisi, quin et hinc audaciæ tua facile condonabit pietas, si sciat, quanto nobis detrimento, quantoque obstaculo ad studia nostra sit infelix hujus æri remora. Quamquem nihil esse in studiis aut laboribus nostris haud ignoramus, quod favoris tui lenissimam partem promereatur, cui etiamnum plusquam facultates nos debere agnoscimus; attamen si serenissima tua facilitas, in remittenda hac nobis solutiuncula, gratias nostras maluerit, quam pecuniam nostram deberi tibi maluerit, in altero quid fiscus tuus'..... (unfinished).—Harl. MS. 416, art. 46, fol. 83.

(3) Strype's Life of Parker, vol. i. pp. 375, 376. Oxf Edit. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 108. Oxf. Ed.

(4) See Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, art. Foxe. London, 1748.

establishment of the reformed religion, is the opinion that the revenues of the church, were taken from one church, to be given to another. The fair way of stating the question is this. In the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. the church of England was in communion with, and subjection to the church of Rome. In the course of that reign, while the communion continued, the subjection ceased. Under both the communion and subjection, the creed of either church was unsettled; that is, it received continual additions. In the reign of Edward, the communion and the subjection of the church of England with, and to, the church of Rome ceased altogether. The creed of the church of England became definite. The creed of the church of Rome was still indefinite, and remained so till the termination of the council of Trent, in the fifth year of Elizabeth. The clergy of the church of England, at the conclusion of the reign of Henry VIII., who had possessed the revenues of the church under the subjection to, and communion with Rome, generally retained those revenues, with the exception of the confiscations to laymen during the reigns of Henry and Edward. Though some went into exile under Mary, the great majority of the clergy, in consequence of this very indefiniteness of its creed, submitted to the restoration of the old system. The council of Trent itself may be called the chief establisher of the reformed religion, by withholding from the church of Rome, and from all the episcopal churches which it desired to govern, any certain conclusions round which its adherents might rally; and thus afforded an apology to all, to consent to the changes in religion enacted by the governments and bishops of the several states. The very clergy, therefore, who had upheld Henry, Edward, and Mary, now received the laws of Elizabeth in matters of religion; and, throughout the whole of the changes, they possessed the same revenues. The revenues were never taken from one large class, to be given to another large class of men. Many refused to conform in each reign. The majority, however, did conform to each change, and the majority died in the possession of the same revenues in the reign of Elizabeth, when the church of England was neither in communion with, nor in subjection to, Rome; as they had held in the reign of Henry and Mary, when the church of England was both in communion, and thraldom. The truth of this statement is proved to us in the case of the last monks of Durham. They were generally the first prebendaries. Henry VIII. dissolved the monastery of Durham. He continued the monks in their places under new names. Thomas Sparke, for instance, the prior of the cell of Lindisfarne, was a monk, and chamberlain of the monastery of Durham at the time of the dissolution of the monastery. He was made suffragan bishop of Berwick in June 1537; and bore that office (an office which might, perhaps, wisely be restored) during the remainder of his life. He was empowered by bishop Tonstal to exercise his dignity, as chor-episcopus, through the whole diocese of Durham. In the reign of Henry VIII. he obtained this preferment. In the reign of Edward

he was made rector of Walsingham.[1] He held this, and his other appointments throughout the reign of Mary; and died, still possessed of them, in the reign of Elizabeth 1571. His successor was John Foxe. The appointments of the other prebendaries on the refoundation of the cathedral of Durham by Henry VIII. confirm this statement. Hugh Whitehead, the prior of the monastery at its dissolution, became Dean, under the new establishment. The prebend, or canonry,[2] which Sparke held, was granted to John Foxe. In consequence of the doubtful manner in which Strype mentions this fact;[3] together with the manner in which Hutchinson,[4] in his History of Durham, in spite of his long list of references, relates it; as well, too, in consequence of the dubious manner in which his other biographers notice the circumstance; the appointment of Foxe to the prebend or canonry at Durham appeared to me, for a long time, to be very doubtful. The difficulty was increased by the absence of evidence at Durham itself. Many of the chapter-books had been long lost. The dean and chapter, even in the year 1646, in reply to an order of the upper house of parliament to produce their book of chapter acts, sent up the reasons of their inability to obey the order. The books were lost at Hull, or on their way to that city, when they were sent there for security against the Scotch army.[5] Of the chapter-books which have escaped the changes and chances of the civil wars, and other casualties in our history, I found that the receiver's book does not mention Foxe's name; the treasurer's book, of 1572, is lost; and the installation books commence only in the year 1660, after the restoration. I was convinced, however, that such a tradition must have had some very probable foundation. I believed that Pilkington, who was now bishop of Durham, and who had been a fellow-exile with Foxe, would endeavour to provide for his friend. The nomination to the stalls had been vested by Mary in the bishops of Durham. Pilkington had

(1) June 14, 1547.

(2) Hugo Whitehead creatus fuit Prior Dunelmensis an. 1524, ex fide Wilhelmi de Chambre. Ultimus prior constitutus per fundationem *Primus*, *Originalis*, et *Modernus Decanus* Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Dunelm. Maii 12. Obiit Londini, inusitatis molestiis agitatus, 1548. Stetit in Prioratu 18 annis. In Decanatu 6. His character is summed up in few words. Totus erat deditus amori divino. Magnam familiam domesticorum semper secum aluit. In domo sua generosos atque plebeios complurimos habuit, à quibus honorifice inservitur. Liberalem et copiosam mensam habebat. In eleemosynas erat abundans, in puritate vitæ laudabilis. See also Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. i. pp. 20, 21. Where the chapter of foundation is placed in 1541, it ought to be 1542.

The names of the first prebendaries were—1st stall, Edward Hymers, a Benedictine monk; 2d, Roger Watson, ditto; 3d, Thomas Sparke, ditto; 4th, William Bennett, ditto; 5th, William Todd, ditto; 6th, Stephen Marley, ditto; 7th, Robert Dalton; 8th, John Towton; 9th, Nicolas Marley; 10th, Ralph Blabiston; 11th, Robert Bennett, Benedictine monk; 12th, William Watson, ditto. Those of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th stalls are thought, most probably, to have been monks, although it is not specifically so stated. Two reasons are assigned in support of this opinion:—one arising from the fact of the prebendaries in the stalls above, and also those in the stalls beneath them, having manifestly been monks; the other, from their having been severally deprived in 1560, which leads to the supposition that they were true papists, and, at heart, against a thorough reformation.

The archdeacons were—for Durham, William Franklin; for Northumberland, Robert Dobell. See Cosin's MSS., Cosin's Library, Durham.

By the act of 2d of queen Victoria, lately passed, the holders of stalls in the cathedrals of England are to be called canons, and not prebendaries. Their appointments must be consequently called canonries. For the distinction between canonries and prebendaries, and prebends and canons, see writers on the Canon Law, Selvagio, vol. ii. p. 172, lib. ii. tit. xviii. § 12, de Præbendis. Barbosa.

(3) "John Foxe, M.A. (the martyrologist, if I mistake not), intitled Verbi Sacri Professor, was promoted to the prebend; but resigned the preferment the next year, 1573." (Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 237.) The stall is the third—now held by Mr. Jenkyns, the professor of divinity in our newly-founded university of Durham.

(4) Hutchinson's Durham, vol. ii. p. 231, and references there.

(5) See the whole memorial in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, lib. ix. No. 7, folio edition.

now the opportunity to serve him; and he might have offered the prebend to Foxe, in the hope that he would at length conform to the vestments, and consent to accept it. The nomination of Bellamy, the reputed successor of Foxe, to the canonry, was dated by Hutchinson on the very day that the year elapsed in which the martyrologist was said to have accepted the appointment; and it did not seem probable that all this could be affirmed without some good reason. The memorandum in bishop Cosin's library was also too express to permit us to reject the supposition.[1] I at length discovered in an old register of dean Whittingham's, which, by some strange accident, had escaped the general wreck, amidst a large mass of documents respecting the renewals of leases, and other capitular business, the original induction of Foxe, and his resignation of the stall in the same year. I am sorry to have made the discovery: for I cannot reconcile his holding the prebend of Shipton, and rejecting the stall at Durham, if such rejection proceeded, as bishop Cosins supposes, from his dislike to the clerical vestments. He should have resigned Shipton also, if this was his reason for rejecting the appointment at Durham. The admirable manner in which the history of this unfortunate controversy has been lately brought before the public[2] renders it unnecessary to say more, than that bishop Hooper, the martyr, had objected to the vestments in the reign of Edward, that these objections were strengthened by the foreign reformers, and that the exiles under Mary, saw, in the vestments, the dresses only of idolaters, and persecutors. "You go like a mass priest," was said to archbishop Grindal, who, after opposing the clerical dress, consented to its adoption with reluctance.[3] Nearly all the exiles had wished the ancient dresses to be discontinued. Young, archbishop of York; Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; Grindal, bishop of London; Pilkington, bishop of Durham; Horne, of Winchester; Jewel, Sandys, Sampson, Humphrey, Whittingham, and, in short, all the bench of bishops, and the higher orders of the clergy who had returned from exile, opposed the use of the ancient vestments. The miserable results which followed the pertinacity of the mass, who followed their example in objecting, but not in their eventually conforming, must be left to the historian.[4] Foxe habitually, I am sorry to say, refused to conform; and Soames is of opinion that this stedfast refusal prevented the hope of the

(1) "1572. Johannes Foxe, A.M. the martyrologist, instaled October 14. He resigned it within a year, being (as is supposed) quite averse to the habits of the Church of England, which were here kept up with great strictness. He succeeded Sparke in the 3d stall. Sparke died in 1571."—Cosin's MSS. in Cosin's library.

(2) Soames' Elizabethan History, chap. i. (3) Strype's Grindal, p. 175. Soames, p. 76.

(4) The consequences of each clergyman assuming to himself the power of deciding to what extent he would conform externally—because he was a strict conformist to the essential truths and doctrines of the church, appears from the following statement:—Some clergymen read prayers in the chancel; others in the nave; some from a reading desk; others from the pulpit; some adhered strictly to the prescribed service; others interspersed metrical psalms. Communion tables, variously formed and furnished, were transferred to the nave in some churches; in others, though still in the chancel, they stood not against a wall, but centrically. In administering, some clergymen used a chalice; others, a communion cup; others, a common cup; some, leavened bread; others, unleavened. In receiving, some knelt; others stood; others sate. For baptism, the font was used by some; a bason by others; the sign of a cross was made in some cases; in others omitted. In this, and all other of their ministrations, there were clergymen who never wore a surplice; others conformed so far as this, but did not wear the cap. Nor was this always of the customary form even among such as retained it: some wearing it round; others, a button cap: others would hear of no compromise, and wore a hat. It was these, perhaps, who had renounced academicals altogether, and were to be seen only in common clothes. Soames, Eliz. Hist. p. 39.

high preferment to which he was otherwise entitled. He could not refuse conformity to the doctrinal articles of the church. He wholly agreed to them. His conduct with respect to the "Reformatio Legum" will prove that he regarded the canons. He must, therefore, as it is said, have only declined conformity, because of the laws respecting the vestments. He would not, when requested by archbishop Parker to subscribe, pledge himself to any thing but the Scriptures. "To this I will subscribe," he said, taking a Greek Testament from his pocket; and he added, that he had nothing in the church but a prebend at Salisbury, which was at their disposal. He proved his integrity, and consistency, more, I think, than his sound judgment: for the peace of the church was broken by the useless and foolish schism, which identified fatal errors, in doctrine, with the questionable propriety of external appearance. It is possible that the chapter of Salisbury dispensed with his wearing the vestments, while that of Durham refused to do so. The matter must be left in doubt. I am neither required to defend nor to assail his memory on such a point. I believe that he acted upon reasons which seemed to the martyrologist himself to afford a sufficient apology; but I cannot comply with the custom now so usual in modern biography, of representing the subject of the narrative of the biographer, as free from spot or blemish. We do not read that any other preferment was offered to Foxe. This was, of course, to be expected. The documents respecting his appointment to Durham will be found in the Appendix.[1]

The precise time of Foxe's return to London from Norwich cannot be now ascertained. His eldest son, his biographer, who was admitted demy of Magdalen in 1576, was born at Norwich in 1560; and it was to Norwich that Oporinus addressed the letter to Foxe, in which he thanked him for a book of which he supposed Foxe to be the author, on the "Cruelty of the Papists."[2] The book had been published anonymously. When he left Norwich, the duke of Norfolk was absent from London. The principal residence of Foxe, however, when he was not at the house of John Day, his printer, at Aldersgate-street, still appears to have been at the house of the duke of Norfolk, at Aldgate. "That most bounteous, charitable, and princely lord," says one of Foxe's principal contemporary admirers,[3] "gave him free entertainment and dwelling for him and his, at his manor of Christ's church, by Aldgate. From

(1) Mr. Soames, in his Elizabethan History, p. 159, had made a mistake respecting the resignation of the fifth stall at Durham. Lever was appointed in 1567, and was made archdeacon of Northumberland in 1566. He resigned this appointment in 1573, the same year in which Foxe is said to have vacated the third stall; but he died prebendary of Durham, 1585, and was succeeded by Dr. Barnes. Mr. Soames thinks that he resigned this stall in 1571.

(2) "Salutem. Literæ tuæ, mi D. Foxe, fuerant mihi longe gratissimæ unarum libello de papistarum tyrannide, quam tamen obiter tantum inspicere hîc licuit: domum reversus diligentius percurram, suspicor enim, te, licet nomen non adjeceris, operis ejus autorem. Pro utroque ingentes tibi gratias ago, et quam suavissimas litteras animi tui erga me testes notissimas et elegantissimum libellum ad me miseris. Quod si etiam libellum de statu Belgico misisses, rem adhuc mihi gratiorem fecisses, non quod illo carere diutius nequeam, sed quod verear ne omnino aliquando pereat, non indignus alioqui quin legatur et in lucem etiam aliquando prodeat. Libenter aliquid librorum ad te misissem, hoc tempore a me excusorum, si recipere eorum curam quisquam voluisset; vix effeci ut literas reciperent. Sed proximis nundinis, citius fortasse curabo. Bene vale, doctissime Foxe, et de recognoscendis aliquibus martyribus tuis quæso serio etiam cogita. Franckofordiæ, Sept. 1, 1562.
—Harl. MSS. No. 417, Art. 48, fol. 108. b. "JOAN. OPORINUS tuus ex animo."

(3) Richard Day, minister of Ryegate, and son of the printer.—British Reformers, p. 130.

that, his house, he travelled weekly, every Monday, to the printing-house of John Day. In that, my father's house, many days and years, and infinite sums of money, were spent to accomplish and consummate his English 'Monuments,' and other many excellent works in English and Latin." This language is certainly indefinite, and must refer, not merely to the residence of Foxe immediately on his return from Norwich, but to his general residence in London for many successive years. He seems to have left Norwich about the year 1562. A curious expression in a letter from the bishop of Norwich about this time, would seem, at first sight, to imply that Foxe was known to the bishop in a character under which he has never been considered,—that of a great sportsman. The sentence occurs in the midst of references to books and letters, and requests that search be made in libraries for some literary information. I interpret, therefore, the expressions metaphorically; and believe that the good bishop alluded to those whom Foxe might have employed to hunt for him the game he was pursuing in historical preserves, when he speaks of a bloodhound being sent to Zurich; and that when he calls Foxe a good hunter, who had plenty of dogs, he meant only that he was indefatigable, and that his friends and helpmates were no less staunch and sagacious than himself. The following is the extract.

"I have sent you here inclosed a letter, written to me from Dr. Gesner, and two catalogos. The one for you, to searche by that the queene's librarie, according to Dr. Gesner's request, and to ask of other learned men concerning the same. The other I pray you send to Dr. Sampson, or Dr. Humphrys, that searche may be made in Oxford also. One I have sent to Mr. Beaumont, in Cambridge, that he may do the lyke.

"I wold rather be negligent in other things, then in setting forthe old ancient writers; and yet to say the truthe to you, I lyke no olde wryter worse then Dionysius, the which, although he be somewhat ancient, yet I am persuaded that it is not Areopagita ille de quo Act. 17.

"I praye you certifie me of these things as sone as you maye, and if a bloodhound or twayne might be sent to Zurich, according to Dr. Gesner's requeste, I wold rejoyce not a little, and wold be contente to pay for the charges thereof. I wryte this unto you, because you be so good a hunter, and have suche plentie of dogges, &c. I praye you, when you have perused Dr. Gesner's letters, that you will send them againe forthe to me, that I may make answer to the same against the next caste.

"Commende me to Mrs. Foxe, to Mr. Day and his wyfe, and thanke him for the boke of the Reliques of Rome which he sent me. I will thanke Mr. Becon, which dedicated the same to my name, another time, if God so will. Yf you see the bishop of London, the deane of Paul's, Mr. Whitehedd, and other of my frends there, I praye you salute them in my name.

"Yours, "JOHN NORWIC."[1]

(1) Harl. MSS. No. 416, art. 111, p. 175. b.

Soon after his return from Norwich he published, in the year 1563, his first English edition of his Acts and Monuments of the Church, under the following title: "Actes and Monuments of these latter perillous days touching matters of the Churche, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish Prelates, speciallye in this realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousand unto the time now present, &c., gathered and collected accordinge to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops' registers, which were the doers thereof. By John Foxe. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneth St. Martin's. Anno 1563, the 20th of March. Cum gratia & privilegio regiæ Majestatis."[1] One vol. folio.

I reserve for the second part of this humble memorial of the father of ecclesiastical history in England, the fuller consideration of the value, the reception, the objections which were urged against, and the imperishable effect, of this most splendid result of the discovery of printing, and of the revival of literature. The moment of the publication of this book was that æra in the religious history of man, which decided the question—whether the power of the great dragon should be restored or destroyed. It enlisted the reason of the people on the side of free inquiry, by submitting to them the facts and reasonings by which the leaders of the two great churches which were dividing the christian world, appealed to that great tribunal—the public mind of Europe. Up to this time, the opponents of the errors which had gradually crept into the paradise of the catholic church, enveloped in the mist of the ignorance and darkness which resulted from the prevalence of formalism, and the suppression of the Scriptures,—as Satan is represented by Milton to have obtained admission into the Paradise of Eden,—had appealed to rulers and senates rather than to the people. But Liberty is as uniformly the handmaid of Truth, as Slavery is the companion of Error: and one blessed result of the re-establishment of the ancient christianity of the apostolic age, in the reformation of the catholic church from the apostasy of its Romish member, has been the raising up of that unbribable tribunal—the mass of thinking, reading, religious persons, whose frown constitutes censure and oblivion, and whose approbation is praise and earthly immortality to the politician, the statesman, the historian, and the writer. This great tribunal is the true lawgiver. It was now in its infancy. The work of Foxe gave it strength; raised it into activity; and, more than any other human work, created its now undying energy. The value of the work consisted not merely in its vast accumulation of knowledge and materials, but in its solemn appeals to the intellect and souls of its readers, as men responsible for those souls; and whose bounden duty it consequently became to seek truth, and to com-

(1) This title-page corrects the mistake that Oldmixon and Burnet have fallen into when they state that the first edition appeared in the year 1561.

mend themselves, to God, by loving priesthood, but hating priestcraft,—and valuing the ministers of religion as their useful directors, but not as their infallible teachers. Its value consisted in the unintended, but inevitable enforcement of this great truth—that an individual Christian may be right, when the great body of the priesthood of the catholic church might be wrong; and, therefore, that each individual must deem himself to be responsible to God alone, and not to any human power, political or ecclesiastical, for his religious conclusions. Its value consisted in this mighty service also—the unavoidable, though still slowly learned and unintended enforcement upon all the governments of the world, that every system of laws must be founded upon the conviction of their usefulness and truth, or they cannot be made permanent by the most unrelenting persecutions, of the most formidable power. Its value was, that it begun the more universal reception of the axiom—that conscience must be governed by conviction, and not by authority alone; and therefore, that governments must rule for the happiness of the people, and not merely for the advantage of the governors. All these conclusions, which are now so common that they are almost unquotable because of their triteness, have been only gradually received as undeniable axioms, since the publication of that book, which the tame elegance, or the degenerate weakness, of the present day, which places the happiness of churches and communities in retrogradation, rather than in progression, is beginning to depreciate and decry.

This view of the value of the work of John Foxe is confirmed by his letter to the president and fellows of his own college (Magdalen) at Oxford. After many expressions of regret, that he cannot submit to them any labour more worthy of their acceptance, he affirms that he published the work, not in Latin, which might have been more imposing, and pleasant to them, but *in English, for the good of the country and for the information of the multitude.* Men slowly and with difficulty emancipate themselves from the erroneous impressions which are produced by the long continuance of that specious and fascinating priestcraft which appeals to the learned and literary classes, as if their souls were of more value to God than the souls of the peasant, the mechanic, and the weaver; and as if their superior educational and intellectual improvement was the chief object, both of the original impartation of revelation, and of all the devotional instruction derived from its sacred pages. Whereas, the object of all theological learning is to render the poor, as well as the rich, free, holy, and happy; and to teach, that the soul of the meanest is of as much value as the soul of the highest and greatest. Up to this time very few appeals had been made to the intelligence of the multitude. The people were supposed to be ordained to be the passive followers of their political or ecclesiastical superiors; to have nothing to do with laws but to obey them; and to receive their religion from authority enforcing opinions by penalties, instead of enforcing them by conviction. The strength of the church of England, like the strength of Christianity when it was first

preached to the world by Christ and his apostles, reposes on the same solid basis. It upholds authority which permits and demands that the people do esteem it, because it deserves their christian affection. It appeals to the arguments derived from conviction, upon evidence, and not to the penalties and severity which compel an unwilling conformity; and the church will never be truly safe till its ministers as universally and as boldly adopt this system of appeal to the people, as the laws of their church allow, and as Christ and his apostles practised it. John Foxe was one of the first of our reformers who took theological controversy from the priest, the scholar, and the political or ecclesiastical ruler, and summoned the common people to read, think, judge and be convinced, that popery, whatever were its appeals to antiquity, tradition, or long established laws, was alike deficient in usefulness, truth, and holiness—that its boasted appeal to antiquity comprised only many ancient errors, with many ancient truths—that its traditions were the blendings of human observances, customs, and maxims, and were consequently rejectable by any episcopal church, without the imputation of crime—that its laws were a collection of canons, or ecclesiastical regulations, gradually superseding the statutes of princes; and upholding in all ages the continued enlargement of error, by the ever-increasing severity of cruel and wicked punishments—and the effect of his book, therefore, in promoting, confirming, and establishing the Reformation—that is, of the pure, ancient, and apostolical Christianity, as contradistinguished to Romanism, is so universally acknowledged, and so fully proved by the very antipathy which the enemies of that Christianity, who adhere to the inventions and errors of popery still retain to it, that to demonstrate the effect of its publication would be to gild the rose and paint the lily.

The reception of the book was enthusiastic. "Great," says Strype, "was the expectation of the book here in England, before it came abroad. The papists scurrilously called it Foxe's Golden Legend. When it first appeared there was extraordinary fretting and fuming at it through all quarters of England, and," on the continent, "even to Louvaine." The common people of England welcomed it as the true record of the past; and they loved the church of their forefathers as they saw it restored by the queen, because of the power which Foxe had now given them, of comparing its pretensions to their favour with the true catholicism of the primitive church; and the pretended catholicism of the modern church of Rome.

The contemporary objections which were made to it—and such a book could not be free from unintentional errors—were fully and candidly considered by its truth-seeking author. These, and the subsequent objections which were made to it, shall be considered.[1]

(1) "If some more sober critic came abroad,
"If wrong, he smil'd; if right, he kiss'd the rod."

These lines of Pope are applicable to Foxe. This elegant writer is said to have been a papist. His Essay on Man bespeaks him a deist; his Universal Prayer, a liberal; his partial sneer at Foxe's work, as the favourite study of one of the inconsistent characters he so beautifully and forcibly draws, may prove his popery:—

"Now deep in ——— and the Book of Martyrs."

The devotional, amiable, and gentle spirit of Foxe is eminently conspicuous in the letter to the President and Fellows of Magdalen, to which I have alluded. He commends his book to the approbation of Oxford generally, but especially to the Society of Magdalen.[1] The best part of his history, he observes, relates to Oxford itself, whence, as from a fountain, it took not only its first beginning, but its increase. He prays that the Lord Jesus Christ would preserve them and their president, and they may daily increase the glory of His name; and deep and bitter, therefore, must be the regret of those who admire the character and appreciate the services of John Foxe, that the most unsparing assailants of his name and work, next to the adherents of the church of Rome, have been, even in our own day, certain members of the University of Oxford. These persons have not hesitated to deride his motives, decry his services, and stigmatize his work as a caricature of the history of the catholic church. The foreign reformers, in common with their protestant brethren in England, in the day of the regeneration of the Christian Church, were of a different opinion. Bullinger, for instance, who read the work, probably in the proof sheets, before it had been published in England, writes to its illustrious author:—"I am devotedly attached to you on account of your piety and learning, but chiefly for your book of the martyrs of England."[2] The principal subject of the work of John Foxe may be said to be—the consequences which resulted to the catholic church from the usurpation which was defended by spiritual anathemas, leading to temporal punishments: and as the anathemas of the canon law of Rome were enforced by the deposition of sovereigns, the imprisonment and burning of their subjects, and all the fearful penalties described by the historians of religious persecution; the value of his book was demonstrated to the world, not only by the eulogies of its friends, but by the persevering folly of its enemies. In the very year in which the English edition was published, the council of Trent brought its proceedings to a conclusion. The last act of that council, instead of being a holy, humble, christian protestation to the whole catholic church, inviting them to union among themselves, and to peace with Rome, on the foundation of its perpetually desiring improvement, was a declamatory vote, passed by acclamation, of anathema—anathema to heretics. The word heretic included the episcopal protestants of England—the presbyterians of Scotland—the Lutherans and Calvinists on the continent—and all religious and literary inquirers in Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, who had found reason not to uphold the supremacy of Rome. In the latter two countries, as well as in a certain portion of the Netherlands, the sanguinary Inquisition executed the decrees of the council. In every other part of the catholic church, the labours of John Foxe presented the solemn warning of the consequences of this decree to the peace and happiness of every church, and of every congregation of christians. Anathema to all heretics, was the sentence of the cardinal of Lorraine,

(1) The Letter to the Fellows of Magdalen is inserted in the Appendix.
(2) Dated, Zurich, March 10, 1563.

who had uselessly contended in the council for the religious privileges and independence of his own church and country—Anathema, anathema—was the reply of the assembled ecclesiastics: and they all returned to their churches to perpetuate, till this very day, the yoke of the ecclesiastical usurpations. Anathema to all heretics who should refuse to admit the rule of faith which was not, even then, drawn up; but which *was to be* submitted to the reception, not to the approbation, of the churches, by the Bishop of Rome. What is the meaning of this anathema? the humble Christian might demand. Take up the pages of Foxe and read, was the answer of the Queen of England and the Bishops of England—there learn the fearful meaning which is attached to the anathemas of Rome, when Rome is able to enforce them. Place the book (they subsequently said,) in the churches, and the colleges—in the houses of gentlemen, and in the halls of the bishops, that all may read the narratives, to the truth of many of which our eyes can testify—and learn, and reflect upon, and remember the meaning of the anathemas of Rome. If it be said that the canons of the church of England were enforced in the reign of James I., in the same language: I answer, that, not only are the anathemas of our canons unattended with temporal severities; but the time has arrived when England, as well as Rome, is required by the best interests of truth, freedom, and catholicism, to revise its canons, for changes, additions, and expungements.

In the year 1564 the queen visited the university of Cambridge, and was entertained at King's College. She attended in the schools the Acts, or academical disputations in divinity, philosophy, and medicine;[1] and made, on leaving the university, a Latin speech. She encourages them, in this speech, to study; and promises that she, like her ancestors, would do some work, while she still lived, to express her esteem of them: but that, if she died before she could accomplish her promise, she would leave *aliquod opus egregium*—some glorious work—to be done after her death, whereby both her memory might be celebrated to posterity; and that she might excite others by her example, and make them (the scholars of that university) more cheerful to apply to their studies." In the answer to this, the public orator, William Masters, recommended the university of Cambridge to her majesty's notice as being more ancient than the sister one of Oxford; but without intending any disparagement of it. This, however, was taken ill by some of the Oxonians, who presented to the Queen, upon her visit there, a tract entitled, "Assertio antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis." One of the copies of the queen's speech fell into the hands of John Foxe, who addressed to her majesty, on the occasion, an elegant Latin epistle, partly to the following effect: "To let pass

(1) Thomas Byng of Peterhouse, afterwards of Clare Hall, kept a philosophy act, and gave these two political questions:

Monarchia est optimus status reipublicæ?
Frequens legum mutatio est periculosa?

Thomas Cartwright, afterwards the opponent of Whitgift, who bore no share in the day's solemnity, when the Divinity Act was held, he not having then proceeded to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, took part in the disputation. The questions proposed for the disputants in theology were—

Major est scripturæ quam ecclesiæ auctoritas?
Civilis magistratus habet auctoritatem in rebus ecclesiasticis?

Dr. Cox, whose name I have had occasion to mention in connexion with the disastrous contentions among the exiles of Frankfort, was now bishop of Ely, and determined on these two questions.

(most noble Queen) those commonly known things, viz. that presently at the very beginning of your most fortunate reign, you saved so many good men at home in great danger of their lives, and called back so many more abroad from their banishment; that you restored their own country to them, and not only to them, but the country in a manner to itself; and England, then almost at the very point of expiring, to its light and life again; that at your said most happy beginning, having procured peace, you do now every day improve it in good studies and arts; to the good laws you give again their force, the bad ones you take away, and supply their room with such as are wholesome; the mischievous and the idle sort you reduce to order; robberies and the bands of spoilers, wherewith your realm is reported at this day in a foul manner to swarm, you restrain; the afflicted you give an ear to; what is fallen and gone to decay you build up; and not only money embased, but also the manners of men much more corrupted, you purify and refine. In a word, you restore every thing to its own brightness, nay, more than its own; and many other things of this kind you do; which although of themselves they be not ordinary benefits, and such as in other monarchs might seem very great, yet, I know not how, do not sufficiently express the largeness of your praiseworthy deeds.

"But assuredly these things that follow are much greater still; and of all the greatest, that your excellent highness defendeth so vigorously the ecclesiastical state no less than the commonwealth; that you take upon you so affectionately the care and protection of religion; that you quench the direful flames of persecution; that you open a liberty to consciences so long shut up; that you illustrate and promote the temple of God and the glory of evangelical doctrine; that is, by all means endeavouring, that the remainder of old superstition by little and little be destroyed, the sincere truth of the gospel return to its native brightness. This was lately declared by that excellent voice and answer of your majesty given to the petition of some divines concerning the habits. By which words then by your majesty spoken, it can scarce be thought how great prosperity you did in one day bring to the whole church, how great comfort to the minds of all godly people, how great benefit to posterity, how great a light to all succeeding times; and moreover to your own name how great and how immortal an honour, more lasting than any monument of brass. The tongues and learning of all Englishmen would be stained with ingratitude, should they suffer as well this godlike thing, as all the other trophies of your virtues, by an antiquity of time to be abolished.

"Hither must be added your majesty's singular favour towards learned studies. In the adorning and furthering whereof, you would never have shown yourself so inclinable, had you not been so exquisitely furnished and dressed yourself with them. Happy Cambridge lately perceived it: and I doubt not but hereafter our Oxford also will look for it. And further, we all, though absent thence, well perceived it, by your late speech deli-

vered there at Cambridge; which is come to my hands, (among other monuments of historical matters,) not unworthy, methinks, to be transmitted to posterity; and so it shall be transmitted, if your highness give way to it. In the mean time this only grieves me, that when I am preparing a full account of the history of you, and have great collections serving thereunto, many things are wanting, which are yet unknown to me, and cannot be known but to your majesty. And if they might, they could not be described better by any than by your own commentary. Which I heartily wish might be obtained by your most excellent wit, in this time and space of your life; but of the commendations of your excellent parts, I shall elsewhere, God willing, have occasion to speak."[1]

The close of this letter implies that Foxe purposed to write the life of Elizabeth; or at least, the part the queen took in establishing the Reformation. If he had done so, says Strype,[2] this work of mine had been superseded.

The controversy on the clerical vestures still proceeded, though the majority of the original opponents of the habits had conformed to them. On this, as on other subjects, Foxe was consulted, and his interest with the queen solicited. Laurence Humphrey, the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, wrote to him, to exert himself in procuring some favour or dispensation for those who hesitated to adopt the habits ordered by the queen to be worn. He says, he had not time to see him in London; and recommends to him "Nicholas Balgay, master of Magdalene school, a pious and learned man," and, as if to ensure him Foxe's friendship, calls him a studious reader of your "Acts and Monuments." He then commends to his prayers and care, the spread of religion, and the reformation of the church; and desires him to use every exertion that the nobles and bishops should procure some exemption. He adds, at the end of the letter—"Send, if you can, by this Balgay, the specimen of the *Reformatio Legum*."[3]

The queen, soon after this letter was sent to Foxe, visited the university of Oxford. She was entertained, says her biographer,[4] with the most stately welcome the muses could make; and was addressed by the Greek professor in a Greek speech, to which the accomplished queen returned an answer in the same language. Before this visit of the queen to Oxford, Dr. Humphrey had changed his opinion on the necessity of continuing his opposition to the vestments. He had been appointed, too, professor

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 110—112. Nares's Memoirs of Lord Burghley, vol. i. p. 341. Collier, vol. ii. p. 492. Rapin and Tindal, vol. ii. p. 68. Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 195. Echard, Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 420, who states the arrival of the queen at Cambridge, August 15.

(2) Annals, vol. i. chap. xxxix. p. 407, folio edit.

(3) In Christo mi Foxi. Quum Londini vix uno verbo affari potueram, tu nunc præ temporis angustiæ vix una litera vacat salutarer. Quod aut . . . licet, ut volui, diligenter, id certe faciam, quod possum, libenter. Summa hæc est, commendo tibi hunc meum Ludimagistrum Magdalenensem, pium, eruditum, tuorum monumentorum studiosum lectorem. Commendo precibus tuis et curæ tuæ propagationem religionis, reformationemque Eæ. (Ecclesiæ) in his comitiis, ut agas et peragas ope, opera, gratia, et modis omnibus, ut principes regni et proceres cleri moveant aliquid salutare et promoveant. Commendo ad extremum me tibi, et te Deo tuorumque omnes. Cura ut valeas. Vale Xo.

Oxo. Tuus Lau. Humfred.

Mitte, si potes, per hunc Balgaium Legum Ecclesiasticarum exemplar.—Harl. MSS. 416, art. 114, fol. 179. See also, Strype's Life of Parker, vol. i. p. 439, where the date is given March 28, 1566.

(4) Carte's England, vol. iii. p. 439.

of divinity; and he now attended the queen in his robes. The queen could not resist the opportunity, according to her custom, of cheerfully, yet with some severity, reproving the faults of her subject. "Master doctor," she said to him, "that loose gown becomes you mighty well, I wonder your notions should be so narrow."[1] A letter written to Elizabeth from Oxford, on her arrival at her palace after this visit, partakes of the punning turn of the age.[2]

Foxe at this time, 1566, began to prepare for press the second edition of his work in English; and we may infer from the following letter that he was the object of general attention to all parties. A complaint against a clergyman named John Day, the curate of Maidstone, was laid by his parishioners before archbishop Parker. The chief of his accusers thought their object would be better effected if they endeavoured to interest John Foxe in the matter. The archbishop was a member of the ecclesiastical commission; and the accusation against Day—the account of his sermon at the burning of seven heretics—his excuse for not remembering the precise words he uttered, because of the smoke of the fire in which they were burned—his affirming, and subsequent withdrawment of the affirmation, that the persons burned denied the divinity of Christ—his levity and badinage on the subject, form a most painful picture of the manners of the times. Foxe has merely related, in his Martyrology, the burning of the seven victims, and the previous examination of one of them. He has omitted the details contained in this letter. He was wearied, perhaps, of his own sad task; and the narrative may be regarded as a specimen of the scenes of which he has only left, after all his labours, a comparatively scanty memorial. Foxe has been wilfully misrepresented as merely exerting himself to collect all the horrible particulars of the murderous persecutions of which he wrote, to make only nursery stories; and shamefully to misrepresent the church of Rome—which our fathers called by other names than "the Saviour's holy home," which "soothed the heart;" as their degenerate sons have lately taught us to denominate her. The letter is found among the Harleian papers. It is dated 1566, five years before the publication of his second English edition.

John and Roger Hall to John Foxe. Information of one Day a Priest, Curate of Maydston.

"It may please yowe to understande that one John Daye is curate of Maydston from the first yere of quene Marye unto this present yere 1566, of whome we be seche God for his mercye delyver us, for he sheweth him selfe still not to have any feare of God at all before his eyes. In the yere of owre lorde 1557 on Wednesdaye the 16 of June, seven blessed and constant marters were burned all at one stake in Maydston in a place there comonly cauled the kynges medowe, ther names were these, Edmunde Alen and —— his wife, Walter Apelbe

(1) Nares's Life of Burghley, vol. ii. p. 404, note.
(2) Ergo tuam celsitudinem, non dicam ut numen, dicam certè ut numam veneramur.—Andrews Continuation of Henry, vol. i. p. 66, note 43.

and Parnell his wife, one Elizabeth Lewes comonly cawled blinde Besse, Jone Manninge the wife of one Robert Mañynge of the sayd towne, and a vertuous maiden cauled Jone Bradbrege. At the burnynge of these blessed marters, this wyked preste preached, fyrst bendynge his abhominabel blasphemus talk to them saynge, that thay were heritykes moste damnabell, and that by ther heresye thay had separat them selves from the holy cherche as he called yt of Rome, whyche he cauled the spowse of Chryste, and Christ his misticall bodye, and therfore sayd he ye have no part in him, but when he sawe that thay wer buylded on the unmovable Rocke of Christ his worde, who was ther swete comforte (for they kryed unto him, Away Satan, away w^{t} thy doctrine, away w^{t} thy blasfemye); in great hast and fury he tornyd bothe his face and talke to the people there assembled, sayenge, good people ye ought not in any wyse to pray for these obstinat herytykes, for loke how ye shall se ther bodyes burne here w^{t} materiall fyre, so shall ther damnabel soules burn in the unquenchabel fyr of hell everlastynglye, and not beynge thus cõtent the nexte Sondaye folowynge whyche was the 20 of June he iterated beynge in the pulpet to his Audience, most abhominably that whiche he sayde the Wednesdaye before in the kynges medowe to the people, these w^{t} inumerabel other popish blasfemyes uteryd he in quene Maryes dayes, but when yt pleased God to sende owr nobell quene to the crowne, dyvers men who all the dayes of quene Marye were in exile for ther concience came home; amonge whome one Roger Newman who was brother to John Newman who was burned in quene Maryes time for the true testimony of Christ, and one Peter Brown and Matthew Milles exorted this preste to repent and recant these his great blasfemys before sayd against the truthe of God and his saintes; he answered them that he wolde so do. The next Sonday folowynge whiche was the Sonday next before Whytsontyde, he went in to the pulpet and thus he saide, It is reported of me sayde he, that in the tyme of quene Marye when sertayn people wer burned in the kynge his medow, I showlde saye that thay were damned, but I think thay do belye me that so say or reporte of me, but to say the truthe I know not nor do not remember, what I ther sayde, no nor then at that present (by meanes of the flame of the fyre and the greate smoke, that the wynde browghte so violently towardes me) cowlde I tell my selfe what I sayde or spake, but this I know that some of them did deny the humanity of Christe and the equalitie of the trinitie, and no man dowbteth but such are heretykes. Wherfore I may be bowld to say even now againe that unles by the great mercy of God and repentance thay are damned. The forsayd men herynge this it much greved them as yt did many other that hearde him, wherfore after evensonge they stayed to speak w^{t} him at his acustomed way to the ale howse, and asked him this question, whiche of them sayde thay amonge them that were burned at this towne wer it that denyed the humanitye of Christ or the equalitye of the trinitye, as ye sayde to day in the pulpet. At the whych he stode still and paused as one astonied,

and at the laste he answered that none of them that were burned in the sayde towne of Maidston held these opinions: wherfore thay asked him, wherfore he then made suche abhomynabel lyes, and farther whether the pulpet wer mad to utter lyes and blasfemyes in (for thay well knewe as also all other that knew them do that he dedly belyed them for none of them ever helde any such eror or opinion but much abhorred all heresyes unto the death). Unto them he thus answered, asking them whether thay were not men or that thay never lyed: dyd yow quod he never lye in yowr lyves, ar ye not men, ye seme sayd he to be justifiers of your selves and hipokrytes; and thus in a furye he flunge from them to the ale howse whych he so much frequentyth that he veray often goyth home dronke scant able to speak or stande on his legs. ye (yea) drynkynge bowsyng cordyng (card playing) and table playeng is all his hole holy exarsyse all the weke from tyme to tyme: this brefely for this tyme but I meane that ye shall shortly have a copye of owr supplycation whych we meane shortlye to make to my lorde of Cantorbury wher in ye shall more at large understand the lyfe and behaveour of this monster. Thus Jesus Christ be our comfort, and geve us after the afflyctions of this lyfe peace and joy in him. Amen.

"JOHN HALLE."[1]

The liberty of the press was not well understood at that time. All parties seem to have followed the example of the church of Rome in endeavouring to suppress and to punish the circulation of controversial works, instead of answering them, and thus making the press the proper guardian and controller of the press. While Foxe was engaged in revising his second edition, some general restrictions had been laid upon printers and publishers. To be enabled, therefore, to proceed with his work without incurring the lash of the law, he addressed a letter to sir William Cecil, the queen's secretary, in the name of John Day, in which he states that he, Day, desires his assistance and counsel.

"You are aware that it is provided, both by public and municipal law, that citizens and artificers (printers) should not engage in their employ more than four foreigners and strangers. If any one exceed this number, I know not how heavy a fine is threatened to him. I am not aware of the tenor of the law, nor am I concerned to inquire. The framers of it, wise and prudent men, saw reasons for it, which those of less foresight might not perceive. However this may be, it is of serious inconvenience to our printer, as well as to ourselves. While we are supplying materials for three presses, we cannot procure among our own countrymen fit persons to work them, and are by the law forbidden to seek the assistance of strangers. This is our complaint, and we solicit your highness to interpose your authority, so as to relieve us from the difficulty, and enable us to complete the work we have in hand. If we ourselves should not be worthy of such kindness, yet you will extend it

(1) Harleian MSS. 416, art. 74, fol. 123

to those pious and holy martyrs of Christ, who have so long lain in the grave, and thus will be more easily brought to light."

The letter is dated July 6, 1568, and signed

"Yours, in all christian obedience, "J. FOXE."

"In addition to these, unless we appear too importunate, we solicit that to this printer, whom I have named, may be secured all those privileges, which he formerly enjoyed from you, while printing the Psalms in the vulgar tongue: because from this one source alone is his family sustained.

"To the Lord Cecil, secretary to the queen, a man
eminently conspicuous for his prudence and piety."[1]

In the year 1563 the following letter was addressed to the merchants and citizens of London in behalf of the sufferers in the pestilence.

"Grace and ioy in ye Holy Ghost; with increase of all felicity through Christ our only Saviour. To ye dispersed company of Londiners as well Aldermen Merchants, and other rich and wealthy members of ye same citty, with all other well disposed persons whersoever, harty greeting in ye Lord. If wee ye poore servants of Christ and ministers of his word within ye citty of London, here nowe remaining, and sustaining ye affliction of this dangerous and infectious time, shall seeme in this our writing to you something more plaine, or bold, than wee should, humbly wee crave of your wisdome wisely to construe ye cause therof, imputing it not to any inconsiderate suggestion or prtensed devise conceived of our parts: butt rather to ye serious and earnest necessity of this prsent calamitous time; thus much signifying to you before, yt if ye cause wer ours only, privately to us belonging wch write to you, wee would never soe farr embolden ourselves, for as wee for our parts have lerned not to shrinke away from our charge comitted to us of ye Lord; soe wee have lerned alsoe to stand content, whatsoever it bee, wee have of him, butt nowe hearing as wee heare, and seeing as wee see ye pittious cry of ye poore and desolate flocke of Christ, some in lanes, some in houses, some in ditches; some harbourlesse, some clotheles, some menteless (*mad*), some frendeles, all succourles, wee cannot chuse but being their pastours, and ye mouth of ye flocke, but both tender ther pitifull lamentation, and alsoe certify ye same to you desiring you in ye Lord, to extend your tender and christian compassion uppon thē, in helping them in this infectious ayer, with some good odour of sweet savour from you; so yt though your bodily comfort bee absent from thē, yet your charitable sustentation may be prsent with them. As members together of one mysticall body, soe wee beseech you utterly forsake not yr fellowe members. And though God hath sett you in a more safe state of life, yet neglect not them, wch beare ye crosse, yt God might, or yet may lay uppon yourselves. It is ye point of an honest mind, and a christian heart, yt though hee bee in ease, yt hee neede not for himselfe to feare, yet to lament and sorrowe with thē yt lie in misery. Wherfore being

(1) See the original letter in the Appendix. It is taken from the Lansdowne MSS. No. 10, art. 70. Day, in 1566, had printed the edition of the Psalms referred to in this letter.

therunto necessarily constrayned by ye pittifull cry, and exclamation of ye poore people of Christ, here left in London, wee are forced to write to you, speaking for them, y^t^ cannot help themselves, that you of y^r^ clemency, and christian dewty, (whereby you are borne, not only to yourselves, but alsoe to your country and neighbours) will bestowe some comfort uppon your fellowe members and poore bretheren, miserably here oppressed and consumed, as well with penury, as with pestilence; of wch two, ye one is the hand of God only to stopp, ye other partly under God lieth in your hands to reliefe. Extend therfore wee beseech you your helping hand, and in case you will not or dare not visitt thē with y^r^ p^r^sence, yet visitt them with your purses, that ye Lord (who peradventure doth this to try you, what you will doe) may say to you, I was sick and you visitted mee, I was hungry etc. for else howe this your flying and departing from y^r^ needy neighbours, wch nether with your visitation, nor provision you will helpe, wilbe allowed before God, wee cannot see; especially such of you as by charge of office are obliged to your companies: [is not] ye aldermen being magistrates of his ward, as well bound in conscience to thē, as ye minis[ter] to his parish? or what meane ther roabes of scarlett, butt to declare themselves ready with their blood to defend ye safegard of ther people? And howe bee they ready to ye s[hedding] of ther blood to defend, wch att every slight occasion doe shrinke away, leaving th[em in] danger whom they should succour with ther provision? And what is then to bee said [where]as nether with ther blood, nor yet with ther goods will minister any supportation."[1] .... (Cætera desunt.)

Foxe, on his return from Norwich, had hitherto principally resided in the house of the duke of Norfolk. After the demise of the duchess, however, and probably on account of the duke not coming to London, or in compliance with an invitation from John Day the printer, he removed to the house of the latter in Aldersgate-street. Many letters still extant addressed to him at that residence, fully prove the high estimation in which he was now held. One, for instance, intimates his influence with Grindal, the bishop of London; and earnestly solicits him to use that influence in procuring the suppression of some great immoralities in his diocese:—

"The grace of our Lorde Jesus Christ," it begins, "and the continuall presence and assistance of his Holy Spirit be with you ever (my good brother, and most deare freind in the Lorde) in all your studies and laboures, and give you strengthe bothe in mynde and bodye joyfully to bringe the same to that good effect, which maye be to the glorie and prayse of his eternall Majestie, the consolacion and profett of his afflicted and persecuted churche, your owne comforte, and the strengthning and confirmacion of our faithe in him, against all the craftines and power of Satan our cruell enemie. Amen. I was bolde at my last being in London, to use your helpe to the byshoppe of London, for the obteyn-

(1) Harl. MS. 417, art. 108, fol. 131 b.

ing of a commission to certain gent of worshippe in the countrie, for the examinacion of divers persons."—Then follow the particulars of the crimes which the writer desired to be investigated and suppressed.—"Remember me," it concludes, "in your prayers, and commende me hartelye to the lorde, to Mr. Bull, when you see him, mistresse Fox, and Mr. Randall, and to Mr. Sampson. The Lorde increase our faithe and graunte us alwayes therby the joyful light of his most gracious and joyfull countenance. Amen. From Bredgrowe the 19 of February 1565.

"Yours in the Lorde to command, WILL^M PLAYFERE.

"To my verie friend Mr. John Foxe, at Mr. Daye's house, over Aldersgate in London."[1]

Numerous other letters, partly in English, and partly in Latin, to Foxe, some seeking his advice, others his prayers or favours, are preserved in the Harleian Collection, and are testimonies of the approbation of his contemporaries. I omit them only because they would not, probably, be interesting to a modern reader.[2]

Foxe was still busily employed in preparing his materials for the next edition of his Acts and Monuments, when the first attack was made on the edition of 1563, by Nicholas Harpsfield, under the name of Alan Cope. The objections of this writer, with those of other antagonists of the martyrologist will be subsequently noticed, as well as the correspondence of Foxe with M. F. Illyricus on both their works having been cavilled at by the same writer. Harpsfield published his objections in Six Dialogues, which have ever since been made the foundation of the chief attacks on Foxe. A letter is still preserved in the Harleian Manuscripts, which is indeed without either signature or date; the internal evidence of which, however, is sufficient to compel us to believe that Foxe was the author. The letter is chiefly of importance as proving to us that Foxe had read and considered the arguments of Harpsfield before he committed his next edition to the press. The Dialogues of Harpsfield had been published in 1566, at Antwerp. The letter alludes to this circumstance as taking place three years before. Allusion is also made to the reference, in the first five dialogues of Harpsfield, to the person addressed; and it would be difficult, therefore, to assign the letter to any other than to Illyricus. Foxe relates the contents of the Six Dialogues to his correspondent—that the first five refer to the Magdeburg Centuriators, upon the earlier volumes of which, he had probably been engaged with Illyricus, in the press of Oporinus; and the sixth referred peculiarly, and by name, to the writer. The object of the letter is to solicit the opinion of his correspondent, whether he should reply briefly, or at all, to the attack of Harpsfield.[3]

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 70, fol. 118. (2) Harleian MSS. 416, art. 67, fol. 113, etc. etc.

(3) Ornatissime vir salutem in Christo multam. Primum quod ad ignotum scribam ignotus id putes velim non aliunde proficisci, quam ex animo tui studioso tuæque notitiæ percupido. Quanquam subest et alia causa quare te compellandum existimas hoc tempore Alani Copi Dialogos ante triennium æditos jamdudum vidisse te non ignorare ac etiam perlegisse suspicor. Horum quinque priores dialogi ad te et ad Magdeburgenses vestros (ut scis) partim etiam ad Apologeticos nostros spectant. Sextus vero dialogorum (sic, pro dialogorum) liber me peculiariter et nominatur impetit. De istis dialogis quid vos istis statuatis an sycophantem illum sine responsione omnino negligendum putatis; sive responsionem

Foxe appears to have received from Flacius Illyricus, in reply, a recommendation to answer Alan Cope, "the sycophant," as he styles him; and in addition to what he says above respecting his labours, he remarks, in his answers to Harpsfield: "If I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to spunge away such motes, as I thought would seem great stumbling-blocks in such men's walks, who walk with no charity to edify, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amiss in others, neither tarrying while other men reform themselves; and, finally, finding quarrels where no great cause is justly given."[1]

When a church has been once founded, and its members have been well instructed in the great truths and doctrines of the gospel, the people will bring their infants to baptism, and derive one great part of their own spiritual nourishment from their constant attendance at the Supper and Table of the Lord. The commemoration of the death of Christ, and the grace which is imparted by the omnipresent Saviour, who blesses, above all other means of grace, the spiritual communion of the believer with himself in the holy sacrament, may sometimes be more efficacious to the benefit of the soul, than Christ's own ordinance of preaching. But the command of Christ to his disciples to preach the word, both preceded and followed the institution of the Lord's Supper, as if to prove to us that the churches which constitute the catholic church, must be both founded and built up, by the zealous, energetic, persevering preaching of his apostles and their successors; that the holy body of Christ's church triumphant might be composed of that portion of the church militant who shall be brought to the marriage supper of the Lamb in heaven, after they have been brought by this preaching of his sacred gospel, to the table of the Lord upon earth. The religion of Christ was extended by the preaching of his word, and sacraments. When the veneration ever due to the sacraments degenerated into the superstition, that baptism constituted in itself the holiness of heaven, instead of being merely the mysterious commencement of the reception of the soul into the covenant of grace, and thereby into the kingdom of God; and when the sacrament of the Lord's supper was degraded into a corporeal presence of the body which was pierced, the blood which was shed, and the bones which were unbroken on the cross —when the dispensers of such awful mysteries founded priestcraft upon priesthood, and taught themselves, and not Christ; and when the light in the churches of Christ became darkness; it was then perceived by those, upon whom the light from the gospel, which pierced that darkness, began to shine, that the dominion of the true, ancient, apostolical

brevi exitaram paretis, scire laboro. Quod ubi constiterit ex ratione vestra ipsemet capiam rebus meis concilium. Hac de re si dignaberis vel tribus verbis me certiorem reddere gratum feceris.
Ad Flacium Illryicum. forsan.
Harl. MS. No. 417, Art. 36, fol. 105 b.

(1) Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 709, edit. 1837.

Christianity could only be restored to the world, by reviving the same ordinance which Christ had instituted and ordained before, and after, he commanded the observance of the Lord's supper. They commanded the preaching of God's word to be re-established. They called forth, they sent out, the preachers of truth. They depended upon the prophetical, as well as upon the priestly duty of the church of Christ; and the preacher became once more the chief agent in extending the knowledge of the will of God, and the constant interpreter of the open scripture, as well as the dispenser of the sacraments, and the upholder of an useful ritual.

Among other places where those who were held in reputation for their spiritual gifts were called upon to preach, was St. Paul's cross; and John Foxe, in spite of his still declining the required conformity to the habits, was commanded by bishop Grindal, the year before his second edition of Acts and Monuments was published, to preach at this celebrated spot. He very unwillingly, in consequence both of diffidence and ill health, obeyed the injunction. In writing to Grindal he urged his incapacity. "Consider also in fairness," he proceeds, "how unequally this will press upon me, when, as I believe, there never yet was ass or mule who was so weighed down and overdone by carrying burthens, as I have long been by literary labours, every day employed investigating and drawing forth the contents of writers, reading copies, and reading them again, and putting together materials which may be of public benefit to the church. By these labours I am almost worn out, not to speak of ill health[1] and want of books. Yet amidst all these labours and defects which I have narrated, I am summoned in addition, to St. Paul's cross, that celebrated spot, where, like an ape among cardinals, I shall be received with derision, or driven away by the hisses of the auditory."

We learn from another letter, that he was solemnly adjured by many who appreciated his services to preach there, whatever might be his own conviction of his unfitness; and that bishop Grindal also gave him the subject of his sermon. "Yesterday," he writes in another letter to Grindal, "I heard when too late, that your servant had been with Day, the printer. Had I seen him, perhaps I might have sent a different answer from the present. But although I saw him not, I now see there are friends who by no means will suffer me to refuse, what by all means I had determined to deny. I find that they will not rest till they have thrust me forward, most unwillingly, at Paul's cross. By every means, by entreaties, threats, upbraidings, they urge, press, and solicit me.

(1) The observance of Lent was a well-known rigid fast. In 1564 an order was issued to observe Wednesdays as fast days, when fish was eaten. In 1568 a royal proclamation appeared, supposed to have been dictated by Burghley, to enforce the observance of all the old fasts, and a more rigid one of every Wednesday. (Life of Burghley, by Nares, vol. ii. pp. 483, 484.) Foxe, as appears from the above letter, was in an ill state of health, and I think this the likely period when he obtained from archbishop Parker a dispensation to eat flesh in Lent. For this kindness, Strype says, Foxe addressed him in a handsome Latin letter. Life of Parker, vol. i. p. 354.

Erasmus could not endure even the smell of fish: and Roger Ascham obtained a dispensation from archbishop Cranmer. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, Works, vol. v. p. 80.

What is more painful, they pretend that you are displeased with my last letter. In addition, they solemnly adjure me in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. This indeed, more than all besides, induces me not to refuse. Pray for me again and again. I entreat you, beloved prelate, who have laid this burden upon me, help me to sustain it. And I cannot but express a pleasing surprise that in your letters, where by virtue of your authority this burden is laid upon me, your piety has kindly suggested a subject—that I preach Christ Jesus, and him crucified. May the Lord Jesus, crucified for us, keep your mind in perfect humility amidst the honours of your calling, and with that humility of mind may he also preserve you in your present dignity, for the lasting welfare of his church."

Controversy in the present day is banished to the press, or to the platform. It seldom intrudes itself into the pulpit. At this time, however, the preacher who should have omitted all allusion to the great division between Rome and England, would have been considered as deserting his duty. He would have been deemed either ignorant, cowardly, or traitorous. We may justly believe, therefore, that the public anticipated some vehement and bitter invective against popery from the martyrologist. If they did so they must have been much disappointed by his sermon at St. Paul's Cross. Though he was both willing and anxious to comply with the popular wish, after he had once consented to preach, of assailing the errors of the apostate church, he did not treat popery as the political enemy to the government, or institutions of England. He spoke of it as the spiritual enemy of the souls of men. He contrasted the effects of the papal doctrines, with the christian doctrines, to which they are opposed. He argues well and satisfactorily, that the popish doctrine of the continual sacrifice of the mass, and the Christian doctrine of reconciliation with God, through faith in the one, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction which was made once for all, cannot consist together, but must destroy each other. He preached the one only doctrine which is again beginning to be stigmatized as absurd, by many learned and deeply-reasoning theologians; but which will ever be regarded by the humble-minded and wounded in spirit, as the only source of comfort—justification before the Creator, by the faith which worketh obedience, by love to the Saviour who has completed the reconciliation of the soul which believes, to his Father and our Father, to his God and our God. He preached a sermon which would be called 'ultra-protestant,' among those who would neutralize our opposition to the soul-destroying doctrines of the church of Rome, by inventing new terms of reproach against their brethren, to palliate their own inconsistency. Christ, and his apostles, the fathers and the reformers, conquered the dominion of evil, by urging on their hearers, the Christian, evangelical, 'ultra-protestant' truths of the sinfulness of the unconverted nature of man—the necessity of repentance—the value of the only atonement—and the continued work of the Holy Spirit to sanctify

and renew the soul. From these solemn topics they derived warning to the impenitent, and comfort to the humble believer. John Foxe followed in their train, and imitated the example of those sacred leaders of the church, from earth to heaven. He addresses his discourse—To all them that labour and are heavy laden in conscience.

After alluding, in his Epistle Dedicatory, to the means by which the church of Rome presents the circumstances of the passion of Christ to the people, he observes, that "to know the crucified sacrifice of Christ's body to be a perfect deliverance of all his people, to be a full satisfaction once, and for ever, for all our sins—to be a free justification, redemption, and righteousness before God for ever, to all them that believe in him, without any other means or help adjoined to him—this is to know Christ Jesus crucified." He apologizes for the publication of his sermon, and affirms that he only permitted it to be printed that it might give consolation to the humble and heavy laden. "Forsomuch," he says, "as the Lord hath a remnant of some faithful servants, which walk after their Lord and God with a perfect heart, and are not hearers only, but seekers also of his kingdom; and especially for your cause that labour and are laden in conscience, wheresoever, or whatsoever ye are, in whom the Lord hath wrought an earnest hunger, and hearty seeking for his kingdom, for you most principally I have penned this sermon of Christ crucified, and to you specially I dedicate and commend the same; desiring the same Lord Jesus, crucified for us, that you in reading hereof may receive such spiritual refreshing to your souls, and high courage of faith in Christ Jesus, that neither Satan may deceive you; nor the law terrify you; nor death confound you; nor sin oppress you; nor conscience captive you; nor hell-gates prevail over you; but that you, rightly understanding with all saints, what is the hope of your calling, the riches of your inheritance, the greatness of his power towards you; and what is the breadth, length, and profundity, and what is the superadmirable love of knowledge of Jesus Christ crucified, may superabound in all heavenly consolation;[1] and also, with a holy pride, may triumph in Christ Jesus."

The text which he selected was from the fifth of the second of Corinthians. He considers the sender of the message—the messengers—and the message of the gospel itself.

Many beautiful passages might be selected from these three divisions, especially the supposed address of Christ to Satan and to Death, and the final triumph of the Cross over all its enemies; as well as from the hortatory paragraphs at the conclusion. His prayer for the church has been generally admired. He concludes with a petition for the members of the church of Rome which may still be offered with a devout and humble heart by the members of the church of England.

"And as the bishop of Rome is wont on this Good Friday, and every Good Friday, to accurse us as damned heretics, we here curse not him,

(1) Ephes. i.

but pray for him, that he, with all his partakers, either may be turned to a better truth: or else, we pray thee, gracious Lord, that we never agree with him in doctrine, and that he may so curse us still, and never bless us more as he blessed us in queen Mary's time! God of his mercy keep away that blessing from us!

"Finally, instead of the pope's blessing, give us thy blessing, Lord, we beseech thee, and conserve the peace of thy church, and course of thy blessed gospel. Help them that are needy and afflicted. Comfort them that labour and are heavy laden. And above all things continue and increase our faith. And forasmuch as thy poor little flock can scarcely have any place or rest in the world, come Lord, we beseech thee, with thy 'It is finished;' and make an end; that this world may have no more time nor place here, and that thy church may have rest for ever.

"For these and all other necessities requisite to be begged and prayed for, asking in Christ's name, and as he hath taught us, let us say the Lord's Prayer—'Our Father,'" etc.

A postscript to the papists follows, in which they are invited and urged to meet the weighty points of doctrine taught by the reformed Anglican church, relative to the sufficiency of Christ's passion and atonement, either by refutation, or consent.

He says, that, having an empty page, he shall write a word or two to those who hold with the proceedings of Rome, craving them to refute his propositions, or yield to the truth of the doctrines contained in them. He then lays down the chief points of the controversy which divides the churches, to the effect following—

I. Whether they can find by the Scripture of God, or any approved doctor, that the sacrificed body of the Son of God, suffering once upon the cross on Good Friday, is not the only material and sufficient cause of our perfect salvation, remission of sins, and justification?

II. Whether the promise of God, which is to salvation, standeth not free, without any condition of work, or works, to be added to that effect, save only faith in the merits of Christ?

III. Whether faith in the Redeemer is not the only mean and instrument whereby his passion is made to us effectual?

He then calls upon them for proofs against this doctrine—to let the world hear their reasons; and to let railing, trifling, and scoffing be done with. "Persecution and blood are no way," he says, "to find out truth, but serve to blind it. The Scriptures, in the matter of salvation, teach without trope or figure, and will quickly decide the cause."

Repeating, then, the above three points of doctrine as undeniable verities of Scripture; "seeing," he says, "our justification and remission of sins stand consummated by Christ, free by promise, and assured by faith, declare, then, I beseech you—you, who so magnify the religion of Rome—declare unto us, how standeth with God's religion your auricular confession for loosing of sins—your satisfaction for the same—your works of perfection and supererogation, masses, trentals—your propitiatory

sacrifice—praying of saints, and to saints departed—your pardons, purgatory for cleansing of sin; building and entering into monasteries for the remission of sins; pilgrimages; stations of Rome; jubilees; straitness of orders; with an infinite number of such like? All which implements of your church, to what use now do they serve? or, how can they stand with Scripture, but either they must derogate from Christ's passion; or else the passion of Christ must needs make them void?"

"For the same Christ Jesus crucified, I desire you, therefore, if ye see these evidences true, then, be reconciled to the truth; and as St. Paul desireth you, be reconciled to God. Let the religion of God stand simple, as he left it himself. In other matters add what ye list; but in matter and cause of salvation, Christ left nothing behind him to be added any more, either by apostles, or martyrs, or bishops, or any other. He consummated the perfection thereof fully by himself, leaving nothing therein imperfect. Whereunto he that addeth blasphemeth; and doth no less than infringe the testament of our Lord." These warnings and exhortations he then enforces by that strong admonition of St. Paul,[1] closing with hope that the Lord of grace might open their eyes to see, and their hearts to embrace the knowledge of his truth, to his glory, and their spiritual comfort, and their everlasting life in him.

Such was the Sermon on Christ Crucified, preached on Good Friday, by John Foxe at St. Paul's Cross; and so long as the Liturgy of the Church of England is valued, or the holy Scriptures of truth are read, so long will the substance of this noble homily be esteemed, by the members of the catholic church, who can distinguish the inventions of man from the perfection and simplicity of the truth of the great atonement, which is the substance and the object, of the revelation of the gospel of Christ.

The sermon at Paul's Cross was preached on Good Friday, 1570, March 20th. The second edition of the Acts and Monuments was published in the course of the twelvemonth following. No parliament had now sat for four years. A parliament was called and met in April, 1571. Before that time the work was printed. A letter from Mr. Norton would imply, however, that the Preface was not completed, and the work, therefore, was not published till the commencement of 1571. The letter is preserved among the Harleian papers.[2]

The effect produced upon the public mind by the first edition of this great work, encouraged the martyrologist to render his second edition still more worthy the general attention. No railing, no indignation, no minor errors which might have been committed from haste, or deficient

(1) Gal. i. 9.

(2) *George Norton to Mr. Foxe, asking for the Preface to his Martyrology:—*

"For that I doe rather write than come myselfe, impute I praie you to this: for that I think it pleaseth far better: and becauss it hathe so fallen out, it lykethe the no lesse," &c. &c. &c. After many observations, he adds—"But to the cause of my writinge, &c. Syr, Mr. Daie willed me when he ridde forth, as this daie to come to you for the preface. The parliamente draweth nere, which yf you pleas to send by this messenger with your mynd, I will doe thereafter. Vale in Christo.

"Yours to commande, "GEORGE NORTON."

"To the worshipful Mr. Foxe, these."

Harl. MSS. 416, Art. 71, fol. 119.

It would appear from this letter, that Foxe was not living at this time in the house of Day: but was probably at the duke of Norfolk's; whence he afterwards removed to Grub-street.

evidence, could remove the effect of his authentic, undeniable narratives: that effect was deepened and increased by the exceeding imprudence of the church of Rome at this juncture. Not one prayer, not one doctrine or sentiment, in the prayer-book of the church of England could be deemed heretical. The authority of the first four councils had been maintained by the act of the first year of Elizabeth; and the denial of the conclusions of those councils was made the criterion of heresy, as among the christian emperors, and our Saxon ancestors. The reformers had retained as many of the prayers and services of the ancient liturgies and rituals as they deemed essential, both from the Sacramentary of Gelasius and the services sanctioned by Gregory. They never desired to separate from communion with Rome. They resolved only to reject its supremacy, and to act as an independent episcopal church. They, consequently, while they deemed the foreign Lutheran churches to be the dear sisters of the Anglican church, acknowledged the orders of the priesthood of the church of Rome; and permitted any Romish priest, on his professing his adherence to the church of England, to become a minister of the establishment. The laity attended their parish churches, whether they were attached either to the theories of Calvin, or to the discipline of Rome. The former only believed that we had not rejected enough; the latter that we had rejected too much, of the long-controverted propositions which the people had been taught to believe. All were willing to condemn the severity of Mary; all were united in one national worship, which was framed with the express intention of including the whole people in one true and catholic church.

While the second edition of Foxe's work was being prepared for the press, the bishop of Rome, presuming still to act as if he were the ecclesiastical magistrate and supreme ruler of the universal church, violently broke up this union, separated himself and his church from their communion with the Anglican church; and, daring to pronounce the queen "the pretended queen of England," deposed her from the throne, and declared the nation absolved from their allegiance. This bull alone was the true cause of the subsequent enactments against the priests who obeyed the pope, and against the practices also of the members of the church of Rome. The real meaning of the bull was, that, as princes deposed by the popes might be rightly destroyed by their subjects, and their dominions be granted by him to any more orthodox and approved invader—every effort would be made from this moment to overturn the throne of Elizabeth, and to subdue the people of England to the dominion of the bishop of Rome.[1]

(1) See on this subject the Accusations of History against the Church of Rome—Soames's Elizabethan History, the last work in which these topics are considered—the usual references to the Canon Law of Rome—and Bishop Taylor's Notes to his Sermon on the 5th of November, where the numerous authorities of the learned papal writers who defended these doctrines are collected. The members of the church of Rome in the present day shrink from these opinions. They are sincere in their disavowal; but they are required by all their hopes of the reunion of Christians, and by all their hopes of credit to their professions of loyalty to a sovereign whom the laws denominate Protestant, to demand the expungement of the canons which former controversies have placed in the canon law of Rome, from the Concilia, and pontifical codes by which their church is governed. Those laws are unrepealed, though they are disavowed, as obsolete. They slumber with the weakness—they wake with the power, of Rome; if the

The republication, therefore, of Foxe's book, at this juncture, was most desirable; and the martyrologist spared no labour to render the work useful. He collected fresh materials from all quarters on which he could depend; and prevented the possibility of indifference by his energetic eloquence, as well as by his indisputable narratives.[1]

Those persons are much mistaken who suppose that the questions between the churches of England and of Rome were merely political, or ecclesiastical questions; that is, whether they referred only to civil liberty, or clerical discipline, or to any points of a mere earthly, temporal, or indifferent nature. Our fathers believed that the chief importance of the disputes between the two churches consisted in this—that the salvation of the soul was endangered by the wilful errors of the church of Rome. They were convinced that the Romanist priests and bishops knew, and believed, that the opposition made by the various reformers, to the tenets and conduct peculiar to their church, was just, righteous, and true; and that inferior and worldly motives alone prompted them to defend errors, to continue ignorance to the people, and to prevent the extension of christian knowledge. The Romanist spoke of the church, its authority, dignity, and power; the reformers spoke of Christ and his apostles, and defended their departure from the decisions of the church, by appealing to that higher tribunal. The Romanist appealed to tradition, antiquity, and the fathers; the reformer followed his antagonist into every dark page, pursued him through all the mazes of the recondite learning which revived on the discovery of printing, and demonstrated that the Romanist retained the errors, while the reformer retained the truths, which were sanctioned by these abused, yet venerable names. The Romanist demanded obedience to the most dubious councils; the reformer replied by pointing to the convocations of the Anglican church. The Romanist insisted upon the reception of every dogma

security, the indifference, the irreligion, or the party politics of the objectors to the revival of the papal supremacy permit the resumption of its power.

Michael Ghislieri, the commissary-general of the Inquisition, a man of high reputation as a scholar, and of blameless character, but still more highly esteemed for his "hatred to those revivals of primitive Christianity, which his church called heresy, and for his consequent severity to the upholders of every error which the church had so long sanctioned," was elected pope, on the 7th of January, 1566. He had scarcely assumed the tiara before he put forth a bull against heretics. "In the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Mother of God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the holy host of heaven, of the archangels and angels, of the holy apostles, saints, and martyrs," willing and authorizing all the wise and learned of his clergy, to labour, endeavour, and contrive all manner of devices, to abate, assuage, and confound them; anathematizing all heretics, living, trading, or travelling in any colonies, principalities, realms, and countries, subject to the see of St. Peter, his predecessor; that thereby they might either be reclaimed, or a total infamy be brought upon them, by their discord and divisions; by which means they might either speedily perish by God's wrath, or continue in eternal difference."*a*

In the Bull of Canonization of Pius V. 1712, among his high virtues entitling him to such honours, this is one:—his "unhesitating zeal in striking with his dread anathema the impious *heretic, Queen Elizabeth*, the *pretended* queen of England."

(1) The title to this Second Edition was—"The first volume of Ecclesiastical History, contayning the Actes and Monumentes of thinges passed in every kynge's tyme in this realm, especially in the Church of England, principally to be noted. With a full discourse of such persecutions, horrible troubles, the sufferyng of Martyrs, and other things incident, touchyng as wel the said Church of England, as also Scotland, and all other foreine nations, from the primitive tyme, till the reigne of King Henry VIII. Newly recognized, and inlarged by the author John Foxe. Also the second volume, from the tyme of King Henry VIII. to Queene Elizabeth, our gracious Lady now reigning. Printed by John Day, 1570, &c."

Both the first and second volumes had many more engravings than the edition in 1563.

(*a*) Nares's Life of Lord Burghley, vol. ii. p. 363.

which had been once sanctioned by the heads and doctors of the church; the reformer insisted upon the reception of those propositions only, which could be proved to be true, useful, and worthy of adoption, whether they were propounded, retained, or rejected by the most wise and most learned. In the course of the undying controversy, the stern pertinacity with which the church of Rome persevered in reforming no abuse—rescinding no errors—prohibiting scripture, reasoning, doubting, or inquiry—commanding unlimited submission, and punishing with unrelenting severity the least resistance to its intolerable dominion, convinced the reformers, not only that the priesthood of the church of Rome were the enemies of liberty, truth, and improvement; but that they were willingly and wilfully the servile, supple tools of the worst system of tyranny, falsehood, and ignorance. They believed that the Romish priesthood were the enemies of human happiness, and the destroyers of the blessings of redemption; and this deep and heartfelt conviction gave that loftiness to their motives, and strength to their language, which their degenerate children now treat with obloquy and scorn.

None of our great ancestors were more impressed with this holy conviction of the danger of the doctrines of popery to the salvation of the soul, and of the wilful adherence of the Romanist priesthood to known error, than John Foxe; and this conviction is no where displayed so intensely, as in the preliminary papers which he prefixed to his several editions of this work. We find seven introductory prefaces, each of which, "in thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," expresses the solemn conviction that the souls of men were endangered by the wilful corruptions of God's revealed truth by the priesthood, and by the church of Rome.

The first preliminary paper is an address, in the most devout spirit and language, to Jesus Christ. He calls it *an Eucharisticon;* and amply will it repay the labour and attention which may be devoted to its perusal. "The work," he says, "O adorable and supreme Saviour, which I began and have completed under thy divine favour, contrary to the conviction which I entertained of my own strength and power, I now dedicate to thee. Thine omnipotent majesty cannot but know the labours, the watchings, the anxieties, which have attended the progress of the work, and which could not have been overcome unless thy divine grace had shone upon me. I thank thee, not alone in my own name, but in the name of thy holy church. Thy favour is the proof of the value in which thou holdest the martyrs of thy church. Thy will it was that I should declare to all men how honourable it is to die, valiantly contending for the glory of thy name. Every nation, people, and language, to the most remote posterity, shall praise the names of Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, and Hooper, of Bradford and others, who died preferring thy glory to their own safety; and all who honour them shall despise and abhor their persecutors and destroyers." He proceeds to lament the degeneracy of the day in which he and the sons of the

martyrs lived; and commends his labour to the favour and protection of Him to whom every knee shall bow, and whose glory shall be confessed through all the churches of God. The cause of the reformers and of the reformation is identified throughout, as the cause of the apostles and of Christianity was identified at the beginning—with the cause of Christ. The same fearlessness of man, and the same devotion of heart to God, enabled each to conquer priestcraft, and to give both truth and freedom to the world.

The second preface was the dedication to queen Elizabeth. He notices in this, the abuse which had been heaped upon his work, and the motives of his accusers. "When I first presented," he says, "those Acts and Monuments to your majesty, which your majesty's rare clemency received in such gentle part, I well hoped that those my travels in this kind of writing had been well at an end: whereby I might have returned to my studies again, to other purposes, after my own desire more fit, than to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certain evil disposed persons, of intemperate tongues, adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest; fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable exclamations at the first appearance of the book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new born again; and that Herod and all the city of Jerusalem had been in an uproar; such blustering and stirring was there against that poor book, through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Louvain. So that no English papist almost in all the realm thought himself a perfect catholic unless he had cast out some word or other to give that book a blow. They are ashamed," he says, "to hear what they have done; though they were not ashamed to do, what they now blush to hear.[1] Being unable to work by the secular arm (the Lord preserve your majesty," he emphatically adds, "many years), they renewed again the practices, by which they had opposed the circulation of the Bible in the reign of Henry VIII.; they decried the book and the notes, and declared there were therein as many lies as lines. The foundation of all this calumny was three or four escapes only, in that book committed; and yet some of them were in the same book amended: they neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding what they read, inveighed and maligned so perversely the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world. But then concerning such matters related by me that were errors indeed," he adds, ("for the satisfaction of all sober, unprejudiced readers, if not for the silencing of those calumniators) that nevertheless, in accusing these his accusers, he did not so excuse himself, nor defend his book, as though nothing in it were to be spunged or amended;" therefore he had taken pains "to reiterate his labours, in travelling out the story again: doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before: or as builders do sometimes; take down again their build-

(1) Audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est: nullus faciendi quæ audire erubescunt.

ings, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger: so he, in recognising this history, had employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument he took in hand, partly also to essay, whether by any pains-taking he might pacify the stomachs, or satisfy the judgments of the importune quarrellers."

He then proceeds to congratulate the country, on the peace, quiet, and freedom from persecution which distinguished the time in which he wrote. Though the doctrine of toleration was not understood, and the will of the prince was still too much considered to be the criterion of truth acceptable to God, yet neither papist nor puritan was pursued with the severity which had marked the former reign; and the very cessation of the relentlessness of the still existing laws, made the martyrologist justly call this period of the reign of Elizabeth, the halcyon days of England. He declares, too, that his great object was not merely to commend his book to the queen, and to the learned, but to consider the necessity of the ignorant flock of Christ, to relieve their ignorance, and to instruct their simplicity. As the histories of the sufferers for the truth's sake in the olden times benefited the church, so he believes the church of his own day would be benefited by the histories of the modern martyrs. With some other observations of the same nature he concludes:—and he is right in the sentiment he here expresses. His work has hitherto imbued the more unlearned, yet not less wise, and clearly judging christian commonalty of England with a thorough dread of the laws and principles which could induce our rulers, on any pretence whatever, to identify the canon laws of the church against heresy with the statute laws of the country; and thus to render legal the cruelty of an erroneous priesthood. And that man, even in the present day, who shall endeavour, until the canon laws of Rome are expunged from its conciliar and papal codes, to lessen our horror at its crimes of persecution, or of the claims on which the right to persecute is founded, is a traitor to his Saviour, to his country, and to the true catholic church. If primitive Christianity was worth establishing, it was worth defending. If the reformation—which was only the restoration of the best portions of that primitive Christianity—was worth establishing, that also is worth defending, in all times, and through all dangers.

But though the martyrologist was thus anxious to imbue the minds of his poorer and more ignorant countrymen with a right and holy detestation of cruelty and spiritual usurpation, he was too deeply learned to shrink from any criticism, or any inquiry, which the most profound scholar of that age of scholars could institute or demand. The object, indeed, of all clerical learning is to enlarge the knowledge of the poorer and ignorant classes, as the object of all medical knowledge is to benefit the peasant and the mechanic, as well as the noble and the prince. The next preface, therefore, of Foxe was addressed to the learned reader —and it is at once a challenge to the critic to discover any intentional misrepresentations, and an apology for unavoidable defects. "When I

consider,"[1] he says, "the difficulty, in times when all things are misrepresented, of writing with such circumspection as to avoid calumny, I almost deem that those persons are subjects of envy, who live in ease and dignity, enjoying the labours of others, as spectators, rather than as actors in the great theatre of life. Never has it been my lot to taste the sweetness of such leisure. I do not, however, complain if my labours might be but useful: though I suffer under the disadvantage of not being able to render my subject interesting; for I cannot relate falsehoods without injustice to my history, nor speak the truth without the hatred and envy of many. What else indeed could have been expected, than that, after I had, by my indefatigable, though perhaps useless labour, ruined my health, lost my sight, brought on premature old age, and exhausted my strength, I should suffer from the contempt and scorn of my calumniators. No human aid, indeed, could have supported me; nothing but the divine power alone, to whom I have and do commend myself and my book. And to thee, also, learned and pious reader, in the same spirit I submit my labours."

He goes on to observe on the impossibility of pleasing all, and especially those, who, even before the publication of his book, professed to anticipate a golden legend only. He relates the sacrifice of health, by which alone he had been able to complete his work. He contrasts the truth of his narrative with the falsehood of those real legends in which his adversaries were accustomed to believe. He alludes to his framing the calendar, in which he substitutes the names of his martyrs for those which the Romanists had placed in their calendars; and he inquires, whether Cranmer was not as worthy of a place in their commemorations as Becket; whether Nicholas Ridley was not fit to be compared with pope Nicholas; or whether Latimer, Hooper, and Marsh were not as admirable, and as praiseworthy, as the best and greatest of those whom the Romanists esteemed. "I wish neither," he adds, "to diminish the honour nor extinguish the memory of any good or holy man, in whatever age he may have lived; and if my calendar of saints offend any, let it be remembered, that I arrange them in their places, in the days of the months, for the use of domestic reading, and not for any commemoration in the service and house of God.[2]

He concludes with a beautiful paragraph, expressing his consciousness of much imperfection, after all his efforts; and reminding the reader of the Greek proverb, that it is more easy to criticise than to imitate.

The next preliminary paper still more fully proves the true catholic spirit and temper of this once venerated father of ecclesiastical history among us. It is a protestation "to the true and faithful congregation of Christ's universal church, and to all and singular the members thereof throughout the whole realm of England, wishing to the same abundance

(1) It is written in Latin. The commencement is an imitation, apparently, of Cicero's introduction to his "De Oratore:"—"Cogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo," etc.

(2) That it has not been deemed an objectionable custom to commemorate the memory of religious persons by assigning especial days to that purpose, and even offering up suitable prayers when we recal them to our remembrance, see the Oxford Tracts on the honour due to the memory of Bishop Ken, etc.

of peace and tranquillity, with the speedy coming of Christ the Spouse to make an end of all mortal misery." This address may be called a national sermon, and a condensation into the briefest possible space of the work which follows it. It consists of twenty-seven paragraphs, and breathes throughout the spirit of peace and love. I will endeavour to compress this beautiful preface into the shortest compass, to enable all to judge whether John Foxe deserves the reaction of the former veneration which was paid him, into the cold ingratitude, or affected contempt of the day in which we live.

As the glory of God, he begins (par. 1), filled the temple which was seven years in building; so he prays (par. 2) that a blessing may be granted to this edition of his work, to which he had devoted seven years of labour. But, as in the temple of Solomon some came (par. 3) to buy and sell, to walk, and gaze, to find fault, and to destroy, so had many proceeded with his book. He desires all faults to be pointed out, and he will correct them: but these men (par. 4), like Cicero's dog in the Capitol, who barked not at robbers but at honest men, blaspheme the martyrs of Christ, and canonize them for saints, whom the Scriptures would condemn as dishonourable and disloyal subjects. He leaves, however, these persons (par. 5) to address the well-minded lovers and partakers of Christ's gospel; and to beg them (par. 6) to judge that history which was written to profit all, and to displease none. He grieved to see the simple and the unlearned (par. 7) deceived by the histories which had been written by the monks, and by the clients of Rome: who had so related all things to the honour of the church of Rome, that the generality believed there was no truth, but the doctrines which Rome taught, and no true church but that over which the bishop of Rome presided. He then (par. 8) enumerates the authors to whom he refers, and instances their partiality in the suppression of truth, and in their elevating the church, the see, and the bishop of Rome. When he considered this list of authors, and the intolerable corruption of history by their means (par. 9), he deemed it to be his duty to endeavour to give a faithful history to the people; and (par. 10) to present to the world the double portrait of the church of Rome on the one hand, and the church of Christ, which Rome oppressed and persecuted, on the other. In the next six paragraphs he draws the contrast between that part of the catholic church of Christ which became corrupt, and inflicted persecution, and that part of the catholic church which was less corrupt, and which suffered, persecution. He assigns the principal dates of the greater corruptions of the church (par. 17—19) to the ages immediately preceding and following the pontificate of Hildebrand; and then details the long and glorious list of witnesses, whom the providence of God raised up in every age to protest, before the days of Luther, against the corruptions and cruelty of the dominant usurpation over the bishops and churches of the catholic church of Christ. This list begins at par. 20, and continues through the seven which follow; and it is concluded by the triumphant affirma-

tion, that the church, as it had been lately reformed, is not the new, but the old continued church, to which the promise of Christ had been given, and to which, by the providence of God, that promise had never failed. Thus far this preface is amply deserving of the approbation of the critical reader. The next paragraph (par. 28) contains a specimen of one of those faults which is justly alleged to be a great drawback from the value of his work—the fault of credulity. He affirms, but on insufficient evidence, that God sent down from heaven, upon the garments and caps of men, in Germany, marks of his passion—as the bloody cross, the nails, the spear, and the crown of thorns—to denote the persecutions which were about to take place. I would have believed this, as I would believe all the tales in the Talmud, if I had sufficient evidence for doing so; but there is none: and I grieve that the authority of Foxe should be diminished by his credulity. The 29th paragraph, too, has some unreceivable notions derived from his interpretation of prophecy. The conclusion is an exhortation to the church of England, well suited, not only to the day in which Foxe lived, but to our own age also, to avoid the schism which alienates the heart of man from man; and it ends with a prayer that, in one unity of doctrine, we may gather ourselves into one ark of the true church together. He considered rightly that the enemy to the union of all our brethren and countrymen into one true church, was the church of Rome: while he deprecated, at the same time, the incipient schism of the puritans.

The next prefatory tract to this edition, is an address on the utility of this story. It consists of some general, though apt remarks on the value of history, and more especially on the usefulness of a martyrology; which he therefore published for the use of the common people. "In the lives and deaths of these men," he observes, "we have the manifest declarations of the divine power within them; when we behold such strength to suffer, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, such cheerfulness and courage in suffering, with such manifold sense of the divine presence, the deaths of these saints do not a little avail to the establishing of a good conscience, to the contempt of the world, and to the fear of God. They confirm faith, increase godliness, abate pride in prosperity, and in adversity do open an hope of heavenly comfort. For, what man, reading the misery of these godly persons, may not therein, as in a glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For, if God give adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And as by reading of profane stories we are made more skilful, perhaps, in warlike affairs, so by reading this we are made better in our livings; and, besides, are better prepared unto the like conflicts, (if by God's permission they shall happen hereafter,) more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example."—"To be short, they declare to the world what true christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in

the hope of the resurrection to come. In consideration whereof, methinks I have good cause to wish that, like as other subjects, even so also kings and princes, which commonly delight in heroical stories, would diligently peruse such monuments of martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their walls, cups, rings, and gates."

—" If martyrs, too, are to be compared with martyrs, I see no reason why the martyrs of our time deserve any less commendation than the other in the primitive church, which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or the greatness of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of posterity, and increase of the gospel. They did water with their blood the truth that was newly springing up; so these by their deaths restored it again, being so decayed and fallen down. They, standing in the forward of the battle, did receive the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such tyranny; these with like courage again, like old beaten soldiers, did win the field in the rereward of the battle. They, like famous husbandmen of the world, did sow the fields of the church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these with their blood did cause it to batten and fructify. Would to God the fruit might be speedily gathered into the barn, which only remaineth behind to come!"

" If we ascribe such reputation, too," he adds, " to godly preachers, (and worthily,) which diligently preach the gospel of Christ when they live, notwithstanding, without all fear of, persecution, how much more reasonable cause have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their lives for the defence of the same! All these premises duly, of our parts, considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous martyrs in this our age, let us not fail, then, in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkind to them than the writers of the primitive church were to theirs. And though we impute not their ashes, chains, and swords, instead of relics, yet, let us yield thus much unto their commemoration, to glorify the Lord in his saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives, at the least, with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors; and is it so great a matter, then, for our part, to mortify our flesh, with all the members thereof? They continued in patient suffering when they had most wrong done to them, and when their very hearts' blood gushed out of their bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready, for every trifling offence, to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They, wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their persecutors; and therefore ought we, which are now the posterity and children of martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but, being admonished by their examples, if we cannot express their charity towards all men, yet, at least, to imitate the same, to our power and

strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any: and if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving, and not revenging the same. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding of blood, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, by martyrdom or loss of life, according to their example, to yield up the same in defence of the Lord's flock. Which thing, if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the world than now is. And thus much touching the utility and fruit to be taken of this history."

The next prefatory introduction to this edition consisted in four questions, proposed to the friends and followers of the bishop of Rome.

The first was, whether that part of Isaiah's description of the church, that it should not hurt nor destroy, could be said to describe the church of Rome?

The second, whether the exceeding hatred which was borne by the church of Rome to those who withheld subjection to its authority was deserved?

The third, whether the description of the apocalyptic beast in the Revelations could refer to any other power than to papal Rome?[1]

The last question was, whether the religion of Christ be spiritual or corporeal?

In answering this question he derides, I am sorry to say, not merely a large mass of the observances, ceremonies, and customs of the church of Rome, but many of the rites and opinions which are valued, regarded, or observed by the members of the church of England. He derides, for instance, the outward succession of bishops, vestures, fasting in Lent, and keeping the Ember-days. He forgot that some outward ordinances are essential to the upholding the inward and spiritual religion which he approved. He defends rightly the doctrine of justification by faith alone, as the instrumental cause of our acceptance, while the sanctification of the soul will ever be the result.

He ends his remarks on this question by briefly replying to the argument of Pighius and Hosius—that the church must be always visible, and that Rome alone, therefore, can be the true church. This reasoning was subsequently adopted by Bossuet; and it has been learnedly refuted by the greatest theologian and ornament of our age, Mr. Faber, who has proved that all the marks required by Bossuet and his brethren to meet in the true church are to be found in the churches of the Waldenses. The right answer to the supposed, not real, difficulty consists rather in this—that some portion of Christ's church apostatized, and then persecuted those who did not follow its example. The members who did not apostatize are always discernible. They can be tracked in the blood of their martyrs. They can be discerned by the fires which consumed them.

(1) It has, I perceive, become the fashion among those of our clerical brethren who would place the happiness, peace, purity, and triumph of the true catholic church in retrogradation, and not in progression, to deny the accuracy of this, the usual interpretation among protestants. I refer them to the talented Mr. Davison's work on Prophecy. He, too, was of Oriel, and had peculiarities, but not heterodoxies.

The results of their labours may be found in the establishment of the episcopal reformed church of England, and in the fearless toleration, sanctioned both by its ecclesiastical and temporal rulers.[1]

The next preface consists of four considerations, addressed to christian protestants, exhorting them to loyalty to the government; congratulating them on their peace and repose from persecution; inviting them to gratitude to God for the contrast; and to study peace and holiness. He concludes by wishing peace to the preachers, grace to the hearers, and glory to Christ, their common Lord. It is in the first paragraph of this brief preface that the expression, "Liberty of conscience" appears to have been used in its modern sense.

The martyrologist, after these several prefaces, proceeds at once to his narrative, which he commences with that most useful introduction on the contrast between Rome apostolical, when St. Paul alluded to its purity of faith, spoken of throughout the whole world; and Rome papal, corrupted with error, and stained with the blood of the martyrs and holy men of God. It was the custom among our fathers to prefix to their works any eulogistical verses which might have been presented to them by their contemporaries. Ten copies of Latin, and one of English verse, are prefixed to the editions of Foxe. The first is by Lawrence Humphreys, his fellow-exile, and now professor of divinity and president of Magdalen College, Oxford. The approbation of such men constitutes true fame. Dr. Humphreys was one of the best scholars, linguists, and theologians of that day.[2] His verses, however, on Foxe must be said to be more distinguished for their friendly zeal for the author, than for their elegance.[3]

The next copy of Latin verse was by Abraham Hartwell, of Cambridge. Hartwell translated from the Italian, Menadoi's Warres between the Turks and Persians; Lopez Kingdom of Congo, by Pigafetta; and the Ottoman Empire of Mahomet III., by Lazara Lorango. He translated from the Latin, Haddon's Answer to Osorius, and many other Italian and Latin works. He was the author also of The Antiquity of Mottoes in England, and of The Antiquity of Epitaphs in England, republished afterwards by Hearne.

The third and fourth are by an author who signs his name Robert R. This was probably Robert Rollock, born at Stirling 1556, who died in 1598. He is called by Spottiswoode a learned, wise and strong defender of the rights of the church. He was educated at St. Andrew's, when he went through a course of philosophy. He was made regent of his college, and was the first theological professor of the college of Edinburgh in 1583. He was greatly esteemed among the foreign reformed churches. He wrote, among other things, In Selectos aliquot Psalmos Davidis Commentarius; Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Hebræos, &c.; In

(1) See a Treatise, proving the Church of England to be the Holy Catholic Church, by P. Berault, 1682.
(2) He wrote, among other things, Epistola de Græcis Literis, et Homeri Lectione, et Imitatione. De Religionis Conservatione, et Reformatione deque Primatu Regum, etc.
(3) "Auctorem specta! pius est, et tersus, et amplus,
Judicio clarus, dexteritate, fide."

Danielem Prophetam Commentarius; In Sancti Johannis Epist. Secund. Commentarius, &c.

The fifth copy of Latin verses was written by Thomas Drant, a distinguished poet and divine of the day. He translated and published two books of "Horace, his Satyres," the Epigrams and Spiritual Sentences of Gregory Nazianzen, and Poetical Paraphrases of many parts of Scripture, the chief of which was on Ecclesiastes, published in 1572.

The sixth is an epigram only, in two lines, by T. J. F. I cannot ascertain the author thus designated. The epigram is not very admirable.

> "Si fas cædendo, cœlestia scandere cuique est
> Papicolis cœli maxima porta patet."

The seventh was by Giles Fletcher, the father of the two poets, Giles and Phineas Fletcher. He was educated at Eton, and was admitted at King's College in 1565. He was now residing at Cambridge. According to Anthony Wood, he became an excellent poet. He was employed by queen Elizabeth as commissioner in Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries, and concluded a treaty of commerce with Russia in 1588, the year of the Armada, on terms which were deemed most advantageous to the interests of his countrymen. His account of Russia is printed in Hakluyt's Voyages in 1643.

The eighth was by sir Thomas Ridley, a relation of bishop Ridley. He was one of the masters in Chancery, and educated at Eton and King's College. He was vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote a work on ecclesiastical and civil law, with a view to improve the practice of the courts by less rigour.

The ninth is by M. M. S. This signature baffles my attempt to discover the author.

The tenth is by Philip Stubbes, one of the most popular writers of the day. He was the author of "A Motive to Good Workes, wherein is showed how far we are behind our forefathers, &c. &c., with the difference between the pretended Good Works of Papists and Protestants;" 1591, 8vo.

The English verses prefixed to this edition were written by Hopkins, the versifier of the last ninety-nine Psalms, printed by Daye, in 4to. 1559, of the well-known authorized version with those of Sternhold and Whittingham, before the publication of the version of Tate and Brady.

This list of contributors of eulogistical verses, though it includes the names of statesmen, lawyers, poets, and theologians, will not, in the present day, be considered as demonstrating the value of the Martyrology. Another tribute, however, was now paid to the book, which is more especially entitled to the attention of those who are disposed to submit their judgment to the authority of the church, and to receive its decisions with the respect and deference which are justly due to a tribunal, from which there ought, if possible, to be no appeal. The parliament met on the 3d of April, 1571. The convocation of the province of Canterbury,

which was then considered, as it ought ever to be, an efficient, component part of the great national senate, met at the same time. The convocation of the province of York began also at the same time. It passed a resolution to deliberate upon some reformation in the churches of that province on Wednesday the 9th of May; and it sate, by adjournment, three weeks after the parliament was dissolved. I mention this circumstance, because it is one, of many facts, which proves that the meeting of the convocation was not necessarily dependent upon the meetings of the parliament.[1] The convocation of the province of Canterbury, however, proceeded to business. They assembled on the 3d of April at St. Paul's church. They confirmed the thirty-nine articles, and enacted many canons for the better regulation of the churches, and ordering of the lives of the clergy and people. Among other decrees, the archbishop and bishops resolved, that the edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, lately printed at London,[2] should be placed in the churches, and in the halls and houses of the bishops, archdeacons, and others, to be read and studied by the people. These canons were not, it is true, sanctioned by the queen, who seemed to be resolved to permit no power in England but that which emanated from her imperious self. Neither were they enacted by the parliament. They did not, therefore, become law. They were, however, strictly adopted as canons; that is, as regulations for the churches, proposed to the clergy, and adopted, both by them and their congregations, as rules, though not laws of conduct. The books of the Acts and Monuments were, consequently, placed in the churches and other public situations, and were generally retained there, till the time of archbishop Laud, by whose influence, as we shall see, they are supposed to have been removed.[3]

The next great work on which we find our illustrious martyrologist to have been employed was the Reformatio Legum, the collection of regulations which were drawn up, after the church of England ceased to be subjected to the church of Rome, for the better government, under its own princes and convocations.

Those infatuated men who are reviving ancient errors, and enforcing

(1) See the Treatise of Archbishop Wake on the State of the Church and Clergy, folio, 1703, p. 502, 503.

(2) Uti nuperrime excusa sunt Londini.

(3) This book of Canons is reprinted in Sparrow's Collection; 4to. London, 1684. It is entitled Liber Quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Anno 1571.

The decrees of the synod were—De Episcopis, De Decanis Ecclesiarum, De Archidiaconis, De Cancellariis, De Ædituis Ecclesiarum, De Concionatoribus, De Residentia, De Pluralitatibus, De Ludimagistris, De Patronis, etc., to which was prefixed this preamble:—

Sequuntur in hoc libello certi quidam articuli de sacro ministerio, et procuratione ecclesiarum, in quos plene consensum est in synodo a domino Matthæo, archiepis. Cantuar. et totius Angliæ primate et metropolitano, et reliquis omnibus ejus provinciis episcopis partim personaliter præsentibus, partim procuratoria manu subscribentibus in synodo inchoata Londini in æde divi Pauli, tertio die Aprilis, 1571.

The decrees to which I refer are these—

De Episcopis, p. 227.—Quivis archiepiscopus, et episcopus habebit domi suæ sacra Biblia in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrime Londini excusa sunt, et plenam illam historiam quæ inscribitur *Monumenta Martyrum*, et alios quos dam similes libros ad religionem appositos. Locentur autem isti libri, vel in aula, vel in grandi cœnaculo, ut et ipsorum famulis, et advenis usui esse possint.

Decani Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, p. 227.—Eosdem illos libros quos proxime diximus, decanus quisque curabit emi, et locari in ecclesia sua cathedrali, ejus modi in loco, ut a vicariis et minoribus canonicis, et ministris ecclesiæ, et ab advenis, et peregrinis commodi audiri, et legi possint.

Eosdem libros illos, decanus et primarius quisque residentarius, quos appellant ecclesiæ dignitates, ement, suo quisque famulitio, eosque opportuno aliquo in loco, vel in aula, vel in cœnaculo locabant.

Archidiaconi, p. 229.—Quivis archidiaconis habebit domi suæ, et alios libros, et nominatim eos qui inscribuntur *Monumenta Martyrum*.

them in the name of the church, and who are endeavouring to quench the last spark of the old love of truth for the truth's sake, by stigmatizing it with the name of ultra-protestantism, will be, perhaps, surprised at the declaration, that the ultra-protestant John Foxe, with all those who resemble him, are as much entitled to be called Roman Catholics, as the bishop of Rome himself, with the whole college of cardinals. By the laws of Theodosius and Justinian, the epithet catholic was given to those Christians who adopted the decisions of the council of Nice and of the first four councils. The word "Roman" was commanded to precede the word "catholic," to denote that the subjects of Justinian, the head of the Roman empire, before the cession of the spiritual dominion to the bishop of Rome, were required both in the West and East, to profess the Trinitarian, Roman, or Universal Creed. Roman Catholics, therefore, originally denoted the episcopalian Trinitarians, who were subjects, not of the bishop of Rome, but of the emperor of Rome; and because Britain had not been formally surrendered by the emperor to the enemies of the state, this island was deemed to be a part of the empire; and the episcopalian Trinitarians of this island, therefore—and they were numerous before the flight of Theonas[1]—were called Roman Catholics before Augustine was commissioned by Gregory. John Foxe was an episcopalian Trinitarian, living within the precincts of the old Roman empire; and he was justly, therefore, entitled, as all the members of the episcopal church of England still are, to be called a Roman Catholic. The bishop of Rome usurped the sceptre; and, availing himself of the epithet "Roman," which appeared more peculiarly appropriate to him and his church, he gradually procured the identification of Christianity with the decrees and doctrines of the Italian church. The canon, pontifical, and conciliar laws, which upheld at once the doctrinal errors and political power of the bishop of Rome over states, princes, and people, became slowly, yet surely, the code of the universal jurisprudence of Europe. When the time arrived that the papal usurpation, and the code of laws which upheld it, became intolerable, the cities and states which rejected the doctrinal errors of the church of Rome, deemed it necessary to embody their faith in confessions, creeds, or articles; and they found it advisable also to adopt some known laws of discipline, as their additional bond of union. Whatever be the agreement of any society or church in doctrine, among those who desire the best mode of worship, agreement in discipline, is essential to the happiness, peace, and union of the worshippers.[2]

(1) Theonas the last bishop of London, before the arrival of Augustine the monk, fled to Wales only eleven years before that event. This flight was the most disastrous and fatal circumstance, without any exception, that ever happened to the episcopacy of Britain. If Theonas had remained, and died at his post, the pretensions of Rome to rule in Britain would never have rested, as they now do, on the mission and consecration of Augustine.

(2) The preface of John Foxe to the Reformatio Legum commences with this very sentiment:—"Quum nihil sit, quod vel ad communem omnium naturam, vel ut privatum cujusque salutem proprius pertineat, quam ut in quaque reipub. societate recta religionis doctrina retineatur, tum ad hanc ipsam optime religionis institutionum non parum retulerit, optimarum pariter legum accedere disciplinam: Quarum altera nos ad pietatum infornet, altera externam hominum inter ipsos vitam moresque componat," etc.

The seventh of the canons, also, to which the puritans so vehemently objected, proposed by archbishop

The second diet of Spires (1529) occasioned the adoption of the word Protestant; not in a religious but in a civil point of view; in consequence of the emperor, Charles V., wishing to revoke the edict of a diet held at the same place three years before, which left the princes of Germany at liberty to manage all ecclesiastical matters in their respective dominions, without imperial interference, until the meeting of a general council. Against this revocation the princes *protested* in the second diet; hence the name, which was afterwards applied to all those who followed not Rome in its errors. The indefiniteness, however, of the word, as thus applied, rendered it insufficient to describe the conclusions both in faith and discipline, which the indignant representatives of the houses of Brandenburgh, Hesse, Lunenburg, Anhalt, and the delegates of fourteen imperial cities desired to uphold. Ultra-protestants they all were, because they were Christians resolved to maintain truth, whether scriptural, traditional, or novel, at all hazards; but the mere rejection of error does not constitute that truth; and Luther undertook to supply a compendium of rites and tenets for the congregations of the rejectors of error. He comprised his system in seventeen articles, which he delivered to the electors at Torgau. They are called, therefore, the Articles of Torgau. These were, unfortunately, considered too general. The imperial diet, in the following June, assembled at Augsburg, and there the celebrated confession was drawn up, which is the probable foundation of the chief articles of the church of England.[1] They were principally prepared by Melancthon; who may be considered as injuring, however, rather than serving the cause of the union of the protesting seceders from the communion of Rome, by too great minuteness of detail. The primitive creeds were short and simple; and it would have been well for the reformed churches, if Melancthon had imitated their example. The fatal consequences of this minuteness was, that as Protestantism, or protesting against Rome only, could not be a sufficient bond of union; and as Zuingle and his adherents declined to adhere to the confession of Augsburgh; a division begun among the continental reformers, which suspended the secession from Rome, and enabled that vigilant church to re-establish its influence in so many quarters where it had been either destroyed or weakened. In the year 1535, Luther endeavoured, at the request of the bewildered controversialists, to revise his scheme of faith and discipline; and the articles of Smalcald were at length decided upon, as the creed and code of the Lutheran churches in Europe.

In the same year John Calvin published his Institutes, as another

Laud in 1640, begins thus:—"Because it is generally to be wished that unity of faith were accompanied with uniformity of practice in the outward worship and service of God," etc. It then proceeds to command that the communion table be called an altar, not that it is to be esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed; but in that sense in which the primitive church called it an altar, and in no other sense. The unfortunate archbishop was right in the principle that one discipline should be the bond of union to the upholders of one faith; but he made the same blunder, and committed the same great crime which his imitators, eulogizers, admirers, and followers in the university of Oxford, and in many parts of the church of England, are committing in the present day. He imagined that the union and improvement of the churches of Christ can be effected by retrogradation instead of progression. In these two words lies the whole secret of the Tractarian controversy. May God prevent our differences from terminating in an open schism!

(1) See Lawrence's Bampton Lectures.

compendium of faith and discipline. This work is founded on the interpretations of Scripture which his own criticism or reason adopted, without sufficient deference to that universal institution of episcopacy which prevailed in the days of the last apostle; and which might fairly and philosophically have been presumed, therefore, to have been an indispensable bond of that union for which Christ prayed. The talent, erudition, fervency, and eloquence of this great writer, has rendered his work most influential even to the present day. The omission of all recommendation to his followers to restore episcopacy whenever it might be possible, together with his reducing the more difficult doctrines of Scripture into a system incompatible with certain other agreeing, though seemingly inconsistent truths, have already begun to sap the foundation of his authority, even in the presbyterian communities. He nobly recommended the appealing to Scripture as the ultimate and only arbiter of all controversies, as the church of England encourages its people to do at present—and that Scripture will as certainly induce the eventual rejection of that perversion of episcopacy which commits the power to rule the churches to those who have authority only to instruct, but not to govern; as well as that opposite perversion of episcopacy also, which commits the power to rule all churches to the bishop of Rome. Episcopacy will ever be found to be the best bond of union to a divided clergy, and to an inquiring people.

The example of the continental reformers was followed in England. The history of the several changes in the conclusions, in matters of faith, proposed and adopted by our convocations, princes, people, and the whole church of England, till the final revision of the thirty-nine Articles, must be left to the historian. The attempt to establish a code of ecclesiastical law, which should supersede the ancient, pontifical, and conciliar canon laws, whether those which were collected by Lyndwood, in the reign of Henry VI. or others, is interesting to us, on account of the part which was assigned to Foxe in preparing it for the consideration of the queen and the legislature.

Before the great effort which was made in the reign of Henry VIII. to emancipate the church and people of England from the yoke of a foreign bishop, the clergy of the church, either with or without the king's permission,[1] in conformity with the summons of the bishops or archbishops, were accustomed, according to the reasonableness of the case, and the primitive practice of the eastern episcopal churches, to meet in councils, synods, convocations, and conventions, to make canons and laws for the general regulation of the community. When communion with Rome implied submission to Rome, these synods and convocations were unavoidably obedient to the foreign influence, and many laws were enacted which clashed with the allegiance of the subject to the temporal prince; it consequently became necessary, in order more effectually

(1) See the whole controversy respecting the origin, rights, powers, &c., of the English convocations, in archbishop Wake's State of the Church and Clergy, &c. folio, 1703.

to complete the emancipation of England from Rome, that the temporal prince should wrest from the ecclesiastical authority, this portion of its power. This was done by the king's requiring from the clergy that the convocation should enact no laws for the subjects of the realm, without the consent of the king. The authority of the bishops to make regulations which were binding on the consciences of the clergy, but which were not a part of the law of the realm, suffered no interference. This obedience of the clergy to the king, was made by the convocation in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Henry VIII.

For the satisfaction of those who may not have ready access to copies of the proceedings of the convocation and parliament relative to the final breach of Henry VIII. with Rome, I subjoin, in three parallel columns, *the submission of the clergy* assembled in the convocation of 1532, *the recital* of the same before the parliament, and *the final enactment*, in the parliament of 1534, founded on the submission and recital. These three together may be said to be the foundation of the Reformatio Legum.

The Convocation's Submission.	*The Parliament's Recital.*	*Enactment upon the Recital.*
We your most humble subjects, daily oratours, and beadsmen of your *clergy of England*, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of; and doubting nothing but that the same shall continue, and daily increase in your majesty;	Whereas the king's humble and obedient subjects, the *clergy of the realm of England*, have not only knowledged according to the truth, that the *convocations* of the same *clergy* is, always hath been, and ought to be assembled only by the king's writ; but also, SUBMITTING themselves to the king's majesty;	Be it therefore now enacted by authority of this Parliament, according to the said SUBMISSION and PETITION, of the said clergy,
I.	I.	I.
First do offer and promise, *in verbo sacerdotii*, here unto your highness, SUBMITTING ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will *never from henceforth enact, put in use, promulge, or execute* any *new canons*, or constitution provincial, or any *new ordinance* provincial or synodal, *in our convocation or synod, in time coming* (which *convocation* is, always hath been, and must be assembled only by your high commandment or writ), unless your highness by your royal assent, shall *license* us to *assemble* our *convocation*, and to *make, promulge*, and execute SUCH *constitutions* and *ordinances* as *shall be made in the same*, and there to give your *royal assent* and *authority*.	Have promised in *verbo sacerdotii* that they will never from henceforth presume to *attempt, alledge, claim*, or *put in use*, or *enact*, promulge, or execute any *new canons, constitutions, ordinance*, provincial or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the convocation, unless the *king's* most *royal assent* and *license* may to them be had to *make, promulge*, and *execute* the same, and that his majesty do give his most royal assent and authority in that behalf.	That they or any of them from henceforth shall not presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in use, any constitutions or ordinance provincial, or synodals, or any other canons, nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any SUCH canons, constitutions, or ordinance provincial, by whatsoever name or names they may be called in their convocations in time coming, which always shall be assembled by authority of the king's writ, unless the same clergy may have the king's most royal assent and license to make, promulge, and execute SUCH canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial or synodal, upon pain of every one of the said clergy doing contrary to this act, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment and make fine at the king's will.
II.	II.	II.
Secondarily, That whereas divers of the constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which *hath been heretofore enacted*, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your highness'	*And whereas* divers constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which *heretofore hath been enacted*, and be thought not only to be much prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, and repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm, but	*And forasmuch as such* canons, constitutions, and ordinances, as *heretofore hath been made* by the clergy of this realm, cannot now at the *session* of this present parliament, by reason of shortness of time, be viewed, examined, and determined by the king's high-

The Convocation's Submission.	*The Parliament's Recital.*	*Enactment upon the Recital.*
subjects, your clergy aforesaid is *contented* if it may stand with your highness' pleasure that it be committed to the examination and judment of your grace, and of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporality, and other sixteen of the clergy; all to be chosen and appointed by your most noble grace; so that finally, which soever of the said constitutions, ordinances, or canons, provincial or synodal, shall be thought and determined by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, not to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, the same to be abrogated and taken away by your grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be seen by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, do stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, to stand in full strength and power, your grace's most royal assent and authority once impetrate and fully given to the same.	also overmuch onerous to his highness and his subjects, the said clergy hath most humbly BESOUGHT the king's highness, that the said constitutions and canons may be committed to the examination and judgment of his highness and of thirty-two persons of the king's subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of parliament of the temporality, and other sixteen to be of the clergy of this realm, and all the said thirty-two persons to be chosen and appointed by the king's majesty. And that such of the said constitutions as shall be thought and determined by the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them worthy to be abrogated and annulled, shall be abolite, and made of no value accordingly. And such other of the same constitutions and canons as by the said thirty-two or the more part of them, shall be approved to stand with the laws of God, and consonant to the laws of this realm, shall stand in their full strength and power, the king's most royal assent first had and obtained to the same.	ness and thirty-two persons, to be chosen and appointed according to the PETITION of the said clergy, in form above rehearsed, be it therefore enacted by authority aforesaid, that the king's highness shall have power and authority to nominate and assign at his pleasure the said thirty-two persons of his subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the clergy, and sixteen to be of the temporality of the upper and nether house of the parliament. And if any of the said thirty-two persons so chosen happen to die before their full determination, then his highness to nominate other from time to time of the said two houses of parliament to supply the number of the said thirty-two. And that the said thirty-two by his highness so to be named, shall have power and authority to view, search, and examine the said canons, constitutions, and ordinance provincial and synodal, heretofore made; and such of them as the king's highness, and the said thirty-two, or the more part of them, shall deem and adjudge worthie to be continued, kept, and obeyed, shall be from thenceforth kept, obeyed, and executed within this realm, so that the king's most royal assent under his great seal be first had to the same. And the residue of the said canons, constitutions, and ordinance provincial which the king's highness and the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them, shall not approve or deem worthie, to be abolit, abrogate, and made frustrate, shall from thenceforth be void and of *none effect*, and never be put in execution within this realm.

Such was the substance of the celebrated act of submission on the part of the clergy of the church of England to their temporal sovereign. They committed all questions respecting the canons, which should receive the force of law, to the secular prince. The review of the canon law, which was now contemplated, has, it is true, never been made; and therefore all canons, then existing, not repugnant to the law of the land, or the king's prerogative, are still required to be used. Such limitation, however, though the act was not carried into effect, at once superseded the old pontifical and decretal law,[1] and thus severed the dominion of the papal, from the statute and parliamentary law of England. The act which thus empowered the king to nominate commissioners, and enacted that the canons they approved, if sanctioned by the king under the great seal, should be the laws of the realm, was renewed in 1536 (stat. 27, Hen. VIII. c. 15), and again in 1544 (stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16.) In the latter case it was so far carried into execution, that commissioners were appointed, a body of ecclesiastical law digested, and a letter of ratification prepared for the king's signature. But this signature was never affixed; and the powers granted to the crown having been limited to the

(1) See for a brief account of these laws, Short's Sketch, vol. i. pp. 140-2

lifetime of Henry VIII., a fresh act was passed with the same object in 1549. Commissioners are said to have been named shortly afterwards in pursuance of its provisions; but if this was the fact, they seem to have made little progress in the business, for a new commission was issued in October, 1551, to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers; of whom eight were selected to gather and put in order the materials. "But the matter," says Strype, "was in effect wholly entrusted by the king to Cranmer, the archbishop, who associated to himself in the active part of the work, Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon." And this account is confirmed by the numerous corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer and Peter Martyr, which may still be seen in a MS. copy of the projected code preserved in the British Museum.[1] The commission (attached to the edition of the work, 1640,) is dated Nov. 11, 1551, and seems to have superseded that of October, for the sole purpose of substituting the names of Goodrich, bishop of Ely, William May, and Richard Goodrich, for those of Ridley, Traheron, and Gosnold. A reason may easily be found for the introduction of the bishop of Ely into this commission, as it had recently been determined, on the disgrace of lord Rich, to raise him to the office of lord chancellor. The code was completed by these commissioners, but not early enough to obtain the force of law before the death of king Edward.[2]

The premature death of king Edward having thus rendered the design abortive, an attempt was made in the year 1571 to revive the plan. The parliament having met in April, seven bills for the regulation of the church were brought under discussion. Mr. Strickland was the principal speaker. He reminded the house, that the book of the Reformatio Legum still existed, and was now in the hands of Mr. Norton, a member of that house; and that Mr. Foxe, the martyrologist, had newly published the same.[3] Parker had probably selected Foxe to edit the book, or he had perhaps directed his attention to it, on account of the uncertainty of the law on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline. It is certain that he had been engaged upon it for some time previously to its publication, as appears by a letter to Cecil in favour of Daye the printer, and another from Lawrence Humphrey to himself, dated 1566. The book was printed, and placed in the possession of the members of the house. The materials had been left by Sir John Cheke, Haddon, Cranmer, Coxe, Peter Martyr; by Taylor and May, the civilians; and by Lucas and Goodrich, common lawyers, who had been employed upon it in 1551.[4] If any name would have commanded its adoption, it would have been that of Foxe as its editor, for his popularity was now at its height. But the members of the House of Commons who desired to bring the book again into notice, belonged to the puritan party, which was now beginning to obtain influence; and it was found then, as it is now, that the most useful and undoubted truths which can be submitted to the approbation of a

(1) Harl. MSS. 426, and Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns, vol. i. p. cviii.
(2) Documentary Annals, by Cardwell, vol. i. pp. 95, 96, note, 1839.
(3) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 66, folio edition.
(4) Strype's Cranmer, book ii. c. 26.

community, are regarded neither for their usefulness nor their truth, but are valued or despised, according to the estimation of the party which may propose them. So useful were the principal laws of the Reformatio Legum considered by bishop Burnet, that he earnestly desired their enactment.[1] Elizabeth, however, jealous of their supposed encroachment on her supremacy, told the Commons, that she had seen their articles,[2] and liked them well, but would do something of herself. This unjustifiable interference again put a stop to the proceedings. The subsequent canons of the convocations, in 1571; of James the First, in 1603; of archbishop Laud, in 1640, which excited so much opposition, have not supplied the omission; and the canon law of England still requires the alterations and revision which might recommend the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline to the convocation, which must eventually once more assemble, and to the government, which will receive with respect the decisions of that convocation. The book, however, was published by Foxe, under the direction of archbishop Parker.[3]

The work was deemed to be of so much importance by our ancestors, and it has been considered by many, even in the present day, to be a system so valuable both as to doctrine and discipline, and to possess, also, so much claim to our veneration as one of the best digests of canon law, that I shall venture to insert here a brief abstract of its contents. The doctrine of Toleration, it must be remembered, was not then known. The only improvement which was now made in the proposed laws which were to regulate the formation and publication of opinions, was a diminution in the severity of punishment: and these provisions would be justly considered in the present day to be utterly abhorrent to the spirit of Christianity, as it was propounded by our blessed Saviour, and is rightly understood in modern times. The church of Christ in England understands well its high privilege and duty—first to persuade, and then to suffer. It never can fulfil its office as the imitator of Christ, by believing that it may teach, and punish. The abstract of the Reformatio Legum, is given both by Collier and Soames.

The whole compilation is digested under fifty-one heads, and is concluded by a supplementary chapter upon the rules of administering justice.

The first head asserts the doctrine of the Trinity, and denounces the penalty of death, with confiscation of goods, against such as should

(1) "God grant," he exclaims, "that a day may come, in which that noted design, so near being perfected in king Edward's days, may be revived and established."—History of His Own Time, ap. fin.

(2) See Dr. Winchester's Dissertation on the Seventeenth Article, Oxford edit. 1773, p. 47.

(3) Ex Officinâ Joh. Daii, 1571, Mense Aprilis. Dr. Winchester cites an edition of 1641, which he calls the *second*. Dissert. on the 17th Art. ut supra p, 52. The real second edition, which I possess, is dated 1640, "typis T. H. et R. H. impensis Laurentii Sadler habitantes in Parvâ Britannia, &c." But there are certainly copies which bear another notification, with the date 1641, viz. "impensis Societatis Stationariorum." One of these is in the Lambeth Library. It is the same book with a different title-page. Todd's Declaration of our Reformers on Free-will, Original Sin, Grace, &c. London, 1818. Preface, pp. 15—18. See also Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 57; Oldmixon, pp. 185—418; Biog. Brit. vol. iv. p. 420, art. Cranmer; Short's Sketch, vol. i. p. 406; Le Bas' Jewel, p. 187; Collier, vol. ii. pp. 326—333, where he gives an epitome of the work; Nares' Life of Burghley, vol. i. p. 338, vol. ii. p. 572; Lingard, vol. iv. p. 462; Burnet, Ref. vol. iii. p. 226; Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 97, Oxf. ed.; Strype's Parker, vol. ii. p. 62; Soames' Elizabethan Rel. Hist. p. 148. Among the commissioners for drawing up the code in Edward's time, John Alasco was numbered. Krasinski's Ref. in Poland, vol. i. p. 264.

deny the catholic faith. The canonical books of Scripture are enumerated, those termed apocryphal being omitted; but these are pronounced useful for edification, though not for the proofs of any doctrine. It is declared that ecclesiastical authority is subjected to Scripture; that the first four general councils are to be received, and that the works of the fathers are to be highly respected, but that the decision of no council or father is to be admitted, unless found in unison with Holy Writ.

In the second place, certain opinions upon the Trinity, the Saviour, the Scriptures, original sin, justification, the mass, and purgatory, are pronounced heretical. Thus our reformers boldly retorted the charges of Romanists upon themselves, and ranked religious opinions incapable of proof from Scripture, among heresies. They also censured such as taught the unlawfulness of the magistracy, the community of goods or of wives, the universal right of assuming the pastoral office, the merely symbolical nature of sacraments, the unlawfulness of infant baptism, the impossibility of salvation to the unbaptized, transubstantiation, the unlawfulness of marriage, especially in the clergy, the papal power, and apologies for a vicious life drawn from predestination.

The third and fourth divisions relate to the punishment of heresy and wilful blasphemy. Prosecutions for these offences were to be instituted in the diocesan courts, with liberty of appeal to the archbishop, and from him to the king. Persons accused were to stand committed until trial, in default of giving security for their appearance when called upon. If they refused to appear after a lawful citation, they were to be excommunicated and committed. In case of recantation, they were publicly to renounce their heterodoxy, to swear against a relapse, and to profess their belief in the contrary doctrine. If after conviction they should refuse to do these things, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm. If a clergyman were convicted of heresy, his recantation was not to recover his preferment for him.

The fifth division asserts that Baptism and the Lord's Supper alone are properly sacraments; directs the imposition of hands in consecrating bishops, and ordaining inferior ministers, the public solemnization of marriages, the confirmation of such as are capable of giving an account of their baptismal vow, and the visitation of the sick by parochial ministers.

The sixth imposes punishment at the ordinary's discretion upon persons admitting the practice of idolatry, witchcraft, and the like. Restitution also was to be made to any who might have been injured by these practices. Those who might refuse to submit, after conviction of such offences, were to be excommunicated.

The seventh respects preachers, of whom two sorts were to be allowed: one licensed to particular parishes, the other to a whole diocese. Bishops were to take care that both sorts should be sufficiently examined before a license was conferred, and to summon the itinerants before them, once in every year, in order to learn from them what parts

of the diocese most needed spiritual direction. All preachers were to avoid novelties of doctrine or expression, needless questions, and superstitious conceits. Laymen, especially persons of consideration, are charged to be constant in attending sermons; and any who should disturb a preacher in the exercise of his duty were to be repelled from the church and communion, until they should have given him satisfaction.

The three following divisions relate to the intercourse between the sexes. Marriages were to be celebrated in the church after banns asked on three following Sundays or holidays, and were to be invalid unless solemnized according to the form in the book of Common Prayer. Seducers were to be excommunicated, unless they married their victims: or if that were impracticable, they were to confer upon them the third part of their goods, maintain the fruit of their amour, and undergo a discretionary punishment. The marriage of minors, unless allowed by parents or guardians, was to be invalid; but if the parties applying for such consent should encounter any unreasonable difficulty, they were to have the liberty of appealing to the ordinary. The impediments to marriage are enumerated, and that state is declared free to all; but it is recommended, that in contracting it, a great disparity of years should be avoided. Polygamy is condemned as contrary to the first institution of marriage recorded in Genesis. Forcible marriages are pronounced null. Women are recommended to suckle their offspring, and preachers are directed to censure the contrary practice. The prohibited degrees are settled according to the Levitical law; and spiritual kindred, or the imaginary relationship derived from baptismal sponsors, is declared no bar to marriage. Adultery was to be punished in clergymen by the forfeiture of their benefices, banishment, or imprisonment for life, and the confiscation of their goods for the use of their wives and children, if they had any, if not, for that of the poor. A layman convicted of this crime was to restore his wife's portion to her, and to augment it by the half of his own fortune. Adulteresses were to forfeit their jointures, and also their pecuniary advantages accruing to them from marriage; besides being banished or imprisoned for life. The innocent party was to have the liberty of marrying again: but if there appeared a reasonable hope of amendment on the offending side, it was recommended that a reconciliation should be attempted. The criminal was to be restrained from a new marriage. Separations between married persons were not to be allowed until a divorce had been legally pronounced. This remedy was conceded in cases of adultery, desertion, long absence, deadly enmities, and cruelty. But mere separation from bed and board is pronounced unreasonable, and contrary to Scripture.

The next three divisions concern the clergy. Bishops were to be very particular in examining the qualifications of all coming for holy orders. Patrons were to consider their rights as a trust, not as a source of unworthy gain. Simoniacal contracts were to void the benefice, disqualify the clerk from holding another, and deprive the patron of that turn.

Before admission to livings, clergymen were to be examined by the archdeacon, with the assistance of triers appointed by the bishop. Pluralities were to be wholly forbidden in future. Residence was to be strictly enforced, unless reasonable grounds for exceeding it could be shown to the bishop. Within two months of institution a clerk was to fix himself upon his benefice. Bastards, unless eminently qualified for the sacred function, were to be excluded from ordination; but on no account was a patron's presentation to a benefice of his own illegitimate son to be accepted. Natural infirmities, unless such as incapacitate the party from duly officiating, were not to disqualify for orders. Among such disqualifications, however, is placed highly-offensive breath. Before institution, clergymen were to swear that they had made no simoniacal contract, nor would make any, nor abide by any made for them, and that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the church; also that they would adhere to the received doctrine and discipline, that they would renounce the pope, and acknowledge the king as supreme earthly head of the national establishment.

The fourteenth division provides, that persons injured in character by slanderous reports, or acquitted in a court of justice merely from insufficient evidence, were to come forward and clear themselves, or be excluded from the church. Such individuals were to make an affidavit that they were innocent of the crime imputed to them, and to bring, as compurgators, men of their own particular condition, and of unblemished fame, to swear that they considered this affidavit truly sworn. Those who suffered in reputation from frequenting any particular house, were to be inhibited from going thither. Duelling and superstitious ordeals of every kind, were forbidden.

Under the three following heads are arranged various regulations for the management of ecclesiastical property, and of capitular and collegiate bodies. The eighteenth division discovers a picture of rapacity in the patrons of benefices, amply sufficient to account for the extreme poverty which overwhelmed many clergymen in those days. Some mercenary trustees, for the spiritual advantage of a parish, appear to have presented a clerk under an agreement that they were to have all the profits of a benefice, a paltry stipend alone being promised to the degraded presentee. Others bargained, that their clerk should retain the tithes, but give up the glebe; others reserved the parsonage-house for their own use; but the bulk of these unworthy traffickers appear to have agreed that they should receive an annual pension from preferments in their gift. All these contracts were pronounced void: and whenever the ordinary should have reason to suspect the existence of such, he was to delay institution, until the presentee should clear himself of the imputation by the prescribed forms of canonical purgation. Any such agreement discovered after a clerk was in possession of a benefice, was to render him liable to ejection from it, and incapable of ever taking another.

The nineteenth regulates public worship. In cathedral and collegiate

churches the common prayer was to be said every morning; to which the litany was to be added on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the communion-service on holidays. The evening prayer was to be said every day, and all persons maintained by the revenues of the church were to be constantly present at these services, unless they could fairly excuse their absence. In these large churches the communion was to be administered on every Sunday and holiday, and the bishop, together with all inferior members of the establishment, was to receive it. The service was to be performed in a plain manner, without needless refinements in the music, so that the people might understand it, and join in it. Sermons were to be preached only in the afternoon, lest they should draw the people from their own parish churches. In these, unless the parish were very large, was to be no sermon, except in the morning. In the afternoon, an hour was to be spent in explaining the catechism. After evening prayers, the minister was to consult with his principal parishioners upon relieving the poor, censuring scandalous livers, and exercising penitential discipline. Persons desirous of receiving the communion were to come on the day before its administration, to the minister, in order to give an account of their consciences, and their belief. Divine service was not to be said, or the sacraments administered in private houses, without necessity, unless in the families of peers, or in other very large establishments.

The twentieth concerns the ecclesiastical order. Unmarried clergymen were not to retain as housekeepers any woman under sixty years of age, unless their own near relations. A rural dean was to be chosen every year for each deanery, who was to lay the behaviour of both clergy and laity within his district before the diocesan. The archdeacon was always to be a priest resident within the archdeaconry, who was to visit twice in every year, and to report the results of his observation to the bishop, within three weeks after his rounds were completed. Deans were to reside constantly at their cathedrals, unless excused by the bishop, and were to take care that every thing within their jurisdictions should be properly conducted. Prebendaries were to read in their respective cathedrals some portion of Scripture, thrice in every week, or at all events, they were to procure some divine to do this for them. The bishop was to preach in his cathedral; not to ordain either at random, or for reward; to receive complaints against irregular clergymen, and to deprive such persons, if necessary; to reconcile quarrels between his clergy; to visit his diocese once at least in every three years, and to overlook the moral conduct of all classes of persons within the limits of his authority. He was to admit into his family serious and sober people alone; to make his house, as did the primitive prelates, a kind of seminary for the instruction of his diocese; his wife and children were to be moderate in apparel, and correct in demeanour; and every thing likely to draw down upon him an imputation of levity, luxury, or pride, was to be carefully avoided. He was to reside within his diocese, unless when called away

by urgent affairs of church or state; and when disabled by age or infirmity from discharging the duties of his function, a coadjutor was to undertake his business. The archbishop was to visit his whole province once a year, if practicable; he was to perform the diocesan's duties during the vacancy of a see, to receive appeals, to inspect the management of his suffragans, reconcile their quarrels, and deprive them, if necessary. Any disagreement arising between him and them was to be decided by the king. He was also to convene provincial synods, to which all his suffragan bishops were bound to come, or to send their proxies. The bishops were to convene diocesan synods annually at the beginning of Lent, at which were to be examined all religious controversies, and clerical irregularities. Every clergyman present was to be asked for his opinion upon any difficult question, and the bishop was to report the judgment of the most learned, but to decide the point himself.

The four following divisions relate to churchwardens, universities, tithes, and visitations. The twenty-fifth division prescribes rules concerning testamentary matters. The privilege of making a will is denied to married women, slaves, children under fourteen years of age, insane persons, and those who are deaf and dumb, unless there is sufficient reason to believe that they understand what they are doing; also to heretics, to persons under sentence of death, or of imprisonment, or banishment for life; to those who refused to part with their kept mistresses until just upon the point of death; to libellers, strumpets, panders, and usurers. Individuals thus proscribed were, however, allowed to bequeath money to charitable uses. With respect to disinherison, a father was not to inflict this penalty upon his son, unless the latter had assaulted him, had purposely done him some signal injury, had subjected him to a judicial process out of mere malice, had been engaged in any dangerous practice against either of his parents, had debauched his mother-in-law, had calumniated or nearly ruined his father, had refused to be his bail, or had hindered him from making his will.

The twenty-sixth division treats of ecclesiastical censures; concerning which it is laid down as a general rule, that where no particular punishment is assigned, offences are to be visited at the judge's discretion. Commutation of penance was not to be allowed unless in extraordinary cases, on the occurrence of which, the money paid was to be distributed among the poor. In case, however, of a relapse into fault, no pecuniary penalty was to screen the guilty party from undergoing personally, the exposure appended to his transgression.

The twenty-seventh and two following divisions treat of suspension, sequestration, and deprivation. This last penalty, when awarded against a bishop, was to proceed from the metropolitan, assisted by two bishops, whom the crown was to nominate for the purpose of trying the cause.

Under the thirtieth head it is asserted, that the power of excommunication is scripturally conferred upon the church, for the avoiding of great

scandals. By it guilty persons were to be cut off not only from the public worship and sacraments of God, but also from the ordinary intercourse of society, until they should have repented of their evil courses. But as this penalty is extremely severe, it was to be inflicted only on great emergencies, and never upon a whole society, forasmuch as guilt could hardly attach to such a body in all its parts, and it is not reasonable that innocence should be confounded with criminality. When the ordinary had thoughts of excommunicating any person, he was to send for the minister of the offender's parish, together with two or three clergymen of reputation, and a justice of the peace in his neighbourhood. After mature deliberation by this assemblage, the sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced, engrossed, and a copy of it delivered to the party affected by it, on his demand. It was then to be certified to his parish and neighbourhood, and read in his church on the following Sunday, when the clergyman was to animadvert upon his offence, in order that all intercourse with him might be broken off. If, after these severities, the offender continued unmoved during forty days, the excommunication was to be certified into chancery, and a writ issued for his imprisonment. If his caption were delayed by the corrupt connivance of the sheriff, or any other officer, that person was to be amerced in treble the costs of the process, for the benefit of the poor. A continuance of such delay was to render public functionaries liable to double the same fine. A pardon from the crown after a capital conviction, was not to excuse any person from undergoing ecclesiastical censures. When, after excommunication, an individual became penitent, he was to dress himself according to the ordinary's direction, and present himself at the door of his parish-church. There the minister was to receive him with words combining reproof and encouragement. The penitent then, either kneeling, or lying prostrate, was to confess his unworthiness, and implore God's grace to protect him from a relapse. This being done, he was to be led to a conspicuous place, for the purpose of acknowledging his offence to the congregation, of entreating their pardon, and their consent to communicate with him again, and of praying to God that his ill example might not prove injurious to others. It was now to be inquired of the people whether they were willing to readmit this repentant sinner among them, and on the affirmative answer being given, the priest was to lay his hand on his head and absolve him. He was then to embrace him, salute him on the cheek, and lead him to the communion-table; where an hymn was to be sung, and a thanksgiving offered for his recovery.

The remaining divisions of this work are devoid of general interest, being chiefly directed to the regulation of ecclesiastical courts. The whole compilation bears evident marks of a mind well acquainted with the antiquities of the christian church, and estranged from the ordinary habits of secular thinking.

The rejection, or rather the non-enactment of these canons has been

imputed by various writers to various causes. Mr. Hallam considers that as the code is founded on the principle current among the clergy, "that a rigorous discipline enforced by church censures, and the aid of the civil power, is the best safeguard of a christian commonwealth against vice"—its severity never would have been endured in this country: and that this was the true reason why they were laid aside.[1] Mr. Hallam is right in the supposition that they would not have been long or eventually endured on this account, for they are more severe in many respects than the Laudean canons of 1640, the enforcement of which excited so much clamour against their author: but it may be considered very doubtful whether they would not have been welcomed by the people, if they had passed into laws, in the reign either of Henry, Edward, or Elizabeth; however they might have been changed or moderated in the progress of the theory of toleration. Bishop Hurd published three volumes of Dialogues on many interesting subjects; and he had intended to have added to them, one, on the subject before us, the effect of transferring supremacy in religious matters.[2] He has not written this projected essay; but in his Sixth Dialogue on the Constitution of the English Government, he imputes the rejection of these canons to the preference of the crown to the old canon law, as the more influential supporter of the royal prerogative; and that if the crown submitted a body of new laws to the parliament, the parliament would form them altogether in the genius of a free church and state; as Burnet, also, supposes they would have done; and would perhaps assume a share in the supremacy itself.[3] Hurd derived the idea from Warburton, whose letter was written in 1755; as he not only uses in his essay the very expression to be found in his friend's letter; but in a subsequent letter,[4] he says, "I thank you for your fine observation on the neglect to reform the ecclesiastical laws: it is a very material one, and deserves to be well considered. The true cause of their being passed by, after so much attention had been paid, and so many learned persons employed on the subject, cannot be now ascertained.[5]

One expression in the Reformatio Legum has given rise to a controversy whether the punishment of death for heresy was intended to be continued. They extended the name and penalties of heresy to the wilful denial of any part of the authorized articles of faith. Burnet affirms that these penalties were laid aside. Collier and Lingard affirm the contrary. It is difficult to decide this question also. Those who denied the truth of any one article of faith, might certainly be delivered over to the secular power: yet infamy, and civil disability, seem in one passage[6] to be intended, only, excepting in the case of the total denial of the christian religion: for, if a heretic were to be burned, as a matter

(1) Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 109. 4to edit.
(2) Warburton's Letters to Hurd, letter lxxxi. p. 192.
(3) Hurd's Dialogues, vol. ii. p. 309, 310. 5th edit. 1776. Burnet, Reform. Part 1, p. 330, ap. Hurd.
(4) lxxxii. p. 194.
(5) See Hallam's Note. Hallam also refers both to Warburton and Hurd.
(6) c. 10. De judiciis contra Hæreses.—Hallam.

of course, it would seem needless, as in this chapter, to provide that he should be incapable of making a will, or of being a legal witness. Dr. Lingard, on the contrary, affirms that the heretic, by the new code of laws, was to suffer death for heresy.[1] He exults in the supposition that the reformers also were persecutors to the death for opinions; and seems to imagine that the guilt of persecution being attributable to the reformers, as well as to the church of Rome, the crime is also equal, and that the former are consequently to be condemned equally with the latter. They would indeed have been equal in guilt and crime, if they had continued to punish opinions with death: but while the church of Rome retains all the objectionable canons, which commits the heretic to the secular arm, the church of England has expelled every such law from its statute and ecclesiastical code. When we are taunted with having once imitated a bad example, we reply that we now follow it no longer. Can the church of Rome say the same? How long—it has been, and is said—how long must the warfare between the protestant and papist continue? We answer in one word. It must continue, till Rome changes! "It was the lot of Mary," says Dr. Lingard, "to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted, the papal authority. It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII., would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the anabaptist, and preparing to burn the (Roman) catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death: the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer and Socinus. By the new canon law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy; and it was ordained, that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts, should be excommunicated on conviction, and, after a respite of sixteen days, should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment of death. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature; by the accession of Mary the power of the

(1) The following is the disputed passage:—"Cum sic penitus insederit error, et tam alte radices egerit, ut nec sententiâ quidem excommunicationis ad veritatem reus inflecti possit, tam consumptis omnibus aliis remediis, ut extremum ad civiles magistratus atlegetur puniendus."

sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time, Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents." In the note appended to these remarks, the words of the obnoxious chapter are cited, and much acute reasoning is exercised to prove that sir James Mackintosh[1] is wrong in making a distinction between the infliction of punishment and the privation of life, and that Cranmer, by the word puniendus, meant the punishment of death. We may wisely adopt the conclusion of Mr. Hallam, and avoid forming a decided opinion on the matter; and we may remember the justice of Mr. Soames' remark, that those who framed the Reformatio Legum, lived in an age of fierce intolerance; and they remark, in vindication of their own severity, that blasphemers were stoned under the Mosaic law. Had no extraordinary rigour too been denounced in cases outraging the catholic faith, it is scarcely doubtful, that the Romish party would have represented our reformers as indifferent to the vital interests of Christianity. Nor, whatever may be now thought of death as a punishment for glaring offences against true religion, will serious men generally deny, that such transgressions are properly visited by (some) civil inflictions. It is most important that youth and ignorance should be shielded from exposure to the contact of such baneful opinions as undermine the best principles. The moral discipline proposed for England in the Reformatio Legum is obviously unsuited for a national church. It is derived from the earliest records of ecclesiastical antiquity, and is adapted only for a community very limited in extent. From such a society every member might be excluded who should be found unwilling to exemplify the christian character in all respects. Any attempt, however, to render a community so regulated co-extensive with a numerous people, would lead at once to intolerable tyranny, and would quickly fail altogether.[2]

Some light may be thrown on this controversy, and on the manner in which John Foxe anticipated, in some measure, the axioms of a future age on the subject of toleration, by a brief analysis of his learned preface. He commences by showing the utility and necessity of laws which shall promote the establishment of religious truth in principle, and outward discipline in practice. Such laws should be enacted with prudence. They should not breathe cruelty, as those of Draco or Phalaris, or the persecuting bishops of Rome. They should not be too numerous, lest the number of their enactments be rather burthensome than useful.

If all were Christians, laws would not be required; but now, the universal experience of mankind, whether in ancient or modern times, proves their necessity. "No nation, no state," he observes, "was ever so savage and barbarous, as not to have some laws, by which, if every vice was not driven away, at least some decency of manners was retained. Even our own England has not wanted her laws and statutes, wisely framed by our most prudent ancestors. This is proved by the laws of Ina,

(1) History of England, vol. ii. p. 318, note. (2) Soames' Reformation, vol. iii. p. 722, 723.

Edward, Athelstan, Eadmund, Edgar, Alured, Ethelred, Canute, and those under the auspices of other princes. These laws prevailed for a time. Afterwards, a comedian entered the stage, about to play his own production, and he was the bishop of Rome; who, having gotten rid of all others, was to have the whole stage, and every character appropriated to himself. At first leaving to the secular magistrates what appeared to appertain to secular affairs; but all the rest, which pertained to morals, he transferred to himself and his ecclesiastics, by a most ingenious device, whilst he gave out that he was the vicar of Christ upon earth, and the hereditary successor of the apostolic office. This he impressed upon rulers and magistrates by little and little, and thus secured opportunities of attempting greater things. Nor was his daring deficient on any occasion. Proceeding, therefore, in the comedy undertaken, after he had acquitted himself thus satisfactorily in the prologue, he applies himself to the rest of the acts, which he undertakes with no tardiness. First of all, with respect to kings and supreme monarchs, he endeavours, by little and little, to lessen their authority; then to raise his own on an equality with theirs; afterwards to surpass it; and, as a climax, to subject them to himself. When he had succeeded in this, he still proceeded onwards. He, who first walked with the humble sandal, now struts in the lofty buskin, and, from a bishop, comes out a tragic king. At length, the ecclesiarch swells to such a pitch, that he who at first was wont to receive laws from others, and be ruled by them, now, the scene being changed, himself imposes laws upon them, and prescribes those enactments for the world which we now designate the canon law. In which law, his presumption knows no bounds, so that he adds law to law, decrees to decrees, and to these again decretals, and others to others; neither is there any end of it, until, at last, he has so crammed the world with his *Clementines*, *Sextines*, *intra* and *extra-vagantes*, *provincial constitutions* and *synodals*, *small glosses*, *sentences*, *chapters*, *summaries*, *rescripts*, and *infinite rhapsodies*, that even Atlas himself, who is said to have sustained the whole heavens, would have sunk under this burthen.

"Thus he proceeded, till he seized upon both swords, and all became worse, till, under the present pontiff (Leo X.), the ecclesiastical state is so governed, that there is almost *nothing upright in religion, nothing sound in morals, no freedom for conscience, no sincerity in worship, neither is there any thing in his laws, except what pertains to certain useless ceremonies, or absurd dogmas, or to increase the privileges of the ecclesiastical order*. And if there should be the appearance of justice, or an inspection of morals, yet exemption may be purchased. To such a pitch had this proceeded, that from such tribunals all political authority was driven away, and the business of the courts was centred in, I know not what, canonists and officials, the greater part of whom, living by litigation, looked more to their own advantage than to rectitude of virtue and morals.

"Such a state of things," says Foxe, "required correction, and

Henry VIII. appointed a commission of thirty-two to revise the laws. The king's wish was praiseworthy, so were the endeavours of those appointed, but the attempt was unsuccessful."[1]

He then proceeds to relate the details respecting the mode of compiling the Reformatio Legum; and concludes by passing no opinion on the severity or the policy of the enactments. The time had not arrived when the union of laws, on the part of the state, to uphold that which the state believed to be the best form of worship, faith, and discipline, and to uphold also, at the same time, the duty of toleration, could be understood. The best and wisest of that, and many subsequent generations, were unable to fix the limits to authority, and to understand the origin of all civil power, as divine in its source, but human in its details. The double sceptre, over soul and body, had been claimed by the foreign bishop. It was now transferred to the temporal prince. Non-resistance to the pope had long been an axiom in the universal law of Europe. Opposition to this axiom was death. Non-resistance to the king succeeded, as a political axiom, till a future age modified the principle, by making the legislature, or the king, with his represented people, the sovereign of the state, and not the king as an individual person; and John Foxe did not, in this instance, advance beyond his age. He concludes his preface, therefore, as if he was conscious that some of the enactments were too severe; but he could not provide, or he dared not suggest, a remedy. "The word of God," he adds, "is alone to be taken as our guide in worship, and in matters of religion." He eulogizes the memory of Edward, and trusts that Elizabeth will consent to the enactment of the laws which had been proposed to, and sanctioned by, her brother and her father; and he concludes by apologizing for his boldness in editing the volume. The result is known. The queen forbade the commons to proceed, and the design fell to the ground.[2]

The next transaction of a public nature in which we find the name of John Foxe was the execution of his constant friend and patron, the duke of Norfolk.[3] In September, 1568, the duke was appointed one

(1) Mr. Hallam is incorrect in representing the origin of the new code of ecclesiastical law from the two curious entries in the Lords' Journals of the 14th and 18th of November, 1549. Const. Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 109, 4to. edit. and note.

(2) It was said of bishop Pearson, that the dust of his writings was gold. The remark may be applied to bishop Warburton. I extract from his letters, to which I have above alluded, his brief theory of the causes of the prevalence of the notion, that non-resistance to the sovereign was the duty of all christian people. Factious and rebellious opposition to any government, even the most cruel and tyrannical, is certainly expressly forbidden to all Christians; but the bold, yet courteous, submission, by expostulation or petition, or by any other legal mode, of desiring a change of the principles or enactments of unchristian or oppressive laws, is at once a christian privilege, and a bounden duty. Liberty, secured by wise laws, is the uniform result of true religion: the following is the extract to which I allude. "After the Reformation the protestant *divines*, as appears by the homilies, composed by the wisest and most disinterested men, such as Cranmer and Latimer, preached up non-resistance very strongly; but it was only to oppose popery. The case was this. The pope threatened to excommunicate and depose Edward. He did put his threats in execution against Elizabeth This was esteemed such a stretch of power, and so odious, that the Jesuits contrived all means to soften it. One was, by searching into the origin of civil power, which they brought rightly (though for wicked purposes) from the people; as Mariana, and others. To combat this, and to save the person of the sovereign, the protestant divines preached up divine right. Hooker, superior in every thing, followed the truth. But it is remarkable, that this non-resistance, which, at the Reformation, was employed to keep out popery, was, at the Revolution, employed to bring it in. So eternally is truth sacrificed to politics!"—Warburton's Letters. Letter LXXXIV. p. 200. *Second edition.*

(3) On Tower-hill, June 2d, 1572.

of the commissioners to hear the accusations against the queen of Scots; and at that time the intrigue for their marriage commenced. The duke, when on the scaffold, declared himself to be a protestant; and this was so well known, that, though the earl of Westmoreland, his brother-in-law, promoted the scheme, it was condemned by the earl of Northumberland and others, on the express ground, that the duke was not considered a good Roman catholic.[1] It appears to me most probable, that the duke of Norfolk, who lost his third wife[2] in the year preceding his being made one of the commissioners, was deeply interested in the beauty and sufferings of the queen, and was totally ignorant of the extent to which she had pledged herself, both to the cardinal of Lorraine and the pope, to exert her utmost efforts, by all the means in her power, to restore the church of Rome in Scotland, and to lay down her life in that cause.[3] He did not even suspect, probably, the deep-laid schemes by which the foreigner was endeavouring to re-establish the old superstition. He confessed that he deserved to suffer because he had broken his promise to the queen. He confessed, too, that he had conversed with the papal emissary Ridolphi; but that he never consented to the political projects of the pope, nor to the invasion of England. "With respect, also," he said on the scaffold, "to my conscience and religion, I know that I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess, that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who seeth above, knoweth it. For myself, God is my witness, I have always been a protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all, I utterly renounce the pope, and all popedom; which thing I have always done, and will do to my life's end. And to that which is the chiefest point of our belief—I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant."[4] Whether this confession is fully to be believed, we know not; but every circum-

(1) "It was misliked that she should bestowe herself in marriage with the duke, for that he was coumpted to be a protestant." See the Confession of the Duke of Northumberland in the very interesting Memorials of the Rebellion in 1569, by sir Cuthbert Sharp. 1840. Appendix, p. 192. See, also, 192, 201, 208, 210.

(2) Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, was three times married; first, to Mary, second daughter of Henry Fitz Allen, earl of Arundel, by whom he had issue, Philip, earl of Arundel. She died 25th August, 1557, being then but sixteen years of age. (Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 324.) She was of a highly cultivated mind, and translated from Greek "Certain Ingenious Sentences, collected from various Authors." It was dedicated to her father. He married again, in 1560, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, lord Audley, of Walden, widow of Henry, youngest son of John, duke of Northumberland. She died in 1563-4, in child-birth of William Howard, afterwards of Naworth, in Cumberland, and ancestor of the present family of the Carlisles, of Castle-Howard. There were two other children alive at her death. He married, for his third wife, Elizabeth Leyburne, daughter of sir James Leyburne, widow of Thomas, lord Dacre, of Gillesland, March, 1566. She also died in child-birth, having been married to him but one year.

(3) The letters are given in Le Plat. "Profiteor," she says to the cardinal of Lorraine, "et affirmo, me victuram, et morituram etiam in obedientia antiqua catholicæ, et Romanæ ecclesiæ, quam ego reputo esse caput," etc. Le Plat, vol. v. p. 660. The letter is dated Edinburgh, 30th January, 1563.

The next is to pope Pius IV., and is dated Edinburgh, in the same year. She says, "Ut tandem dignis modis sanctam agnoscant catholicam, ecclesiam, Romanam, in ea obedientia, in quâ nos mori, atque vivere, ut devotissima filia possumus: nullis certe facultatibus, quæ sunt in nostra potestate, et ne vitæ quidem propriæ parcemus." Ibid, p. 661.

(4) See the Confession of the Duke of Norfolk, Strype's Annals, fol. edit. vol. ii. Appendix xii. p. 28.

stance related of his character, and developed in the history of Mary, render it worthy of credence. He acted, however, with the greatest imprudence. He was influenced by the earl of Leicester, who betrayed him. The advice of Cecil was not heeded; and he must have been aware that the promoters of the marriage were ever the most bitter enemies of the queen; nor can any reason or motive whatever justify a religious protestant for upholding the supporters of the spiritual supremacy of a foreign prelate against his own sovereign. During the rumours relative to the intended marriage, Foxe addressed to the duke the following letter.

"May it please your grace, ther is a great rumor with us here in London, and so farr spread, y^t^ it is in every man's mouth almost, of your marriage with the Scottish Queene: which rumor, as I trust to bee false, for I would be very sorry that it should be true, for two respects. The one for ye good will I beare to you, the other for ye love I beare to ye common wealth, for y^t^ I see noe other, and many besides mee doe see noe lesse, butt ye day of that marriage when soever it beginneth, will end with such a catastrophe as wilbee ether ruinous to your selfe, or dangerous to ye tranquillity of ye realme; the peace wherof standing for long amongst us through ye great mercy of God, God forbidd it should nowe beginn to break by you. Your grace knoweth what enimies wee have both within and without: against whome wee have always trusted and doe yet trust, next under God and the queene, to have you a sure Scipio unto us: to ye contrary wherof, thes rumors cannot perswade mee, butt y^t^ as you have vertuously begunn, soe by ye Lord's grace you will constantly continue still. Howbeit since y^t^ noise and clamor of ye people maketh me somewhat to muse, and bycause true love is always full of feare, I beseech you lett mee say to you what I thinke in this matter. That in case you take this way to marry with this lady in our Queene's days, it will in ye end turne you to noe great good. I beseech you therfore for God's sake bee circumspect and marke well what they bee, y^t^ sett you on this worke, and wherunto they shoote. Ther ys noe greater cunning in these days, then to knowe, whome a man may trust. Ensamples you have enough, within ye compasse of your owne days, wherby you may learne, what noble men have bin cast away by them, whom they seemed most to trust. Remember I pray you the ensample of Mephibosheth, wherof I told you being yong; howe first hee was underfoote, then again"[1] . . . . . .

The letter is unfinished, which is much to be regretted. The duke, it would appear, was not in London, being, in all probability, still at Kenninghall, as his last duchess had not been dead a year. The incidents of his trial and execution are well known, as well as the fact, that, after Leicester had betrayed him to the queen, and procured her pardon for the share he had in the conspiracy, the queen commanded the duke to make a full confession, which he did, and Elizabeth made

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 97, fol. 154. See also Wright's Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. pp. 324—326.

use of it against him. During his confinement, he made application to speak with some persons, and also to receive spiritual comfort from his old master Foxe. Sir Henry Skipwith, under-lieutenant of the Tower, writes to sir William Cecil on the occasion.

" Right hon." he says, " may it please you to understand, that the Duke of Norfolk hath required me to wryt to you, for one cause more then he hathe required Sr Peter Carewe to saye to you, which is, to desyre your Honor as his last request that you will helpe him to speke with Dix and Hassat, and I to here what he saiethe to them, or whom els shall please her Majestie, or your honors to appoint. I think yt be for his detts. He also longethe muche for Mr. Foxe his olde scholemaster, to whom he much desyres to performe that faithe which he first grounded him in & sure I fynd him little altered, but lyveth now in such order as he before dyd, determyned and verie well settled towards God, as ever I sawe any. And thus with my most humble dutie to your honor I take my leave: from the Tower this xviith Jan. 1571-2.

" Yf yt pleased you so to lyk of yt, the soner he were satisfied of this yt were the better in my opinion ; because he might settle himself hollye towards God and frome the world."[1]

The duke was executed 3d June, 1572, and attended to the scaffold by sir Henry Lee, by Nowel the dean of St. Paul's, and by John Foxe, with other gentlemen.[2] After his address to the people was concluded, he spoke to sir Henry Lee; and after taking off his gown and doublet, embraced Mr. Nowel, bowing to him even to the ground ; and with him also he spoke apart. It is not said that he conversed with Foxe. He had however written to his children, before his execution, and addressed it specially to " Phillip and Nan." In that memorial, when disposing of certain presents, he mentions his request that " twenty pounds a yeare be allowed to Mr. Foxe." We do not, however, know whether this pension was ever paid.[3]

Many other letters in the Harleian collection, illustrate the influence of Foxe at this time. They are addressed to him in Grub-street; and must, therefore, though no date appears on them, have been written after 1572. A letter from Foxe to one of his neighbours, who had so built his house as to darken Foxe's windows, is curious as a specimen of religious expostulation, for an injury which possibly he could not afford to remedy by law.[4]

About the end of this same year, Foxe was applied to for the exertion of his interest with Dr. Pierce, in favour of a young man anxious to obtain a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, so that he might be no longer a burden to his father. The letter is from the young man himself.

" I have before troubled you ynoughe and to muche: yet consyderinge the singuler benefite that your letters maye procure me, I ame

(1) Orig.—State Paper Office.
(2) See Strype, ut suprà.
(3) Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 402, note. The entire letter is given pp. 402—412. It is the Harl. MS. 787. art 104, folio 112.
(4) Harl. MS. 416, art. 83, folio 136.

enforced (through meare neade) to write these fewe lynes unto you, gevinge you most hartyest thankes for your gentlenes bothe to my father and me (whiche indeede should have ben in latine after a simple sorte but for the shortenes of time) desyringe you for Godes sake to write your letters to Doctor Pierce in my behalfe, that he would be so good unto me as to electe me scholer of Christchurche at this election. Nowe is the time yf ever I shall come in, for by reporte Mr. Doctor Pierce shall bring in iiij scholers and everye Cannonne ij, there be so manye places voyde. I thinke therefore throughe your letters (consideringe his promise made to my father that I should be the thirde that he would chose in) he will remember me yf he shall electe 4. I beseche you therfore that you would by your earneste letters put him in mynde of my case, that surely, unlesse I maye gett in by his meanes, all that my father hathe bestowed upon me shalbe to noe purpose, for I shalbe put to some other trade, because my father of himself is not able to kepe me at the universyte any longer, he hathe done for me alreadye more than he was well able consyderynge his povertye. At my firste comminge to Oxforde Mr. Doctor Cooper then beinge deane promised to bringe me in scholer, and because that at the firste election he coulde not, sendynge for my mother, promised to geve me iiij markes every yeare tyll suche tyme that he could electe me, but nowe these iiij markes beinge taken awaye, by reason of his absence, I am enforced to chardge my father, whome I have chardged to muche alreadye. Yt is therfore hyghe tyme that I shoulde (unlesse I did meane altogether to forgo the universitye) seeke some further ayde, wherby my father myghte be eased of this burthen, and I by suche meanes styll applye my learninge. These thinges have moved me to trouble you with this my requeste for your letters, and because that bothe in writinge and in sendinge them I thoughte it not conveniente or mete to trouble you, I have desyred on (one) of my frendes the bringer heareof to be readye (yf yt shall please you to write) to receave them and bringe them to the carriars. Thus with my hartye prayers for you, I cease to trouble you any further, desiringe the eternall God to protecte and kepe you in all your doinges. From Oxforde the xx of November, 1571.

"Yours to commaunde at all tymes, "THOMAS TORPORLEY."[1]

"To the worshipfull and his singular good frende Mr. Foxe dwellinge in Grubb Street this be given with speed from Oxford."

Foxe appears at this time to have been generally consulted by those who were most deeply interested in the discussions or controversies of the day. He had, some years before, been requested to answer certain questions respecting the sacraments. Application was now made to him, for his opinion on the lawfulness of sponsors.

(1) Harl. MS. 416, Art. 121, folio 189. Dean Cooper was consecrated bishop of Lincoln in Feb. 1570, and translated, in 1583, to Winchester.—Godwin, pp. 302, 239. Wood. Ath. Ox.—There is no mention made of Dr. Pierce in Wood; but he must have been successor to Dr. Cooper, as Torporley's letter directs Foxe to make application to him.

" Mr. Fockes after my harty comendacyons this shalbe to thanke Gode for youre benevolles and lovynge leter in Chryste jesus, sent unto me, whiche leter hathe mynistred unto me greate comfort in the meretes of jesus Chryste, desyerynge youe, even for the same jesus Chrystes sacke to praye unto god for me, that the comforte and faythe whyche I nowe have in the swete and comfortable promyses of jesus Chryste, maye dayly more and more be incresed in me, that I maye growe from emparfeccyon to parfeccyon, from weecknes to strength, and that god maye gyve me a thanckefull harte for his great mercys and provydence in kepynge me in all my troubles from all the weckede and mallyshyous asaltes of the spirytall enemye Sattan, for he hath gone about to desayve me by spiritall craftynes in heavenly thynges; God be thanked for his mercyes that hathe kepe me from consenttynge unto him. Oh that my mouth myght be filled with the prayses of God that I myght synge of his honour and glorye all the dayes of my lyfe; and further more this shallbe to shewe you that my troubles are not so ended that nowe I feell nothynge of them. But greate and manyfowled are the troubles whiche manye tymes, I have yet, yea even in the same trouble whech hath been most troublsom unto me, but I thanke my God that hath gyeven me more strength to bare then in tymes paste I have felt. The Lord increase it for his great mercye sacke. I will not at this tyme, nayther can I as nowe expreese all the thynge that hathe troublede me, but on thynge I beseche you exprese your mynde unto me, yf you have any convenyeant tyme to wryt unto me, and that as tuchynge baptysinge with godfathers and godmothers, for that hathe bene troublesom unto me, and many ther be in the contrye aboute us that hathe ben greatly troublede for not usynge them. The causes whye they are not used are these, fyrst for that by Godes word ther is no exsample so to doo; seconly, for that the vowes demanded of the childe cannot of the standers by be parformed; and thurdlye for that of manye they are supurstecyously howlden as thynges appartayninge to the sacraments, and for that as some thynke, is a seremony brought in to the churche by the byshope of Rome, and for these causes not to be usede. And my desyer ys to knowe howe by the worde of God they maye be usede, whether the word be eyther with them, or not agaynst them. In those thynges I beseche you shewe me your mynde yf you convenyently can, and chuse levynge at this tyme anye further to trouble you. I woulde have writen more unto you yf I did not wante wordes to exprease my mynde. I praye God gyeve you the assestance of his Holy Spyryte to the increase of youre comforte and joyes in Chryste Jesus, whyche that it maye lycke wyes be increased in me, I beseche you praye for me, and God willynge I will not forgete you in my prayers. Oh praye, I beseche you, for the increase of my faythe. From Byckinghall in Suffucke the 4 daye of January, 1572.

" Your in Jesus Chryst, " FRANCIS BAXTER."[1]

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 122, fol. 191.

The following letter was written in defence of a narrative in his Acts and Monuments. Foxe having been accused by Thomas Thackham, of Reading, of having inserted into his history a calumny against him in the relation of the troubles and death of Julius Palmer,[1] Thackham drew up his own account of the transaction, and gave it to Foxe, who sent it to Mr. Parry, a grave minister in Gloucestershire, desiring him to inquire diligently into the truth of the matter; the result was the accompanying letter bearing witness to Foxe's accuracy, and testifying against Thackham.

"Right reverend and beloved in the Lord, I have receaved your letters together with Thackham's answer, which I perceave you have well perused, and do understand his craftye and ungodlye dealing therein, that I may not say fond and foolish, for he doth not denye the substance of the storye, but only seeketh to take advantage by some circumstancyes off the tyme and place, wherein yt may be ther was an oversyght for lacke off perfect instructions or good remembrance at the begynnyng. He confesseth that he delyvered a letter of Palmer's owne hand to the maior of Readinge, which was the occasyon off his imprisonment and death. Onlye he excuseth hym selfe by transferring the cryme *a seipso in martire.* Briefly his whole end and purpose ys to geve the world to understand that the martir was gyltie as well of incontinencye, as also of wylfull casting away of hym selfe. O impudent man. The wyse and godly reader may easylye smell his stinkinge hart. He careth not though he [out]face[2] the godlye martir and the whole volume of martirs, to sa[ve] (as he thinketh) (it is torn in the MS.) his own honestye and good name. Howbeyt I d[oubt][3] not but God wyll confound him to his utter shame, and reveale hys cloked hypocrisie to the defence of his blessed martir and the whole storye. Though many of them be dead that gave instructyons in tymes past, and now coulde have borne witnesse, yet thankes be to God ther want not alyve that can and wyll testyfye the trueth herein to his confusyon. No dyligence shall be spared in the matter, as shortly, I trust you shall understand. In the meane while Thackham need not be importunate for an answer. He reportethe hym selfe to the whole towne of Readinge; therefore he must geve us some space. The God of trueth defend you and all other that mayntayne his trueth from the venemous poyson of lyers. Vale in Christo qui ecclesiæ suæ tè diu servet incolumem. From Beverston in Gloc̄.shire. Maii vith.

"Yours in the Lord, "THOM. PARRYE, Minist."

To the right reverend in God, Mr. Ihon Ffoxe, preacher of the ghospell in London, be thes, at Mr. Daie's the printer, dwellyng over Aldersgate, beneath S. Marten's.[4]

A letter of John Moyer of Corsley, dated the 18th May, the same year, to Mr. Perry, verifies also the truth of Foxe's statement respecting Thackham.[5] The whole account is given in Strype.[6]

(1) Acts and Mon. vol. viii. pp. 201—219.
(2) Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. v. p. 585.
(3) Strype writes "cannot."
(4) Harl. MS. 416, art. 57, fol. 100.
(5) Acts and Mon. vol. viii. pp. 721, 722.
(6) Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. v. pp. 574—585, and vol. vi. pp. 430—434.

That Foxe was now held in great esteem by his ecclesiastical superiors, is evident from the many attentions he received from them. Before Parkhurst was removed from Norwich, he invited him to pay him a visit, from which Foxe excused himself in consequence of ill health; yet confessing that there was none of the episcopal bench from whom he had received more kindnesses, or to whom he would come with more delight. He also states that he was compelled to put off the bishop of Lincoln, who had even sent a servant and horse for him, but he was obliged to send both away empty.[1]

We have frequently observed, in reply to the charge that the church of England has persecuted as well as the church of Rome, and therefore that the cruelty of the latter is to be forgotten, because of the same error in the former, that the great difference between the two churches in this matter consists in this—that the church and state of England have rescinded all claims to persecution, and made the duty of toleration an axiom in christian government: while the church of Rome has not rescinded one decree, or canon; one papal bull, one conciliar, or pontifical law, which affirms the right of the church to govern conscience, without conviction; and to punish, coerce, and compel, even by death, the resisters and oppugners of that authority. The charge of persecution against the protestant church of England has been defended by the conduct of Elizabeth to some wretched sectarians in the year 1575. In the beginning of that year a conventicle of Dutch anabaptists was discovered in Aldgate; of whom twenty-seven were seized and committed. Four recanted. Some were so firm in their opinions, that neither instruction nor punishment could make any impression upon them. They were, however, treated mercifully, and banished, without any farther punishment. This encouraged others, and it was at length thought necessary to proceed to greater extremities. Foxe interceded for two of these when under condemnation; and while he expressed his hatred of their principles, he strongly reprobated the putting them to death. "I have never," says he, "been annoying to any, but now I am compelled to be importunate even to the queen herself, not on my own account, but on that of strangers. I understand there are in this country, not English, but strangers, Belgians, brought to judgment for wicked opinions. They have been condemned to death by burning. In this case there are two

(1) "Quo majore desiderio animus mihi illustrissimam pietatem tuam cæterosque istic amicos mihi jam non diu visos revisere, Antistes imprimis observande, ac in Christo reverende, hoc molestius mihi accidit, hoc tempore non licere quod libeat tantopere. Nam alioqui mentiar si quisquam sit hodie Episcoporum omnium qui vel impensius debere me pro acceptis beneficiis profiteor, vel quem lubentius eram aditurus. Sed præter cæteras remoras et difficultates accedit insuper valetudinis debilitas quæ vix permittit tam longinquæ profectioni me committere. Consimilem etiam legationem misit ad me nuper clarissimus episcopus Lincolniensis per famulum et equum ultro oblatum, ad ædes suas accersens amantissime; cui tamen et famulum et equum rursus vacuum remittere coactus sum. Et tamen si ferat ita voluntas Domini experias, atque etiam annitas sedulo, frætus Christi domini nostri gracia ac patrocinio, temporis aliquid ociosi posthac dispicere, in quo et reverendam tuam celsitudinem cupidissime saluturus simul et meipsum, si volet Dominus, refocillaturus adveniam. Interea Dominus Jesus pro exhausta sua misericordia te cum grege universo multa pace lætum et florentem custodiat. Ad DD. episcopum Norwicensem, ut videtur."—Harl. MS. 417, art 34, fol. 105.

This bishop of Lincoln was Thomas Cowper, who had been fellow of Magdalen. He was elected probationer in 1539, and perpetual fellow in 1540. He was made dean of Christ Church in 1566. dean of Gloucester in 1569, and consecrated bishop of Lincoln in 1570, February 24.—Anth. Wood, vol. i. p. 265. Godwin de Pres. p. 302.

things to look at, one pertains to the heinousness of their errors, the other to the rigour of their punishment." He wonders that any Christians could fall into such errors: but such is human infirmity without divine grace; and he is thankful that no Englishman has fallen into them. "They ought," he says, "to be restrained; but to consign them to the flames is more after the Roman example, than a Christian custom. I would not countenance their errors, but I would spare their lives, because I myself am a man; and that they may repent. He beseeches the queen to spare their lives, because there are other modes of punishment into which their condemnation can be commuted—banishment, close imprisonment, bonds, perpetual exile, reproaches, stripes, or even gibbets. But this one thing I deprecate, that the fires of Smithfield, which have slumbered so long under your auspices, should now by you be rekindled. Wherefore, spare them a month or two, so that means may be tried for their conversion." [1]

The exertions of Foxe, in favour of these persons, were not confined to the queen alone; he addressed the lord treasurer and other counsellors, as well as chief justice Monson, and also the individuals themselves. In the former of these, after stating that the business upon which he was about to address related not to himself, he mentions the unhappy anabaptists, and their detestable madness, in whose case the bishop of London had decided, after great care and diligence, as he ought to have done. All were agreed that some punishment should be awarded them in consequence of their errors, but they were not agreed as to its kind. Some, chiefly papists, exclaimed, To the stake, to the stake! Others of more clemency, did not think it requisite to proceed to such extremity under the Gospel, which had been exercised under the influence of Rome: and had rather resort to some other remedy for the healing of wounds, than the destroying of men for ever, and which would unite the rigour of law with the mercy of the gospel. But, we know not, how you, who are secular, will exercise your power, unless from the prescript of law, which if you do, I will first vehemently desire you, and appeal chiefly to your prudence, that you should consider how far you are allowed by public enactment, or the authority of law, to condemn to fire and flames those who have erred only in doctrine. Because if you appeal to the law passed under Henry IV. (for you have no law for burning), that enactment has not sufficient force, because in the framing of it, the common consent of all was wanting, without which every parliamentary enactment is void. Although that law did once much prevail, yet I understand that in the beginning of the reign of her gracious majesty it was repealed; and even if not so, I have proved from authentic public

(1) Vide Appendix for the letter. "A reprieve," says Collier, "being granted, and Fox's expedient being tried without success, the forfeiture of their lives was taken." (Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 549.) The same is mentioned by Fuller, who adds "that though queen Elizabeth constantly called him her *Father Fox*, yet herein was she no dutiful daughter, giving him a flat denial." Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 105. Heylin's Hist. of Presb. p. 280.) Both Collier and Fuller notice the letter; the former saying it was "written in a very handsome christian strain"—the latter pointing to it as an answer to the charge brought against Foxe that he was not a Latin scholar, and therefore nick-named him John Lack Latine: this will prove that they were so many Lack Truths, as it shows his fluent and familiar language. (Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 106.) He refers to another which will be found in another place under the year 1581.

records in my Acts and Monuments (where I answered Alan Cope in the life of Lord Cobham), that it has no precedent." He proceeds to say, as in his address to the queen, that the fires of Smithfield should not again be roused; and begs them not to proceed to extreme punishment which the law will not justify, as so doing they would be establishing more than papistical tyranny. He begs them also to consider that he is a suppliant, not an adviser.

To the individuals he writes that he had brought their case before the queen, and her council without effect. He says that by their pertinacity they appear to fight not only against the will of God, but against his plain word, the pious and sacred institution and true faith of all Christians; raise foolish factions, produce scandals, bring in deadly errors, injure the church of God in no small degree, and afford matters to enemies and papists to insult and calumniate. "And by the error of your doctrine you offend not the church of God only, but even God himself, when you acquiesce not in his word, nor bow to his truth, nor seek for his Holy Spirit promised in the Scriptures, but cultivate certain fanatic conceptions, nay, rather deceptions, of your own minds; and while you contend so obstinately about the humanity of Christ, ye in the mean time hold not rightly or care not for your own salvation and remission of sins through the humanity of Christ, proposed to us by faith only." He then proceeds to argue against their opinion, and concludes by exhorting them to look again and again to what they are about; "for it is sufficiently apparent that for long you have disturbed the church by your great scandal and offence. May the Lord Jesus by the most holy guidance of his Spirit open the eyes of your mind, and draw your hearts to the knowledge of his truth. Amen."

Foxe, after this, addressed himself to the lord chief justice, to whom, as he says, was left the decision of the case. He sent him copies of his letters to the queen and the council, and informs him that he had written to them in their own language. He uses the same argument as he had done to the lord treasurer, Burghley, reprobating the punishment of death, and advocating milder measures; for, says he, we often fall into diseases which kindness does more to cure than harshness, and a day's delay sometimes effects more than the hand of the medical attendant; but now I speak of those diseases which require spiritual medicine rather than corporal, since erring faith can be compelled and taught by no one; and many die true believers, who had long lived in heresy. He entertained hopes that they might be brought to the true faith if delay were granted, and hopes he would decide in such manner as that all should perceive his desire to mingle mercy with justice, that not only the language, the writings, the histories of all good men might testify his clemency, but that even the unhappy persons themselves, being converted, might thank him.[1]

These writings prove how much of the spirit of the Gospel Foxe had

(1) See Appendix.

imbibed, and that how much soever he condemned the errors into which these persons had fallen, yet he still knew that the Scripture breathed the same intentions as its divine Author expressed to his disciples, when they were desirous of inflicting punishment upon the heads of the Samaritans, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them." (Luke ix. 55, 56.) Every effort was useless. The sentence of death by burning was executed: and the murder of these poor anabaptists is as disgraceful to the memory of Elizabeth, as the other martyrdoms were disgraceful to her sister Mary.

It may be doubted, however, whether the refusal of the application thus made by John Foxe to the queen, did not proceed from political rather than religious motives. She wished to intimidate the puritans by reminding them that the law for burning the opponents of the religion of the sovereign, was still in existence. I have examined the writ, by virtue of which they were burnt: and am sorry to say that it is worded as the old writs for burning the episcopal, and other protestants in the reign of Mary.[1]

It was in this year that the sermon preached on Good Friday, 1570, at Paul's cross, was printed. Its more extensive dissemination was entrusted to Andrew Weckel at Frankfort; who acknowledged the receipt of it, this year, stating, that he thanked Foxe for his good opinion of him; and that he would follow the advice he had given him; and would take such counsel with his friends, as the utility of the church seemed to require, and the aspect of the times would allow.[2]

The third English edition of his Martyrology appeared in the year 1576: and few events subsequently occurred, which can be deemed interesting, to a modern reader. These may be included under those which relate to his son—to his controversy with Osorius—to some other long-forgotten publications, to his general character; and to the anecdotes which illustrate it, collected by his son.

However great might have been the success of the labours of the martyrologist, his domestic and family affairs never appear to have been in a very satisfactory condition. His eldest son, who was born at Norwich, and educated in London, was entered at Magdalen College, Oxford. On this occasion, his father wrote to his old and dear friend

[1] (1) It is in Rymer, vol. xv. p. 741. Vobis præcipimus" is the ending, quod dictos Johannem Peters, et Henricum Turwest—apud West Smithfield, in loco aperto et publico—coram populo igni committi—ac in eodem igne realiter comburi faciatis, &c. &c. Dean Nowel, and the bishops of London and Rochester, I grieve to say, were on the commission which condemned them.

(2) Libellum tuum de Christo crucifixo accepi (clarissime Foxe) tibique propter honorificam nostri existimationem tuam gratias ago, quod me eum esse arbitratus sis, cujus fidei et diligentiæ illius publicationem mandare et tradere volueris. Siquam talem superioribus annis expectationem et famam concitavimus, est quod, Deo gratias agamus, qui opellam nostram sua benedictione secundare non recusavit, tum etiam tam præclara bonorum de nobis sententia calcar non leve jam currentibus in posterum addet ut eodem pede porro pergamus. Hæc habui quæ nunc tibi significanda ut te quoque velle ostendisti existimavi. Nam ipsum quidem Libellum vix inspicere, per eas quæ nunc pene nos obruant occupationes adhuc licuit. Faciam autem libentissime quod mones, et consilium quale et ecclesiæ utilitas postulat et temporis hodierni ratio permittere videbitur, cum amicis capiemus. Tabulas enim quas ex gravissimo naufragio, servare et colligere licuit, ad eum usum adhiberi decrevi, quem Dei gloriæ promovendæ et ecclesiæ Christi ædificandæ profuturum sentiam. Bene ac fideliter vale. Francofurti, xj Sept. 1575.

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 33, fol. 105. Tuus ex animo, ANDR. WECHELUS.

Laurence Humphreys, and tells him that he has sent his little Foxe to him, that he may become an academic, and make merchandize in that most celebrated mart, Oxford,—not that he should increase in riches, but that he might store his mind with the sciences, and cultivate his talents. He begs him to take his son under his especial care, and to extend that kindness to him which he had done to many others, if not for the merits of his father (which are nothing) or for his kind offices (*muneribus*) which are none, at least for his own sake. Perhaps, he proceeds, I may appear too importunate, thus loading with duties a friend engaged in so many and so great public and private affairs: but to this necessity, a sharp spur compels me. He requests that his son may be admitted into their college, and suitable rooms attributed to him, and a proper tutor appointed. Whatever else may be wanting to defray his expenses, he himself would meet it, as well as he could.[1]

His son was elected a demy. Two years after, however, he went to France without acquainting his father with his intention. Foxe being anxious for his welfare, and not knowing the reason of his leaving Oxford, wrote to a friend abroad complaining of the manner in which his son had acted. Necessity, he says, compels him to write, and request his friend to assist him in his search for his son, whom he had educated to the best of his power, and who had made some progress: but he had left his college, never having consulted either president or tutor, leaving his books and letters behind, his parent ignorant of his proceedings, all his friends and relatives in sorrow. He knows not in what land he is, and conjectures from the letter of a merchant, that he is at Paris. Still he supposes his wants may drive him to his excellency, in which case he implores him to assist in the recovery of his fugitive son. His name Samuel, and his stature for his years somewhat large. With these marks, he again implores him, if he should discover him, to let him know where he can find him.

The letter is full of deep feeling and anxiety for the welfare of his son;[2] who appears to have returned soon after, and to have been again kindly received by Dr. Humphrey. He was elected a probationer in 1581.[3]

We cannot now ascertain the circumstances of this case. In the life of Foxe by his son, we are told that when the young man on his return

(1) Salutem. Fretus divino ope, tum secundum Deum pietate provocatus, mitto ad vos Foxulum meum, ut fiat Academicus, atque ut istic mercaturam faciat in nobilissimo hoc emporio vestro, non ut opibus ditescat, sed ut ingenuis artibus animum pascat, et ingenium excolat. Qua in re quo magis mihi opus est præsidio tuo (præses celeberrime) hoc impensius Laurentianam hanc tuam (hoc est) vere fraternam charitatem appello, ut qui ea facultate a Deo donatus sis, ut possis, ea deinde præditus natura ut velis quam plurimis prodesse, inter cæteros illos tam multos, quos juvisti hactenus, nostri quoque cura partem aliquam tuæ charitatis occupet; si non pro meritis nostris (quæ nulla sunt) aut muneribus quæ nusquam sunt, ut pro ingenita saltem illa candidissimi pectoris tui, quæ nullis desse solet, pietate. Nimium forte impudens videri possim, qui amicum tot tantisque tum publicis tum privatis actionum turbis satagentem sic gravo officiis. Sed huc necessitas, acre telum, adegit, ut necessario hoc abs te postulam. Quod enim postulo ejusmodi est, ut opera, et beneficio tuo liceat istic apud vos filium meum sedem aliquam, et tutorem (ut tibi commodissimum videbitur) adipisci. Cætera quæ desunt ex ære meo et demenso, ipsemet sufficiam, quoad potero.

Ad Laur. Humfredum Præsidem Collegii Magdalenensis.

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 55, fol. 112 b.

(2) It is in the Harl. MSS. 417, art. 69, fol. 116 b. See Appendix.

(3) Strype's Annals, vol. vi. p. 515. Oxford Edit.

from the continent presented himself to his father in a "foreign and somewhat fantastical garb," he addressed him, "Who are you?" "Sir, I am your son Samuel." "Oh, my son!" said the father, "what enemy of thine hath taught thee so much vanity?" This anecdote must be true, as it is related by his son to whom the words were spoken. We may infer from it, that the young man was guilty only of the fondness of a more gay and fashionable appearance than his father approved; but it is possible, also, that the same attachment to the external was deemed inconsistent with the gravity required by his college from their fellows. We find that his son was expelled from Magdalen, on a charge of popery, in the same year in which he had been restored. The discipline of the college at this time is said to have been very strict: so much so that by many it was deemed to be puritanical.

We learn from Fuller that the charges against him were vague and indefinite. He was accused of an inclination to popery, and by the power of the puritanical party was expelled from college. A letter still remains, in which Foxe addresses the president of the college in the most grateful terms for the kindness which his son had received from him. He tells him, that if he had himself been president of Magdalen, and the president had been father to his son, neither of them could have wished, that the duties of their respective offices could have been better performed.[1] Yet Foxe, on his son's expulsion, does not seem to have made application for his restoration to Dr. Humphreys. He addressed a bishop in behalf of his son, whom he did not defend as faultless, but urged that he was dismissed without previous admonition, or any cause assigned, and the harshness of this proceeding, rather arose from internal dissensions in his college, and opposition to their president, than to freedom from faults greater than those they censured in his son. The letter is penned in a very able manner, and he speaks in it in moving terms of his own age and poverty.[2]

His son was restored to his fellowship by the royal mandate. It is, consequently, difficult to suppose that he was a papist, or a puritan. He was probably at this time a strict conformist to the services; and being of frank or thoughtless habits, was offensive to his puritan coadjutors. Not one word, or fact, can be found which sanctions the charge of his attachment to popery.

The poverty of which Foxe complained continued, we must believe, till his death. Some years after his son's restoration to his fellowship, the martyrologist endeavoured to make provision for him, by obtaining for him a lease of the prebend of Shipton. This could not be done without the consent of the crown, and his diocesan. The following letter of bishop Piers informs us, that the bishop had obtained the lease, to transfer it as Foxe requested.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, etc. I have received yor Gr. lre the xiiij of this p^rsent monthe in the behalfe of Mr. Foxe his sonne

(1) Harl. MSS. 417, art. 19, fol. 99 b. (2) See the Appendix.

for the p^r^bend of Shipton, the graunt wherof allreadie her Matie hath made unto me, because yt is a p^r^bend belonging to the church of Sarum in respect whereof I doe lay claime unto yt, I thoughte good to procure the disposition of yt into my owne handes. Nev^r^thelesse readie I am to the uttermost of my power, to pleasure that good man, Mr. Foxe. And to this point his sonne the bearer herof and I are growne. First because he thinketh some blemishe to be in the lease, for want of a confirmation of the deane and chapter before the death of Mr. Randall, to whom the lease was made. I have promised him to confirme either the same lease againe, or a newe one if this doth mislike him. For he uppon whom I meane to bestowe the p^r^bend is my domesticall chaplaine, and to marie my neece verie shortlie. At my com̃andmēt I am sure in this matter, and hath alreadie promised the p^r^formance herof before me unto Samuell Fox. I have moreov^r^ promised him to bestowe some other p^r^bend uppon his yonger brother as soone as anie falleth voyd, after he is capable of it. And in the meane season to geve him some exhibicon quarterlie toward his maintenance in the universitie. And this I trust will satisfie yor Gr. and Mr. Foxe, if not, uppon the understandynge of yor Gr. further pleasure geven, I shalbe content to yeld further to his better contentment. Mr. Walvard as yett continueth with me, the same man as he was. Thus I leave you to God's m^r^ciful tuicon. From my house in Sury the xiiij of Julie, 1586.

Yo^r^ S^r^ to com̃and in Christ, JO. SARUM.[1]

This is addressed to Dr. Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury. The application was successful. The provision for his son was procured,[2] and the lease continued in the family. Samuel Foxe possessed it at his father's death, 1587; and in the 35th of Elizabeth, made a grant of the tythe of Shipton to Richard Wisedom, enjoining him to the observance of the covenant relating to the poor. This covenant refers to the clause in the original grant in the lease respecting the entertainment of the poor, viz.: "And furder y^t^ the said Samuell Foxe his executors and assignes shall and will every Sunday and festivall day during the said terme, invite entertaine and have to his table at dinner and supper two couple of honest and neediest persons (being dwellers within the said parish) allowing to them sufficient meate and drinke for their relief. To the intent good hospitality may be kept and mainteyned within the same mansion place.

* * * * *

"This first lease made by Foxe to his sonne, Samuell Foxe, has been the patterne of all the leases renewed since, which have been alwayes exactly transcribed in the same generale words and covenants, without the least alteration of that sort, and particularly this article relatyng to the poure ever preserved entire.[3]

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 136, fol. 208.
(2) See the letter of Foxe to Lord Burghley in Strype, Annals, vol. vi. p. 350, Oxford edition, and Life of Whitgift, vol. i. p. 485.
(3) Harl. MS. 419, art. 60.

" Samuel Foxe died in 1629, about Christmas, and left his lease, and tenant-right of the said parsonage of Shipton, etc. to his son Thomas Foxe, master of arts, and fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and doctor in physic, who enjoyed it, by renewing, above thirty years, and in his time made severall short leases of the tythe of Shipton, etc. to one Thomas Skay, yeoman, who from time to time held the said tythes of Shipton, etc. above twenty years, being tied to the very same words and covenant conferming the poor's entertainment, as appears by the leases plainely and particularly by the last lease made by the saide Thomas Foxe to Thomas Skay, bearing date the 7 of June, 1660. And heer it is observable that Thomas Skay was by all his leases bound to the very words of entertaining 2 couples of poor people every Sunday and festivall day at the parsonage house in Shipton still and no where else, without the least obligation of paying any sume of money to any other place upon that account.

" On the 20th of November, 1662, Doct. Thomas Foxe died, and left his present lease and executoriall right of the said parsonage of Shipton, with all its members and appertinences, to his only daughter and sole executrix Dame Alice Willys, wife to sir Richard Willys, of Shipton in the county of Oxon, knt. and bart." [1]

We learn from the letter of bishop Piers that Foxe was now (1586,) in a declining state of health. This appears also from another letter addressed at the same time from Mrs. Foxe to her son; and which confirms the account of the state of poverty in which, in spite of all his intense labours, Foxe was still placed.

" Samuell we have us comended unto you desyringe the Lorde Jessus to blesse youe. Conserninge the Boucke which you wryghte for, the Boucke of Marters, youre father wolde have youe to wryte to the fellowe of Salsberye to knowe yf he wyll staye tell the Boucke comme forthe, which is halfe dun all redye, and wylle a gret dell, and for the cronycle yt wyll not be longe before you comme hether youreselfe for I promyse youe I have no money for I have borred x^{li} all redye, and for the boucke which youe wold have of youre fathers, I cannot fynde yt in his stoudye. As for youre father he is so weicke y^{t} he cannot gooe into his stoudye, therfore I praye youe to praye for him, we wer with youre Aunte Randall for the letter of attorneye, and she wyll not doo yt withowte her Brothers Harryes counsayle and he is not at home as yet. But her she hathe sente youe a letter. No more to youe. But the Lorde Jessus blesse youe and us all. Amen.

" Your lovinge mother, " AGGNES FOXE."

Foxe adds a postscript to this letter:—

" Samuell I marvell that you were so unwyse to blabbe out any thyng of ye bok of ye Apocalypse to Doct. Humfrey. Such is my weaknes now, and hath been this moneth, y^{t} I can nether eate, sleape, nor wryte, nor goo up yett to my study, wherby ye boke standeth yett at a stay, in

(1) Harl. MS. 419, art. 60, fol. 171.

pryntyng. The Lord knoweth how I shall goo forward eyther for fynyshyng ye boke or dedication therof. Wherof I pray you to make no wordes to any person. Pray to ye L. Jesus for me. He graunt you hys blessyng. Amen."[1]

Though the third edition of the Acts and Monuments had now been published, Foxe still continued to collect fresh materials for a new and improved edition. He continued to attend also to the duties of the ministry, and the management of a laborious correspondence. He was influential in the conversion of a Spanish Jew, who was baptized and received into the christian church in 1577. The confession of the faith of the convert was written in Spanish, and translated afterwards into English. John Foxe preached upon this occasion a sermon entitled the Gospel Olive. It was preached in Latin, but afterwards published in English. It was translated by W. Bell. The subject of the sermon is, The Gospel Olive Tree, spoken of by St. Paul in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It notices the principal prophecies relating to the Messiah, refuting the arguments in favour of the Jewish opposition to the gospel. It contains many beautiful passages, especially those in which he proceeds through the succession of prophecies which prove Jesus of Nazareth to be the first of the prophets. The paragraphs in which the contrast is drawn between the expectations of those who deemed Christ to be a temporal, and not a spiritual Prince; those also in which he anticipates the future glory and majesty of the kingdom of Christ, and the final conversion of some to Messiah, their Prince, are judiciously treated. It was dedicated to sir Francis Walsingham, who had requested the discourse to be repeated to him during an illness in his sick chamber. John Foxe thanks sir Francis, in his dedication, for the benefit he had derived, in his own infirm state of health, from his French wine; and begs him, in return for this fruit of the vineyard, to accept this branch of the evangelical olive tree. He wishes every earthly and heavenly blessing to him, and to the little plants of his domestic olive tree. This sort of play on words, which our modern notions of wit would treat with disdain, was then highly esteemed. The confession of faith by the converted Jew is appended to the sermon. Both have been lately republished in London.[2]

While this sermon was going through the press, the following letter was addressed to Foxe by C. Barber, who was probably a printer in the service of Daye.

"Sir, for as much as I can nott here of Mr. Bell and y^t^ my presse standeth still for want of this Epistle to my Mr. I besech you lett me crave so much of you as to english the same: as for the residue of the Boke, I dare nott fynde faultt wth him y^t^ haith doone his good will, neyther can I juge by the latin, But I am sure it is translated in manye placis quyt frome yor meaning and in some farr from Christianitie. But

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 91. fol. 146.
(2) British Reformers. Printed for the Religious Tract Society, 1831.

so soone as we fownde it we have bene sircumspeckt. Thus I umblie comend you to the L. Jesus and to the comforte of his holye Spiritt this 23 of June 1577. "Yors to his power

"C. BARBER."[1]

Whether Foxe altered any part of his discourse in consequence of this criticism is uncertain.

He continued to receive, at this time, from all quarters, letters on public matters, as well as on the private and domestic affairs of those who were anxious to consult him. His son alludes to the manner in which he was now regarded as the common friend of the friendless; and so far as his means allowed him to be, the common benefactor to the poor. Many of these letters are still preserved. One, for instance, is sent him from Hamburg by his friend Langerman, with a work entitled "Ecclesiastes;" and an account of what would appear to have been a public wish, viz. the desire that some commercial communications might take place between that city and England; "not," he adds, "that a kingdom so opulent, and abounding in wealth, can require any assistance from a city so poor as this; yet, it sometimes happens that the eagle is benefitted by the beetle."[2] He receives intelligence from Thomas Barwick at Lambeth that the duke of Northumberland was reported to have died a papist; and to have used the words, "O bone Jesus, O dulcis Jesus, O Jesu fili Mariæ."[3] At the same time the bishop of London sends him information, that the queen of Scots had been grievously afflicted with paralysis, and that great hopes were entertained of the young king being a good protestant in Scotland.[4] While he is thus made the repository of information of every description, applications were made to him, as the intimate friend of the patrons of the day, to assist in the obtaining patronage for others. The following is selected as a specimen of these applications.

"To the right worshipfull and his deare brother in lorde Mr. Jhon Foxe, a painfull professor and preacher of the worde of God Fraunces Shakelton person of St. Mildreds in the Pultrie, (and preacher of the same word of truth) doth wishe grace and peace from God the father and from the lorde Jesus Christe.

"These are to besech you and require you (in the lorde right worshipfull and dearlie beloved) y^t you will not faile to do ye best you can in the preferringe of the suite of the bairer hereof Antonie Watsone, who as I am persuaded is a deare childe of God and is verie desyrous to be a proffittable member in his churche. If he may have your favour-

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 123, fol. 192. (2) Harl. MS. 416, art. 126, fol. 196.

(3) Harl. MS. 417, art. 84, fol. 120 b. Oct. 1578.

(4) Joannes Elmerus Episcopus Londinensis ad D. Foxum.—Salutem in Christo. Accepimus Reginam Scotorum paralysi graviter laborare, vel ad desperationem, et aliis nonnullis torqueri morbis. Rex ipse optimæ spei adolescens, parliamenti autoritate decrevit de una religione confirmanda, et papistica e finibus suis exterminanda, ita ut quisque missam auditurus primo moneatur, secundo bona ipsius fisco adjudicentur, si tertio peccaverit solum vertere cogatur. Hæc ad te scripsi, tum ut hujus boni participem faciam; tum ut a te preces cum lachrymis Christo nostro fundantur, et nos beare, et suum evangelium propagare pergat. Quæ concedat optimus Jhesus noster quem non minus tibi familiarem existimo, quam est amicus quisque amice. Ora, ora, mi frater, nam plurimum apud Christum tuas valere preces non dubito.

Harl. MS. 417, art. 25, fol. 102 b. Tui amantiss. JOHANNES LOND.

able and readie speches or letters of recommendation unto y^t^ rare and painfull (pains-taking) pastor of our tyme Mr. Nowell the deane of Pawles. Beseechinge him to retaine him and to receive him unto his chardge and tuicion as his servaunt during his liffe, with this petition, (for y^t^ he is desyrous to learne ye latine tonge) that he will vouchsaffe of his wonted bountifulnes and accostomed clemencye to kepe him at some grammer schole or els to trayne him up in his owne howse till such tyme as he shalbe able to understand what he readeth in the latine tonge, for he is very earnestly bent to heare ye word of God, and he is also verie forward in ye principall points of ye Christian religion, which maketh me the more readie to be a suiter unto your worship for him, desyringe you againe and againe to preferre his cause so much as in you is possible. And thus I commend you unto the tuicion of God who ever kepe you from all evle. From my house in the Pultrie this present Fryday the xxvi of Februarie 1580.

"Yours in the lorde to commaunde in anie thinge I am hable,

"FRAUNCES SHAKELTON.

"To the right worshipfull and his deare frende and brother Mr. Foxe professor of divinitie geve these."[1]

A little before this he received one from Mr. John Lond, containing several new materials for his Martyrology, and insisting more especially on the miserable end of divers Romish priests, as of Dr. Wyllyams; the priest of St. Margaret's, Eastchepe; &c.[2]

His labours were now drawing to a close, and he was superintending the last edition of his great work, that appeared under his own correction. Hints he had from many; among them the following:—"I have mee hartely comẽended. I doo understand you doo mind (to) enlardge your booke of Martyrs, and to have it newly printed: God grant y^t^ y^r^ good purpose therein may take good successe according to your expectation, and our hartye desire is, y^t^ it may be printed in good paper and a faire and legible print, and not in blacke blurred and torne paper, as ye last edition is: being nether good paper or good print. I write thus much, for ye good will I beare unto you myne old frind, and acquaintance in magdalen college, and also for that it is pittifull to see such a notable pece of woorke to be darkned with foule paper and obscure print: and thereby haulfe cast away. Thus I am bold to open my mind unto you, trusting y^t^ you will accept my good meaning therein. I woold hartelye wish further that you woold set out all your whole discourse at lardge in two faire volumes; leaving out nothing ether Latten or English, as you have done in many places in your latter edicion referring your reader unto ye fyrst edicion, as though every man hath or can have all the edicions. Moreover I woold wish that you woold quote the booke and ye chapiter of everye perticular authoritye which you doo alleadge in your woorke: as also in what tyme everye writer was: as nighe as you can: the table also is not perfecte for divers names of mar-

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 130, fol. 202. (2) Lansdown MS. 982, fol. 103.

tyrs are left out in the table, namelye: fo. 1105 Collins, Cowbridge, and Packington, likewise Puttedew: and Peke fo. 1106, wherof there is no mencion in the table. I was present at the burning of Cowbridge at what tyme doctor Brinknell doctor of divinitie in Cambridge and at that tyme schoole master in Banburye, under longland, bishop of Lincolne, did preache in the same place before balioll colledge where the late bishops were burned. I have delivered unto this bearer my sone, the names of many whome I did knowe, which if they may pleasure you I pray you to use them. Thus I take my leave wishing unto you to my selfe. Oxon. the 3d day of February, 1582.

"Yo^r old acquaintance & ffrende to my power,

"SIMON PARRETT."

"Mr. Parrett y^r old eleemosynarius for your groate and worde, not only diligens lector, sed avidus Helluo tuorum librorum, hath many times wished the thinges reformed: whereunto I subscribe, desiring you to make it nowe a full monument of Actes for all posterite. Comend me to good Mrs. Ffoxe. Your sone requests ..... daies to goe beyond ye seas, w^h I graunte conditionally, if you write him.

"Tuissimus, LAUR. HUMPHREDUS."[1]

Among other letters addressed to Foxe at this period, is another from the same friend and fellow-exile, Laurence Humphreys, exhorting him to proceed with a work, which he had long before undertaken, the completing of Haddon's answer to Osorius, which had appeared in 1577, and again in 1581. Dr. Humphreys entreats him to go on, and confute Osorius, even to slaying.[2] Foxe, though now continually occupied with the fourth and last edition of his Acts and Monuments, still found time to comply with this request. The controversy to which the president of Magdalene refers, may even now be interesting to the theological student. It relates to that most agitated of all questions, the justification of the soul before God.

Jerome Osorius, the author of the book to which Foxe replied, was surnamed, for the elegance of his Latin style, the Portuguese Cicero. After studying at Salamanca, he proceeded, at the age of nineteen, to Paris, where he became the intimate friend of Peter le Faire, one of the earliest associates of Loyola, whom he introduced to the patronage of his sovereign John III. He thus procured the early establishment of the Jesuits in Portugal. From Paris he proceeded to Bologna, where he became distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and theology; as he had before distinguished himself in Latin, Greek, and the civil law. He was made professor of theology in the university of Coimbra, where he lectured on Isaiah, and on the Epistle to the Romans. He was subsequently made bishop of Selves, and performed his duties with great exemplariness and fidelity. He was much beloved by Sebastian; whom

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 131, fol. 203.
(2) Parge Osorium confutare, ut confodias, et jugulas, etc. Harl. MSS. 417, Art. 76, fol. 118.

he in vain endeavoured to dissuade from the expedition in which he perished. He was no less esteemed by pope Gregory XIII. He died in 1580.

I mention this detail, not only because of the controversy of Osorius with the English church, but because his library was captured at sea, by the earl of Essex, in 1596, and a great portion of it is now placed in the Bodleian at Oxford.

The church of England, on account of its maintaining so tolerantly, so scripturally, so holily, the union of discipline and truth, which not only permits, but encourages the freedom of inquiry, and even inculcates inquiry as a duty, by the manner in which it so uniformly appeals to Scripture—the church of England, which has adorned its altars and services with all that is truly useful or ornamental from either antiquity, tradition, or the fathers—the church of England, which combines in one acceptable ritual, all that a papist might demand for regularity and order, and all that a puritan might demand for the spiritual homage of the soul to its Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier—this church of England has ever been, and until Rome changes, will ever be, the chief object of attack with such men as the learned and zealous Osorio. In the year 1562, Osorio published what Strype[1] calls a malicious libel against England and the reformation, in an epistle to the queen. This was answered by Haddon, the master of requests to Elizabeth; and the reply of Haddon is esteemed by Strype[2] to be equal to Jewell's Apology. Haddon would compel us to believe that the work of Osorius was but a medley of impertinencies and absurdities, and a mere declamation against the reformation. He seems to have indulged in much personal invective against the reformers, contrasting them with the fathers, and assailing, with much vehemence, their uniform appeal to Scripture, as their sole criterion of truth in religion. It laments the demolition of the monasteries and nunneries, and the removal of images and pictures. He affirms that all things sacred were overthrown in England. He condemns the separation from the pope—the manners of the people—the preaching—the liturgy—the sacramental forms—and the want of union, among the members of the reformed church. He contrasts England with the continent, to its disadvantage; and expresses his deep pity for its miserable and unfortunate condition; and he concludes his treatise by imploring her majesty to relinquish the religion of England, and to adopt the conclusions of Trent, and Osorius. He eulogizes the church of Rome with much eloquence; and urges the queen to banish what he called, in common with his brethren, the novelty of error; but what Haddon called, in common with the better informed theologians of his church, the antiquity of truth. The answer of Haddon to this remonstrance was printed, and circulated on the continent.

(1) Annals, vol. i. p. 378, folio edition. (2) Ut supra.

The reply of Osorius[1] was published soon after. It repeated his invectives. The book was eulogized by his brethren. Haddon was threatened with death, if he continued the controversy. To this he answered that so long as he breathed he would persist in the defence of his country. Whether he was destroyed by poison or not is uncertain: but so it was that he died at Bruges, in Flanders, while on an embassy from England, before his second answer to Osorius was concluded, in the year 1566. John Foxe was requested to complete the unfinished essay. He was thought the best, both for his learning and theology, as well as for his excellent Latin style, to go on with the work. He did so; and added three more books. The work thus completed was published in London by John Day, in quarto, in 1577. It was translated into English by James Bell, and printed again in 1581, one year after the death of Osorius.

One of the chief doctrines which distinguishes the church of England from the church of Rome, is the doctrine of justification. The work of Foxe is a defence of the evangelical view of justification, as it is so clearly expressed in the eleventh article of the church of England. These pages of Foxe are still most interesting to all who have studied the works which have lately appeared on this subject. Whether we adopt the conclusions of Newman, or the definitions of bishop M'Ilvaine,[2] that justifying faith is a principle beginning with knowledge, going on to love, and ending in action; or the definition of Holden, that justification is an act of God, acquitting from guilt, receiving into favour, communicating the Holy Spirit, accepting men as just, and conferring eternal life, of which act faith is the condition, and baptism the beginning; or whether we receive the definition of the council of Trent—that justification is constituted by an infused and inherent principle of holiness, conferred at baptism, preserved, and augmented by faith and works—diminished and lost by sin—recovered by the sacraments—partly effected by good works—through the grace of the Holy Spirit, made meritorious by the merits of Christ, and that a man is justified by this inherent, divinely-infused righteousness—whether we define faith to be the formal cause of justification—or whether justifying faith is a principle of action only, or action combined with principle; whatever be the conclusions, or opinions, or deliberations of the student of the works of Newman, Alexander Knox, Mr. Faber, bishop M'Ilvaine, Holden, and others; the doctrine of justification by faith as the church of England teaches it, in the eleventh article, will ever remain, the light which gilds the valley of the shadow of death "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings; therefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort." Every student of this portion of our controversies will be benefited by

(1) Hieronymi Osorii episcopi Sylvestis, in Gualterum Haddonum, etc. libri tres. Ulyssiponæ, anno 1567, 4to. (2) M'Ilvaine on Justification, p. 110.

the perusal of Foxe's answer to Osorio. The one doctrine he opposes, against the church of Rome, is the doctrine of inherent righteousness. He calls the members of the church of Rome who maintain this doctrine against the true catholic church, pseudo-catholics, and catacatholics, as being opposed to the true catholicism of the church of Christ. He concludes his preliminary address by a beautiful prayer to Christ, that he would still the disorderly tumults, and vain janglings in the church—(the prayer may be now offered with propriety, and may it be accepted!)—that Christ would grant peace to our times, pardon to our sins, strength and victory to our faith, skilful workmen to the church, and dexterity in working and teaching to the workmen; and especially that he would refresh and comfort with the gracious favour of his Divine Majesty, the pious and perplexed consciences of believers, combating with death and Satan, or exercised with sharp affliction, for the glory of his own name. He then proceeds to the general discussion of the subject with his usual skill and eloquence. He is, as he ought to be, not Calvinistical, but rightly evangelical, in the proper sense of that much-decried and much-abused word. He speaks as a Christian, and as a churchman ought to speak, of that free justification of the soul, which the papists anathematize and hiss out of the schools. He contrasts the principles and effects of the two opposite doctrines. He derides the confirmation of the Trentine creed, by reasonings drawn from Aristotle. He proves the union of holiness of life with the evangelical truths he is maintaining; and vindicates, throughout, the common faith once delivered to the saints, as it is generally upheld by the members of the church of England at present, in the most complete and satisfactory manner. A brief account of the work is given, with much eulogy, by Strype,[1] and an abridgment of the treatise has been lately published by the Tract Society in London.[2] It may be presumed, therefore, to be familiar to all; and it will reward the perusal of all who are interested in these inquiries, and are willing to seek for truth in every quarter where there may be a probability of finding that pearl of great price. The book concludes with another prayer to Christ, that all who profess his name, and wear his badge, may depart from iniquity, and be gathered together, in one uniform doctrine, into the kingdom of Him who suffered for the sins of man, and rose again for his justification. They are simple and common words; but what Christian will not desire both his own justification and the union of the holy catholic church? and what Christian will refuse to say Amen to that prayer?[3]

Little now remains to be said of John Foxe. We have seen[4] his

(1) Annals, vol. iii. p. 68, folio edition. (2) 1832.

(3) The last most important work on the subject of justification is that by Mr. Faber. Mr. Faber, as Foxe does, in his reply to Osorius, contrasts the primitive and Trentine systems. There is an identity in the reasonings of the two books, though Mr. Faber does not seem to have read the reply to Osorius. Mr. Faber has rendered to the church the great service of proving, by quotations from the fathers, from Clement to Bernard, that Trentine Rome teaches other conclusions than the fathers taught, and that the reformers restored only, therefore, in the Articles of the Church of England, the doctrine of the prophets, apostles, and fathers. In this, as in other instances, well-authenticated tradition is with the Anglican, and not with the papal church.

(4) Account of his prayer before the sermon at Paul's Cross, for the church of Rome, *supra*.

language of kindness and love towards the members of the church of Rome, though he was the most severe condemner of their errors, and especially of their intolerable persecutions. We cannot tell whether he had by this time followed the example of Dr. Humphreys, and many of his other friends, in conformity to the vestments; but if Strype is right, in imputing to him, rather than to Dr. Humphreys, the beautiful expostulatory letter to the puritans, who were now beginning to be powerful, we may believe that he conformed, and we have still more abundant reason to admire in John Foxe the union of those two virtues which ought ever to characterise the episcopalian protestant—the love of union, and the love of truth.[1] The internal evidence would induce us to conclude that it was written by Foxe. There is the same intermixture of Greek sentences which characterises his application to lord Burghley, "to obtain the queen's confirmation of his prebend in the church of Sarum."[2] It abounds with scriptural allusions, and references to the Apocalypse, which Foxe had made his peculiar study. It breathes the same spirit of peace and desire of union, with the same aversion to the church of Rome, as the enemy of such union, which marks his other labours, excepting that comparatively little notice is taken of the papacy, in consequence of the letter being addressed to the puritans. The chief attack on the church of Rome, indeed, appears in the forty-first paragraph, where he contrasts the gorgeous and sumptuous vestments of the church of Rome, with the more simple robes and surplice adopted by the church of England, to which the writer is persuading conformity.[3] If, then, we may, on such evidence, together with that of Strype, attribute the letter to Foxe, we may regard it as his last address to the church, and to those friends who taught with him the great truth of justification by faith alone, as a principle of love, leading to obedience to God. A brief abstract of its contents, therefore, may not be uninteresting.

The English title of the letter is, "An Expostulatory Letter to the Puritans, upon occasion of their Contentions in the Church, and Exhortatory to Peace, and earnest Application of themselves to preach the Gospel." Its Latin title does not mention the puritans. It is addressed only to all the faithful ministers of Christ, his fellow-workers in the gospel, and who have the true zeal of reforming the house of God.[4] It may appear that the attributing to the persons to whom the letter was addressed, zeal in reforming, is the same as denominating them puritans. We may, however, hope that the desire to remove whatever may be justly objectionable, either in the church or in the state, does not necessarily subject the respectful proposer of a change to any odious, or contemptful, epithet. Two terms of mutual reproach divide the clergy of the church of

(1) The letter is too long to be inserted here. It constitutes No. XLIX. of the Appendix in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. page of the Appendix 212, folio edition.

(2) Ap. Strype's Annals, vol. iii. b. ii. Appendix, p. 110, No. XLIX.

(3) Cur dicemus, hunc vestitum papisticum. Non lineæ, sed seriacæ, non planæ, simplices, sed aureæ, magnificæ, regales erant vestes papisticæ. Poculum aureum habuit meretrix illa in manu suâ. Omnia in religione ejus, sumptuosa, fastu mundano plena, ecclesia nostra quid habet simile.

(4) Ad omnes fideles ministros Jesu, cooperarios suos in evangelio, et qui verum Domus Dei reformandæ zelum.

England at this moment. Some are called high churchmen, some, low churchmen. Both are supposed to be inflamed with an honourable zeal so to reform the church, that if there should be found any thing in the liturgy, articles, homilies, or canons, which may be objectionable, we ought, at a fit opportunity, to remove it. It is believed that the reforms which the high churchman would propose, would make the church approximate more to Rome than it now does. It is believed that the reforms which the low churchman would propose, would remove the church further from Rome. Peace be to both. Neither are papists; neither are puritans. Let but their controversy proceed till they both esteem each other more than they may have hitherto done, and all useful changes may be eventually made, and peace be upon our Israel.

The letter consists of forty-six paragraphs; and as their contents are of a very general nature, they may be said to be as useful at present as they were when they were originally published. "I speak the truth, my brethren," it begins, (Par. 1,) "do not, I entreat you, oppose the truth. I know that there is nothing so true, but it may be corrupted by prejudice; nothing so false, which may not be so treated that it shall appear both probable and certain." "Let us contend for the truth." (Par. 2 and 3.) "Imitate the bees; as they extract honey from every flower, so let us obtain truth from all sources. This is our business; this is our duty. The spiritual church, Jerusalem, our mother, (Par. 4,) is not yet at its home in heaven; it is still in its wanderings upon earth. And this spouse of Christ is not naked as in Paradise before the fall, but possesses its own robe; not the Babylonian garments of meretricious pride and splendour, but the dress, and ornaments, and ceremonies which are, as it were, the coats of skin to clothe it, granted by its Lord himself, simple, plain, and decorous. This our mother is not now as she will in future be, 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' This our field of the church cannot be without its tares; yet let us not despise the manners and the customs of the church of God. The ancient churches, even though planted by the apostles (Par. 5), had their faults. Let us (Par. 6) learn to bear with each other, to avoid all schisms, and not to rend asunder the seamless coat of Christ.[1] This is not the time (Par. 7) for disputes, but for peace. Let us in that bond keep the unity of the Spirit; and may your (Par. 8) indefatigable and useful preaching extend and obtain a blessing. We may observe that in the Apocalypse (Par. 9), three angels are represented as preaching, each having his own, certain, definite, separate, yet agreeing commission. They were the precursors of the judgment day. The first said, 'Fear God, and give glory to him.' This is the preaching of the gospel. The second (Par. 10) said, 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen.' This is the preaching against Antichrist and his kingdom. The third (Par. 11) said, 'If any shall adore the beast and his image, he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of

(1) I am merely giving the briefest abstract of the sense of each paragraph.

God.' As they agree (Par. 12), so let us do also. As they (Par. 13) do not condemn each other for taking their different offices, so let us not rashly condemn the preaching of each other. Let us not call a man a pharisee because he preaches the necessity of good works. Let us not call a man a papist, who prefers celibacy to marriage. So let us (Par. 14) rightly divide the word of truth, giving to each the food of life, according to opportunity and place. In council, at court, let us speak as our circumstances or station permit, on the laws and on the reformations which may be required in the church or state. In the parish, in the manor, in the country; let us converse on obedience, and morals, and the necessity of a holy conversation. Though we act as skilful physicians in these matters, yet, as John the Baptist (Par. 15) reproved Herod, and the prophets reproved wicked kings, so (Par. 16) should we, in palaces, instruct princes; in villages, the common people; and in the assemblies of the clergy, heal the wounds of your brethren. Yours it is (Par. 17) to pour in the oil and the wine, with the good Samaritan; yours is the word of reconciliation, the gospel of peace: and if the rod of severe reproof or the sword of excommunication be necessary, so use it that the drowning man shall emerge from the mire, and not be plunged deeper. The nature of man loves persuasion, and abhors compulsion.

"You desire to extirpate papistry. Make allowances (Par. 18) for the attachment to their ancient practices, among those whom you endeavour to convert. Do not imitate (Par. 19) their intolerance. Let not your words be swords. Avoid (Par. 20) spiritual pride and contempt of the weak; avarice (Par. 21), superstition, and indolence. Without obedience to the law which we understand, knowledge does but increase our punishment. Take care lest, when you wish to be as Argus, ye become not more blind than the blind papists themselves. Why preach ye my law (Par. 22), and hate your own required reformation?"

The next fourteen paragraphs consist of arguments against pluralities and non-residence, and exhortations to consider Christ alone as the object of all their teaching. On him alone, the hand, the eye, the soul, must be intently fixed; or the preacher commits sin, and errs from the mark.

After some severe and just remarks on non-residents, he proceeds—

"The kingdom of God (Par. 37) is not meat and drink, but peace and joy; yet all in the churches must be done decently and in order. The things consecrated to God (Par. 38), must be appropriated exclusively to God."

From this the author passes on to the defence of the vestments, of suitable ornaments for the Lord's table, and especially of the surplice. He expostulates (Par. 40) with them for resisting the authority of the church on such a point as the wearing the surplice.[1] It is a popish garment, is the objection. "Even if it is so," he answers, "does the error

(1) Quid annon hic tantum ecclesiæ auctoritati concedetis, ut vestem decentem præscribat ministro sacra celebranti? At quanlibet vestem hic scio dicetis præter istam superpelliceam, etc.

of the faith necessarily follow the use of the garment? Do we become Turks, pagans, heathens, because our clothes resemble theirs? Are not the holy persons who are represented as engaged in heavenly things, described to us as clothed in white?" He contrasts (Par. 41) the sumptuous magnificence of the popish vestments with the simplicity of the English surplice, and urges (Par. 42) its adoption as the robe of order, decency, and union; not, as many imagine, of devotion, holiness, and religion.

From the defence of the surplice, he proceeds to discuss the subscription (Par. 43) to the prayers. The Amen, which expresses the assent to the petitions, he argues to be equivalent to the required subscription. "They agree (Par. 44) to the truth of the doctrines which cannot be, and ought not to be, changed. Why should they not subscribe to things which are in their own nature indifferent, such as rites and ceremonies, which may be changed, if it so please the church and the ruler? As the kiss of peace and the mode of unction in the apostolical churches have been changed or removed, so also may the observances of any other church be altered, if it be necessary: but while they are ordained by law, they are bonds of union, and may be wisely retained. I beseech you therefore, brethren," he concludes (Par. 45), "that ye follow peace; so do the work of an evangelist; and contend no more for trifles. Let us join hands in union, promoting the establishment of the gospel, the inculcation of good works, and the overthrow of the Jesuits, the enemies of the church. This is labour sufficient for us; this is our bounden duty. So let us bear each other's burthens; so fulfil the law of Christ." He then concludes with a prayer for the blessing of the Holy Spirit, and ascriptions of praise to Christ, the Lord and Saviour, as the great head of the church.

Such is the address to the puritans, which Strype would attribute to John Foxe, in the last year of his life. If it may be justly ascribed to him, we may be certain that he had at length followed the example of the great majority of his fellow-exiles in the reign of Mary, and conformed to the external vestments and ceremonies, as he had uniformly adopted the doctrines and truths, of the church. It breathes throughout the same spirit of truth and love, which had characterised his sermon at St. Paul's Cross. It is written in the style and language which has been always deemed most becoming the church of England, as the medium between popery and puritanism. It condemns the errors of both, but the former more severely than the latter, because more of christian truth is perverted by popery than by puritanism; but it speaks of the holders of error as objects of compassion rather than of reproach. It aims at union, but would sacrifice no truth to obtain it. It regards the changeableness of things indifferent as one source of the desired union, and obedience to the authority of the church in all matters where no scriptural truth is denied, as the solemn obligation of a Christian. Happy would it have been for the church and for the state of England, if the principles it

inculcates had been made the guide of the two contending parties who changed the island into a field of blood within the eventful century which followed the death of the martyrologist; when mutual exasperations led to mutual crimes; and the severest wounds which the holy religion of Jesus Christ ever yet suffered, proceeded neither from the violence of the heathen; nor persecution by the papist; nor from hypocrisy, as was so often alleged, on the part of the puritan; but from the personal piety of the holy, and of the zealous, refusing conformity to a ceremony, or the putting on of a surplice. Whenever the time arrives that nations, rulers, and people, shall learn the great lessons which are given to us by the crimes and follies, by the virtues and vices, recorded in the history of the past; they must act in the temper and spirit of this address to the puritans, by one who studied and enforced the truth, which the papist and the puritan have alike perverted.

And now the time arrived when the martyrologist must die. The man of the world, who has his portion in this life, and who passes through life anxious only for its honours, wealth, and pleasures, staves off all thoughts of dying; and when the law of his God commands the body to faint, and the soul to live in its new condition, he yields to the sentence merely as to an unavoidable event, of which it would be unphilosophical to complain. He dies as the fool dieth—as a sentimental and affected heathen might die—professing, perhaps, in terms which seem selected to conceal his terrors under the mask of serenity, to believe that the soul is immortal; and sinking, and making no christian sign, as if there was no revelation to guide him, no church to aid him, no priesthood to console him, no God to fear, nor Saviour to love, nor Holy Spirit to strengthen, nor heaven to hope, nor hell to dread, nor soul to save. Some Christians die in humble hope—some in the calmness of holy peace, and rejoicing in God their Saviour. They know in whom they have believed. They gather their friends and their kindred around them; and their last expressions are divided between the language which describes their own quiet confidence in the revealed mercy of God, their affection to their friends, and their gratitude to the providence which has led them through the wilderness of life, and which upholds their faltering steps in the dark valley through which they are walking. Some Christians—and archbishop Leighton and John Foxe were of the number—when the last hour of their earthly existence approaches, rejoice that the communion between the spirit parting from the body, and the invisible Father of the spirits of all flesh, should be undisturbed by the tears and lamentations of their weeping kindred. They endeavour to dismiss from their presence all who may interrupt the solemn and sacred composure, with which the Christian awaits the moment when the consciousness of existence in this state ends, and the consciousness of existence in the next state begins—when, resigned and expectant of that great and mysterious change, the dying man prays within, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!"

" Being now full of years," says his son, " he died, not through any known disease, but through much age." He foresaw the time of his departure, and would not suffer his sons to be present at his death. He would not permit one to be sent for; and the other, who was in attendance upon him, he dismissed on a journey three days before he died. He commanded their return at such time as he knew they would but come back to weep over his lifeless body. No particulars are related by his son of his dying expressions. We may, however, believe that they were worthy of him who had replied to the expostulations of his friends, when they solicited him to diminish his charities, and to have more regard to the management of his resources—that he depended upon the continued providence of God, who had, by covenant, the charge of his affairs; who knew all his wants, and how to supply them, and whom he could not distrust without manifest ingratitude; for his providence had never failed him. His heart and affections, indeed, had been so devoted to the service of his God, that he could not now distrust him. " He had lived in the deliberate and resolved contempt of all things," says his son, " which are in the greatest esteem among men." He had, more especially, despised the allurements and pleasures of the world. Yet he did not conquer in this battle by flying to retirement; neither did he disdain them from any affectation of indifference or apathy. The true cause was, that he appreciated those highest pleasures, which, as the world could not give them, so neither could it take them away—the pleasures which proceeded from the love of God. So was his mind filled with these—so much was he delighted with the contemplations now so little known among the controversies, and the din of the disputes of Christians, that he had neither room in his heart, nor affection in his mind, for other and inferior delight. He willingly, therefore, separated himself from the fashions and attractions of the world, all of which he was able rightly and fully to appreciate. He devoted himself to these higher meditations, as one who had found in them an invaluable treasure. He bent his eyes and his mind on these alone, so stedfastly, that he both spoke and did many things beyond those of ordinary good men; so that many honoured him as one who seemed to speak to them as by a superhuman power, and were willing to pay him honour which ought not to be given to the best of mortals. Some anecdotes are related by his son, which illustrate the power he was supposed to possess of predicting the future restoration to perfect health of some who were diseased, and believed themselves to be dying, and the consequent veneration in which he was held. The agreement of the event, however, with the sanguine prediction of the best of men, would be considered only as a coincidence in the present day; when the attempt is being daily, though vainly, made to resolve even the well-authenticated miracles of the Scripture into natural and common events. I purposely, therefore, omit all the circumstances to which I allude, knowing they will be deemed to be incredible, whether they be true or false.

Though he was thus eminent for his contempt of the world, he was not an ascetic, banishing himself from the society either of his equals or superiors. His intimacy with the duke of Norfolk had continued unbroken from the earliest years of the duke until he was attended by Foxe to the scaffold. The pension assigned him by the duke was continued by his son.[1] The lord treasurer Burghley, the earls of Bedford and Warwick, sir Francis Walsingham, the amiable and accomplished brothers, sir Thomas and Michael Heneage, sir Drue Drury, and sir Francis Drake, are enumerated among his friends. The earl of Leicester made him valuable presents; a circumstance not, indeed, surprising, as that nobleman was supposed to be anxious to conciliate those who peculiarly regarded John Foxe as the champion of the anti-papal cause. The principal ecclesiastics of the day, Grindall, Aylmer, Pilkington, Nowell, were devotedly attached to him, not only as their fellow-exile, but as that good and holy person, of whom no fault has ever been alleged, and against whom none could find occasion to speak, unless, as against Daniel in the olden time, "it was found in him concerning the law of his God." These he loved in return, but he more peculiarly delighted in the learning and conversation of Fulk and Whittaker, whose labours still enrich the church, and in those of Humfrey, president of Magdalene, of sir Thomas Gresham, and sir Thomas Roe, the wealthy and accomplished merchants of London. From these, and from many others enumerated by his son, he derived the large sums of money which he was known to distribute so bountifully, and to which he added so much of his own more scanty resources, that he is said by many, though his son doubts the certainty of the report, to have given away the very furniture of his house to supply the temporary, but pressing wants of his poorer neighbours.[2]

Great cheerfulness is the usual concomitant, of piety united with knowledge. Many anecdotes are recorded by his son to illustrate the cheerfulness with which he adorned the tables of his noble and learned friends.

We have seen the manner in which his horror of inflicting the punishment of death for real or supposed errors in opinion was exemplified in the case of the burning of some anabaptists. His son assures us that he had the utmost moderation towards the persons of the most zealous papists themselves, however vehemently he was opposed to their opinions. "I could produce letters," says his son, "wherein he persuadeth lords, and others, who then held the places of chiefest authority, not to suffer Edmund Campian and his fellow-conspirators to be put to death; nor to let that custom continue longer in the kingdom, that death, rather than some other punishment, should be inflicted on the papist offenders.

(1) The earl of Suffolk, son of the duke, by his second duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas lord Audley, of Walden, in Essex, and widow of lord Henry Dudley, younger son of John, duke of Northumberland. Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 108.

(2) Among the Foxe Papers in the British Museum are found many names of friends not enumerated by his son—Pusey, Gelibrand of Magdalene, Sharpe, Gordonius, Robert Silesius, Puis of Baliol, Cheke, Rogers, Gresop, Balyn, Regini Mortelius of Antwerp, and many more. Harl. MS. Nos. 416, 417.

And, lest he might seem only out of the goodness of his nature, and not out of the judgment of his mind, to have so spoken, he there endeavoureth to prove, by many reasons, how much it was to the weakening of the cause, rather to follow the example of their adversaries, in appointing punishments, than their own mildness; and that they much rather ought to strive, as well in mercy and clemency to overcome them, as they had already excelled them in the justice of their cause. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity, to entreat for them. Whereas, on the other side, the lords gave him to understand that this was a matter of state, not of controversie; that the sovereign's life, the publick liberty, and the assurance of the kingdom, rested on this point; that subjects ought, by their own peril, to be warned how they grow too prodigal of their countrie's blessings; that such was the estate of the kingdom, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more secure, if the subjects only would consent to devote their abilities to the service of their own church and country. Yet, for all this, did master Foxe continue in his opinion; and, though he could by entreaty gain nothing, yet would he, with many sighs, testify his sorrow, as often as he heard that any of them had been put to death."

Every religious error among Christians may be said to be either the adding to, or taking from, or perverting, or deducing wrong inferences from, some undoubted truth. It has ever been, as it still is, the glory of the church of England so to uphold the abstract truth, as to avoid the perversion of the two opposite truths—that authority must be maintained for the sake of order, and freedom of inquiry be not only permitted, but commanded, for the sake of progressive improvement. Popery is the perversion of church authority into mental tyranny. Puritanism is the perversion of freedom into caprice. Both have maintained opposing errors, from which the episcopal churches, which reject alike the usurpations of the papacy and the encroachments of the laity, are free. John Foxe was an episcopalian. In the course of the controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift, the Acts and Monuments of Foxe was praised by Cartwright. This circumstance elicited from Whitgift his opinion of the character of the martyrologist. "I conclude," says Whitgift, speaking to the puritan, "with the very words of that worthy man, who hath so well deserved of this church of England, master Foxe:—'In the ecclesiastical state we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed, or by the primitive church allowed, as archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons; for of these four we especially read, as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person; for, as we give to the minister place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop, so we see no cause of inequality why one

minister should be above another minister, one bishop in his degree above another bishop to deal in his diocese, or an archbishop above another archbishop.' "

Such are the words of Foxe, quoted by Whitgift; and the archbishop adds his own general testimony to the merits of Foxe as an episcopalian. "And I cannot but observe," says Strype, "the esteem and character that Whitgift expressed of this reverend man." "The archbishop," says his great biographer, "was not a man to speak otherwise than as he thought, and he spake of Foxe as of one that he loved and venerated."[1]

But though Foxe was thus an episcopalian, we cannot be certain that his nonconformity to the vestments entirely ceased. If so, there is an inconsistency in this, which has already been considered, and which we may with difficulty excuse. Every church, and every society of Christians, like every political association of men into communities and states, must be founded on the agreement in some general principles, and on the submission of the reason, founded upon that agreement, to some regulations, which would be neither originally proposed by the individual, and which are assented to, also, by him with some difficulty, for the sake of the public peace. If the most rigid papist, from the pope in the Vatican to the last accepter of the tonsure, were to be asked whether there was not some one law, opinion, or conclusion, which is sanctioned by, or included in, the twelfth article of the Tridentine creed, "I do receive and profess all things delivered, declared, and defined by all the sacred canons," which might possibly be worthy of reconsideration, it is difficult to imagine that the reply would be in the negative. If the most severe Calvinist, or presbyterian, were to be asked, whether no point of the Genevan discipline were capable of improvement, the reply would be the same. If the episcopalian of the church of England were to be asked, whether he would not prefer the exclusion from the canons, of the decree that no Greek Grammar should be used in our public schools but that which was sanctioned by Henry VIII., is it not probable that he would say that this, and perhaps some other minor matters, might be usefully reconsidered? Yet the papist, the presbyterian, and the episcopalian, are contented to be united in their several communities on general principles; while they desist, for the sake of the public peace of their society, from insisting on the adoption of the several alterations, they might be willing to suggest. The individual members of all political, or all religious societies, after the centuries of controversy which have agitated the civilized world, must be contented thus to unite with his brethren; or he must become the very Ishmael of his particular tribe. His hand must be against every man, and every man's hand against him. Such a man must become to himself his own church, his own pope, and his own Bible. He must forsake the communion of his fellows, and retire from all churches, and all societies, to worship his God in the wilderness. Such were, probably, the reasonings which induced the exiles who

(1) See Strype's Life of Whitgift, ap. Strype's Annals, 1587, pp. 504, 505, folio, 1728.

returned from the continent at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, to conform to the vestments, to which they had previously objected; and it is much to be regretted that such reasoning was not certainly influential on the mind of the martyrologist.

But though he might have been, to this extent, a nonconformist, he highly disapproved of the intemperance of the rigid puritans. He expressed himself to the following effect in the Latin letter written on the expulsion of his son from Magdalene College, on the groundless imputation of his having turned papist.

"I confess it has always been my great care, if I could not be serviceable to many persons, yet not knowingly to injure any one, and least of all those of Magdalene College. I cannot, therefore, but the more wonder at the turbulent genius which inspires those factious puritans, so that violating the laws of gratitude, despising my letters and prayers, disregarding the intercession of the president himself (Dr. Humphreys), without any previous admonition, or assigning any cause, they have exercised so great tyranny against me and my son; were I one, who like them would be violently outrageous against bishops and archbishops, or join myself with them, that is, would become mad, as they are, I had not met with this severe treatment. Now, because, quite different from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and public tranquillity, hence the hatred they have a long time conceived against me is at last grown to this degree of bitterness. As this is the case, I do not so much ask you what you will do on my account, as what is to be thought of for your sakes; you who are prelates of the church, again and again consider. As to myself, though the taking away the fellowship from my son is a great affliction to me, yet because this is only a private concern, I bear it with more moderation. I am much more concerned upon account of the church, which is public. I perceive a certain race of men rising up, who, if they should increase and gather strength in this kingdom, I am sorry to say what disturbance I foresee must follow it. Your prudence is not ignorant how much the christian religion formerly suffered by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of the monks. At present in these men I know not what sort of new monks seems to revive; so much more pernicious than the former, as with more subtle artifices of deceiving, under pretence of perfection, like stage-players who only act a part, they conceal a more dangerous poison; who, while they require every thing to be formed according to their own 'strict discipline' and conscience, will not desist until they have brought all things into Jewish bondage." [1]

Such were his sentiments on the puritan controversy; and the events of the two succeeding reigns proved that he had not judged rashly of the violent tempers and designs of some of the puritans.

No less moderation was constantly expressed by Foxe even towards the church of Rome itself. Bitterly and vehemently as he justly expressed his most righteous indignation and abhorrence of its persecuting

(1) Chalmers's Biog. Dic. vol. xv. pp. 31, 32.

spirit, its persecuting laws, and its persecuting conduct; he had too much learning, and too much wisdom, to deny that the church of Rome, in its purer state, was originally entitled to the admiration of the world; or that all nations were once rightly in communion with its bishops; or that the time may again arrive, when there may be communion with Rome, if Rome will so far change, that such communion shall imply neither subjection to its supremacy, nor adoption of its unscriptural errors. The principal heads of his opinions on this point are still worthy of the attention of all who desire the eventual reunion of Christ's holy catholic church. They are thus collected by his son.

"Among the christian churches the Roman church had always been the highest in dignity, and the most ancient in antiquity. It retained this dignity with much estimation for many centuries. Gradually increasing in authority, neither by the consent of the people, nor by any rightly founded claim, but by reason of the custom and tendency among all nations imperceptibly to submit to those who begin to be powerful, the church of Rome at length exercised command over the churches. Its greatest honour and authority was over the western churches; where Christianity was generally professed, and where the influence, discipline, and piety of the church of Rome was so worthy of admiration, that in these respects it might be called the mother of the churches. Rome was the place where the Christians who were persecuted by the emperors could assemble with the least trouble, be more perfectly protected, and die both with more constancy and with more effect. The church of Rome thus flourished, rather in good discipline, and in the approved holiness of its professors, than in the abundance of its riches and power. Neither pride, nor indolence, nor worldliness, nor error, were discoverable in the manners and opinions of its clergy; while money, servants, lands, and goods, were in great measure unknown to them. Their contentedness in possessing, or their moderation in using, the few advantages they enjoyed, seemed to render Rome the principal seat of the christian religion. Such was the condition of Rome in the earlier ages of the church. In process of time, however, it began by slow degrees to be corrupted. Having brought the western nations generally to the christian faith, when they had once begun to esteem it to be for the honour of the empire that the priests should no longer, as they had formerly done, endure poverty, but live more plentifully; and when the emperors, to effect the same object, granted many possessions to the churches as ornaments, and to churchmen as rewards; then, also, the priests began to be avaricious, negligent, and ambitious. One age added to the vices of another. They aspired to, and they obtained dominion. They ruled the churches, without permitting the interference of the civil power. They continued their demands of supremacy, till the civil power became subjected to their sceptre, the crosier. They subdued the emperors. They invaded the privileges of the empire. The spiritual and temporal governments were identified; till one secular authority alone was recognised in the

churches and states of the west. In the mean time the laws of religion were neglected. The Scriptures were neither studied by the priests nor permitted to the people. The worship of God was made to consist in outward devotion and pomp of ceremonies, rather than in the inward obedience of the heart to God. The homage and affections of the people were, consequently, slowly but effectually weaned from such a priesthood. As the most healthy bodies may fall by sickness into the greatest danger, so it was with the church of Rome. Its strength became the cause of its weakness, and the reaction of the former veneration into hatred and contempt was so great, that Rome was commonly regarded as the chief antichrist, accomplishing in itself the predictions which describe, in the New Testament, the principal enemy of the spiritual church of Christ, and the chief destroyer of the souls of men. Yet, with all this, deeply rooted was the honour and approbation of Rome in the minds of men; so that, though it had fallen in estimation solely by its own covetousness, pride, and error, yet no church, nor person, nor controversialist, imagined that it had sunk so low in sin and apostasy, that it could not return and repent. None believed that it was so far gone in sinning that it could not be recovered by repenting. We, therefore, may justly hope, that the day shall come, when some Italian shall arise in its own society, under whose authority and influence the church of Rome, and the members of the church, shall not be ashamed to confess their error, to amend their faults, to reconsider their discipline, and be willing to part with their usurped supremacy, to procure the peace of the whole world, and the repose of the churches of the holy catholic church of Christ. If this could be justly hoped, the conditions of such agreement might be, first, that the pope should forsake all those tenets, by which he gained so great sums of money; there being nothing whereto the people might with more difficulty be persuaded, than that Christ, the Saviour of the world, had instructed his church in the ways of money, and setting the Scriptures to sale. Next, that he should renounce all secular jurisdiction, and not suppose himself to have any thing to do with the right of princes. That, on the other side, his opposers should not refuse that some one man may have the principal place of counsel and government in the church affairs, as being a thing which would have many conveniences in it, when it might be done with security; neither that the Roman church had once fallen, ought to make against it, nor that it had first flourished, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other; but that all this was to be left to the discretion of a general council of the Christians, which might be so equitable, as that neither the power nor favour of any one should be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in number of voices, to promise itself any advantage to the injury of the rest. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope and speediness of settling all controversies, if hereafter on both sides they would give such instructions, as might cause in each party a better hope and opinion of the other; especially that they

ought to leave off that stubborn conceit, whereby each of them, presuming itself to be the only true church, supposeth all other churches to be excluded from the covenant of God."

Such were the opinions of Foxe respecting the origin, progress, and eventual destiny of the church of Rome. In the latter part of this brief survey, I have preserved as far as possible the antiquated language of his son's memorial. Strange, indeed, it will appear to the majority of the readers of the Life of Foxe, that peace with Rome, when Rome changes, should be recommended by the martyrologist himself to the churches, which compose the one catholic church of Christ. So it is, however. Neither are the protestant, nor the ultra-protestant Christians, nor all the high-minded, zealous, and honourable lovers of truth for the truth's sake, justified, in rejecting the aphorism of John Foxe—that every person and every church, under the christian dispensation, if they will remove their sin, may both hope for pardon of God, and for reunion with their fellow-churches, and their brethren of mankind. Even now the great experiment is in progress, whether the assumption of infallibility, united with the claim to supremacy, and the retention of un-primitive, un-apostolical, yet long-defended errors, can coexist with deliberative senates, free institutions, an unfettered press, the general diffusion of the Scriptures, unlimited permission of inquiry, and well-disciplined episcopal churches, with the Scriptures interwoven into their services, and with liturgies which, combining all that is venerable from antiquity, are both devotional in language, and useful, as the best assistants to holy prayer and holy conduct. Many and great evils still remain to be overcome. Error, before it can receive its greatest downfal, must once more become both influential and powerful. The Trentine church, with the Trentine creed, must, will, and does again endanger the religion, the liberty, and the peace of the civilized world. It will obtain for a time yet more strength, until it dares yet further to insult, and injure; and then the time shall come, when the indignation of spiritual men, and of the more disciplined nations and churches, shall so resist its usurpations, and so condemn its errors, that they shall throw off the yoke of its domination, and after that, consent to accept its repentance. Then shall the church of Rome, when it is converted, become the strengthener of its brethren. Then shall the prophecies be fulfilled, and the stakes of the one fold be extended, and the voice of the one Shepherd be heard. The object of all revelation, and the design of all controversies, shall thus be completed together. As the family of man before the murder of Abel—and in the ark of Noah—and as the church of Christ at Pentecost—were all of one heart, and of one mind—so shall all the family of man become eventually, even upon this earth, the family of God. The errors of the papacy shall vanish before the moral and spiritual persuasion of the churches of Christ; and the anticipations of John Foxe, the now despised and insulted, but once venerated and honoured martyrologist, shall come to pass. Rome shall repent—and be pardoned both by God

and man; and the christian church, though it be still the field where many tares shall grow together with the wheat, shall be once more united in one holy communion; as it was, in those days when the faith of the church of Rome was spoken of with honour, admiration, and praise, throughout the whole world.

Foxe died on the 18th of April, 1587, at his residence in the city of London. No particulars are recorded of the lamentation made for him by the citizens. His son only tells us, that upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral which was made for him with the concourse of a great multitude of people; and in no other fashion of mourning, than, as if among so many, each man had buried his father, or his own brother. This is briefly but forcibly said. There can be little doubt, that the general popularity of his great work, the blamelessness of his life, the gentleness of his character, and the zeal with which he had devoted himself to the service of the protestant, or "ultra-protestant," episcopalian church of England, had commended him to the love and esteem of all his fellow-citizens. He was buried in the chancel of Cripplegate church. This church was not destroyed in the fire of London, and the inscription to his memory placed by his son, still remains, with another inscription on the same stone, announcing that two brothers of the name of Bullen are interred in the same spot with Foxe.[1] On one side of him is buried the grand-daughter of sir Thomas Lucy, in whose family he had been domiciled as a private tutor.[2] On the other side is buried a man, if possible, still more illustrious by his talents; equally hostile to popery, which he has denounced as the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments; but less deserving of our approbation, as the teacher and guide of the people, in other respects—John Milton. Their bodies are buried in peace. Their souls are in the hand of God. It is not permitted to mortal man to penetrate, before the hour of his own great change shall

(1) The following is the inscription by his son:—

Christo S. S. Johanni Foxo, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ martyrologo fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indagatori sagacissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, thaumaturgo admirabili: qui martyres *Marianos*, tanquam Phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit: patri suo omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo. *Samuel Foxus*, illius primogenitus, hoc monumentum posuit, non sine lachrymis.

Obiit die 18 mens. Aril (April) Anno Dom. 1587.

Vita vitæ mortalis est, spes vitæ immortalis.
Jam Septuagenarius.

The other inscription upon the stone that covers his remains, indicating that two brothers of the name of Bullen were interred in the same spot, is to the following effect:—

Sacro sub hoc saxo tria corpora mista quiescunt,
Gulielmi Bullen, medici, fratrisque *Richardi*,
Ac *Johannis Foxi*, qui tres, mihi crede, fuerunt
Doctrina clari, rari et pietatis alumni.
Gulielmus Bullen, medicamina semper habebat,
Æquè pauperibus danda, ac locupletibus æquè.
Sicque *Richardus* erat bene facere et ipse paratus
Omnibus ex æquo, quibus ipse prodesse valebat.
At *Foxus* noster per multas has parasangas,
Vita præcurrit, studiisque accedimus omnes.
Extant quæ scripsit tormenta cruenti priorum,
Extant perdocte per multa volumina scripta
Quæ scripsit Foxus; nulli fuit ipse secundus.
Obiit An. Dom. 1587. April 16.*a*

(*a*) This is an error, it ought to be 18th. Note. Maitland's Hist. of London, vol. ii. p. 1103.

(2) Constance Whitney, eldest daughter of sir Robert Whitney, of Whitney, in Herefordshire, who married the fourth daughter of sir Thomas Lucy. The wife of sir Thomas Lucy was Constance, daughter and heir of Richard Kingsmill, surveyor of the court of wards.

come, beyond the dark valley of the shadow of death; and to know the condition of the departed. Yet so strangely are we divided, and so rashly do we intrude where angels fear to tread; that while some among us canonize—others excommunicate, these illustrious partners of a common grave. I know not the destiny of the dead. As I presume not to "deal damnation round the land, on all I judge HIS foe"—so neither shall I presume to deal salvation to those, whom I might judge HIS friend. This only I may hope, that the souls of these men may be pardoned in all they have done amiss, through the mercy of the great High Priest, the Mediator, and the Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. If that hope be not vain, then shall they be saved with the rest of that great number which shall be delivered out of all nations, and kindred, and people, with the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the holy army of the martyrs, with the fathers of the christian church at the beginning, and with the reformers and restorers of its pure faith, and ancient discipline, in these the latter days. With such fellowship may my soul be united! With such high society may my spirit rest hereafter—the kindred spirit, in all that our God and Saviour would approve, of such men as John Foxe and John Milton!

END OF PART THE FIRST.

LIFE OF JOHN FOXE,

&c. &c.

PART II.

SECTION I.—THE OBJECTORS, OBJECTIONS, AND REPLIES TO THE OBJECTIONS, TO THE GENERAL AUTHORITY, AND VERACITY OF FOXE'S "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH," CONSIDERED.

INTRODUCTION.	MAITLAND.	COLLIER.
——	ANDREWS.	HEYLYN.
CHURTON.	MILNER.	LAUD.
TYLER.	HAYDOCK.	PARSONS.
TYTLER.	MILBORNE.	HARPSFIELD.

SECTION II.—DEFENCE OF THE PRESENT EDITION BY THE EDITOR.

PART II.—SECTION I.

THE OBJECTORS, OBJECTIONS, AND REPLIES TO THE OBJECTIONS, TO THE GENERAL AUTHORITY, AND VERACITY, OF FOXE'S "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH," CONSIDERED.

INTRODUCTION.

THE fact is alike disgraceful to the church and people, to the universities and to the government of England, that there is neither a commentary on the Bible, nor an ecclesiastical history, in their own language, worthy of the character, the opulence, the learning, or the religion of the nation. Even to this day, the most complete ecclesiastical history, unsuperseded by any which has followed it, is the work of John Foxe. When will the time come that some better historian shall arise among us, who shall incorporate into one noble, useful, acceptable work, the original documents which still remain unedited, with the labours of John Foxe, the Magdeburg Centuriators, Baronius,[1] Alford, Tillemont, Fleury, Du Pin, Mosheim, Gieseler, Waddington, and others?[2] When shall some honourable and wealthy patron or patrons be found, who shall enable the students and scholars, who would rejoice to execute the task, to combine in one work the results of the labours of the learned protestant, papistical, Lutheran, and Calvinistical writers; and by relating only, if it were possible, the facts on which all are agreed, to give to England and to Europe the pure truth of the past; offending or pleasing with equal indifference, and instructing and improving all? Oh! for the patron or patrons to execute that other desirable work, which our country does not yet possess—a complete commentary on the whole Scriptures of truth! The time will come! THY people shall be willing in the day of THY power, to do these, and such like things as these: but we must wait HIS pleasure; and rest in patience till the possessors of the wealth of the world again delight to build up and to adorn the tabernacle of God, in the wilderness, with the gold and gems of Egypt. In the mean time, the individuals who are interested in the honour and safety of the ark, must continue their humble efforts in its great and holy cause.

(1) For the last brief account of these two, see Dowling's "Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History," chap. iii. sect. 2.

(2) See the lists in Dowling, "Introduction," etc. etc. and in Eyring's "Synopsis Historiæ Literariæ," etc. etc. one vol. 4to. Gottingæ, 1733. His list extends only to 1498.

Though the work of John Foxe, as we have already seen, was so honoured by our ancestors that it was placed in the churches for the benefit of the people by the convocation of the Church of England, and by the command of the apostolical succession; and though no ecclesiastical history has been hitherto submitted to the public, which gives a fuller account of all the facts related by the martyrologist; the reputation of the book has so much declined that it has become a supposed proof of good sense, refined taste, sound judgment, and, above all, of most unsullied liberality, to despise and neglect his labours. Seldom has the reaction from unbounded national, and almost universal approbation, not merely to scanty, partial, and niggardly praise, but to severe and undeserved censure, been so complete as in this instance; and his book would have been long ago consigned to oblivion, and the decision of our ancestors on its merits would have long ago been deemed a proof of their exceeding inferiority in literary power to their sons, if there had not been in the pages of Foxe the union of those higher qualities, which are as much more valuable than mere literary excellence, as virtue is superior to accomplishment, or piety to mere refinement—the honest scorn of oppression, and the fearless love of truth. The spirit of his pages appeals to that peculiar highmindedness of his christian countrymen, which I trust, by God's blessing upon them, will ever be with them, to love truth for the truth's sake, and to detest persecution, whether from an infatuated church, a misguided sovereign, or an excited people.[1]

I shall now endeavour, without undertaking the defence of every page, sentence, proposition, or opinion of the martyrologist, to prove that he deserved the approbation of the bishops and convocation of the Church of England. It has become necessary to do so. The approbation or the disapprobation of the great principles of the "Acts and Monuments" of John Foxe is now too often made the criterion of attachment, or non-attachment, to the Church of England itself. Some of the best among us may be said to have been blinded by the influence which began in the days of archbishop Laud, under whose government of the church the volumes of Foxe were withdrawn from the churches. Since that time, to despise Foxe, and to believe the rulers and senate of their own church to have erred in approving him, has been made the proof and pledge of high churchmanship. To such height has this feeling been carried, that one of the most lamented of our brethren, for whom the tears of his friends still flow,[2] actually omits the name of John Foxe from among the list of ecclesiastical historians. He tells us[3] "that though many of our divines who flourished between the accession of Elizabeth and the Restoration, are justly celebrated for their ecclesias-

(1) I can impute the large list of subscribers to this edition to these feelings only; for the book must have been familiar to the greater portion of the number.

(2) The Rev. S. G. Dowling, M.A. of Wadham College, Oxford, rector of St. Mary le Crypt, Gloucester, author of the "Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History." He died this year (1841) at Gloucester, and was followed by a large assemblage of his clerical brethren to the grave. His death is a public loss. If it had pleased God he had lived, his extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical history might have been rendered most useful to the church.

(3) Dowling's Introduction, p. 156.

tical knowledge; it is not till after the Restoration that we discover the existence of an English school of church history." He mentions John Foxe casually, incidentally, as a person whose name might possibly be known to his readers; but he mentions him merely as the plagiarist who has borrowed an account of the Waldenses from the Istrian adventurer, M. Francowitz, or, as he is generally called, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the author of the "Catalogus Testium Veritatis;" and he actually mentions this comparatively unknown and disreputable adventurer as the founder of the new school of church history.[1] Peace be to the memory of the dead! I have no wish to offend the friends of Mr. Dowling by imputing to him any other error, than a mistaken regard to the persons who make their contempt of John Foxe the criterion of high churchmanship and orthodoxy. But I claim for John Foxe the honour of being, in England, the founder of that school of church history, in which the writers appeal to the facts of the past as the test of the truth of opinions, and as the test of the value of the customs which became general consent; and of the general consent which became the canons and laws; and thus constituted the early or the late ecclesiastical discipline of the churches of Christ. "When the Reformation," says Mr. Dowling, ("the most memorable event in the fortunes of the church, since the conversion of Constantine, and which is never mentioned, without awakening feelings of deep regret, or lively congratulation,) gave a new aspect and character to church history, the disputants on both sides at once felt its importance. The whole question between them became one of history. The reformers maintained that the abettors of the papacy, during a long season of ignorance, had grievously corrupted the simplicity of the gospel by false doctrine and superstition. It was for them, therefore, to show that the notions and practices which they denounced as innovations, were unsanctioned by the New Testament, and unknown to the early church. The friends of the prevailing system, on the other hand, charged their opponents with holding strange and monstrous opinions, and they were, therefore, bound to prove that what they themselves taught was taught in Scripture, and had been inculcated by the Doctors of antiquity. But though both parties immediately betook themselves to this department of the argument, it was some time before the reformation can be said to have produced any systematic work on the history of the church. The Romanists—ever anxious to argue the questions in dispute on scholastic principles—did not feel the want of a new work on the subject; and the first champions on the side of the reformers were too much engaged in propagating and defending their opinions, and in building up new systems, to have leisure for a large and difficult undertaking. It was not, therefore, for nearly forty years after Luther's first efforts, that we discover the existence of a new school of church history." These are Mr. Dowling's words. They give us a correct view of the absolute necessity of that mode of conducting the great controversy respecting the

(1) Dowling's Critical Introduction, p. 105.

authority of Rome over the holy catholic church, which has ever since prevailed; and which must terminate in the eventual overthrow of its supremacy and peculiar errors, as well as instruct the churches in the right principles of their eventual union with the reformed and unpersecuting church of Rome: and the honourable title of founder of this new school of ecclesiastical history must be given to John Foxe, the first publisher of an ecclesiastical history written on these principles.

I could not, at first reading of this otherwise useful work, believe that the name of the man whose labours had been approved by the convocation, church, and people of England for so many years, had been totally omitted from the honourable list of church historians. The omission seemed to confirm the painful suspicion which so many circumstances of the present day corroborate, that the attachment of individuals to the Church of England was no longer identified with the fearless denunciation of the errors and persecutions of the church of Rome; but, on the contrary, these were not only no longer to be named with abhorrence, but that our very churchmanship was to be tested by our approving, or disapproving of the labours of the martyrologist.

With respect, however, to the accusation that Foxe borrowed his account of the Waldenses from Illyricus, an examination of the facts of the case would rather make us believe that Illyricus and Foxe both borrowed from some common document. With respect also to the supposition—that Illyricus, rather than Foxe, is entitled to the appellation of founder of that school of church history, which made the holy catholic church, not necessarily identified with the church of Rome — there appears to be sufficient evidence to render it very probable, that Illyricus was indebted to Foxe, rather than Foxe to Illyricus.

In the year 1554, Foxe, as we have seen, made his escape from the anticipated persecutions of Mary, taking with him the manuscripts and collectanea, which enabled him to publish his first edition of the History of the Church, at Strasburg.[1] The Catalogus Testium of M. F. Illyricus was printed in 1556, two years after the publication of the first edition of the work of Foxe. The martyrologist, therefore, is not likely to have borrowed from Illyricus. The identity which Mr. Maitland has shown to exist between the narratives of the two authors, may have proceeded, therefore, from their mutually consulting one common document, of which Foxe has preserved more than Illyricus.[2] Their common authority may have been Guido de Perpignan, inquisitor general, who died in 1330, and wrote the "Summa de Hæresibus et earum Confutationibus;"[3] or the authors from whom Raynaldus drew his materials. The alleged heresies of the Waldenses are given in a different order in Raynaldus, from those named in the lists of Illyricus and Foxe; yet the common

(1) See Watts's Bibliotheca, vol. i. p. 383. The book was published under this title—"Rerum in Ecclesiâ Gestarum, quæ postremis, et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, et Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insigniora exempla sint, digesti per Regna, et Nationes." 8vo. Strasburg, 1554.
(2) See the comparison between the two in Maitland's Letters.
(3) Cave, Hist. Litt. xi. App. p. 30.

source of all must have been the same. The identity, therefore, of the accounts given by Illyricus and Foxe, not only do not prove that one necessarily borrowed from the other, but they rather show that, if it was so, Illyricus and not Foxe, was the plagiarist.

It is not, however, sufficient to vindicate to this extent the charge of borrowing without acknowledgment. It seems to me to be probable that Illyricus was indebted to Foxe for some materials of the very work from which John Foxe is said to have borrowed.

At the time of fearful excitement, when John Foxe and Illyricus expressed their abhorrence of the papal errors and persecutions, the scholars and theologians of the reformation were well known, either personally or by report, to each other. Illyricus was one of the most laborious of the continental opponents of the church of Rome. The remaining letters of Foxe and Illyricus prove that they corresponded with each other. The time when their acquaintance began is uncertain. It is a remarkable fact, that in the year 1553, the year before Foxe, with the materials for his history in his possession, escaped from England, Illyricus and his coadjutors, Johan Wigand and Matthew Judex, the pastors of Magdeburg, began in that city the extensive mass of materials for ecclesiastical history, called the Magdeburg Centuriators. The account of the manner in which this noble work was commenced, carried on, and completed, by the pecuniary aid of the German princes, and by the indefatigable exertions of Illyricus, Wagner, and their coadjutors, is related both by Bayle[1] and Dowling.[2] Between the year 1553 and the year 1559 Illyricus was engaged in travelling amongst the monasteries, palaces, towns, and cities of Germany, to procure materials for his work. The public, however, became impatient for its appearance before it was ready. The object of Illyricus was precisely the same with that which John Foxe had in view when he published his first edition at Strasburg. He was anxious to make known to the world the opinions of learned and pious men, prior to the reformation, respecting the doctrines and customs of the church. The taunts of the Romanists,[3] the necessity of meeting the demand to publish some proof that he was proceeding in the projected labours for which he had collected pecuniary aid, and which he had so long promised to the world; induced him to compile a certain portion of his materials, and to publish them under the title of the "Catalogue of Witnesses."[4] It was printed at Basil in 1556. Now John Foxe, in the Introduction to his "Acts and Monuments," gives, as we have seen, a roll of authorities, not identically the same with this of Illyricus, but formed, though briefly, on the same plan. I have no doubt that the two scholars had met either at Basil or in some of the towns of Germany—that John Foxe had

(1) Article Illyricus, especially note I.
(2) Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History.
(3) See Mr. Dowling's Introduction, &c. p. 106.
(4) The title of the book is "Catalogus Testium Veritatis, qui ante nostram ætatem reclamarunt papæ. Opus varia rerum, hoc præsertim tempore scitu dignissimarum cognitione refertum, ac lectu cum primis utile atque necessarium. Basil, 1556."

supplied to Illyricus some part, at least, of his materials, and added to them, as the book went through the press, under his own superintendence. As their pursuits were the same—as they corresponded by letters, and were intent on one great object—it is probable that they had become personally acquainted with each other. Illyricus cared but little whence or how he obtained assistance. His more impatient subscribers were clamorous.[1] Foxe had collected the very materials he required, and they were possibly, or probably, at the service of Illyricus. The printers of the day were learned men, and rendered mutual assistance in the publications of their several works: and Illyricus, therefore, though without any acknowledgment of the obligation, might have been largely indebted to Foxe in the compilation of that very work, the "Catalogus Testium," which induced Mr. Dowling to bestow on Illyricus, rather than on Foxe, the honourable appellation of the founder of the modern school of church history.

But, not only is this claim to originality on the part of Foxe rendered probable by the circumstances I have mentioned; it is possible, and I believe probable, that the christian world is more deeply indebted to the martyrologist for a still greater service. Foxe and Illyricus not only travelled on the continent at the same time, known to, and corresponding with, each other; the former in search of employment and a home, the latter in search of manuscripts and materials for his projected work; but Foxe at length settled at Basil; to which place Illyricus sent his papers to be printed before Foxe left Oporinus to return to England, at the accession of Elizabeth. The early volumes of the Magdeburg Centuriators all passed through the press under the revising superintendence and inspection of Foxe. The accumulated papers of the martyrologist, which, as an incessant reader, he would have collected, and not published, would be probably added to the common store. No man in Europe was more fitted to superintend the work; no man was more identified in motives, pursuits, and studies, with its principal compiler. Illyricus agreed with John Foxe, and with other of the more zealous antipapal writers of the age, in the stern, severe, uncompromising language with which they described the unreformed church of Rome as the antichrist, the man of sin, the corrupter, the enslaver, and the curse of the churches and states of Europe; and he is bitterly condemned both for this, and for his opinion—that the church of Christ ceased to exist, as a visible community, for several centuries. This erroneous opinion was adopted by many others. The truth of the controversy respecting the visible and invisible church is expressed in one sentence of Scripture—"All are not Israel who are of Israel." There is a church within the church. There is a spiritual succession, within the apostolical succession of christian ministers and christian people, who constitute the holy of holies, within the courts of the common tabernacle. As the church of Israel and Judah had within it both the circumcised idolaters and the

(1) Such is Mr. Dowling's conjecture, p. 110.

circumcised spiritualists, who formed, till the glory departed from them, the one church of God; so have there ever been baptized idolaters, and baptized spiritualists, in the churches of Christ. They became corrupted with many errors, through the influence of Rome—that one of the chief of their number, whose faith and truth was once justly admired throughout the world; and a certain portion of these churches have been led to reject these errors, and, with them, the influence of the unreformed church of Rome: but the visibility of the church never ceased; and the continued succession of opponents to its corruptions never ceased also. The opinion, however, that the visible church had ceased altogether, on account of its many corruptions, to be the true church of Christ, was generally maintained among the opponents of the papacy. Neither Foxe nor Illyricus were exempted from the common belief. The two authors had also many other points of agreement. They differed only in their moral character. Illyricus is characterized as a turbulent, impetuous, quarrelsome, self-opinionated, literary vagabond and thief. Foxe was vehement only in opposing the opinions and conduct of the church which he believed to be corrupt both in doctrine and discipline; and which he knew would consign him to the flames if it had possessed the power it coveted: but he was ever admired as worthy of estimation for his blameless, peaceful, and religious life. One bond of union, however, was between them; and I believe, that if it were possible to discover the evidence, we should find that, as they were both engaged at the same time on their common object of writing ecclesiastical history—as they both possessed the same common documents, and both laboured on the same useful work, which has been the great storehouse of all ecclesiastical historians from their day to the present—and which, if it had been published in the English language, would have superseded the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, as it has superseded the "Catalogus Testium" of Illyricus—therefore it must follow, that John Foxe must not only be regarded as the founder of the new school of ecclesiastical history in England—but as one of the illustrious builders of that great magazine of knowledge, from which all the subsequent writers have drawn, which called forth the volumes of Baronius, Pagi, and Raynaldus, and which must be one of the corner-stones of any new edifice, which future ecclesiastical historiographers may construct. I believe that the collectanea, memoranda, and unpublished papers of John Foxe were added to the common store, and that this service also was rendered by him to the church. The only evidence I am able to adduce in favour of this conjecture, in addition to the fact that Foxe presided for so many years over the press of Oporinus, arises from the internal evidence of the similarity between the known writings of Foxe, and some passages in the volumes, and in the dedications to the volumes, of the Centuriators. The dedication, for instance, of the fourth volume to queen Elizabeth was published in the year 1560. Foxe remained on the continent, as we have seen, one year after the accession of Elizabeth, to complete certain works

at Basil. It was the custom of the printers to affix the date of the following year to the volumes which were printed at the end of the current year. If the fourth volume was printed, therefore, at the end of the year 1559, just before Foxe left Basil for England; and if the argument arising from internal evidence be valid, it becomes probable that the dedication to Elizabeth, which Varillas has assailed so severely, but which Bayle defends so ingeniously,[1] was written by Foxe. The comparison between the address of Foxe to the nobles of England in the reign of Mary, and the dedication to queen Elizabeth, are formed on the same plan, and written in the same style. Bayle's observation is just, that when this dedication was written, it was not known generally in Germany upon what footing the reformation would be established by Elizabeth in England. Neither does it appear, we may add, for what reason Illyricus, an Istrian adventurer, could be induced to dedicate his work to Elizabeth. If, however, this celebrated dedication was written by John Foxe, we can fully understand the object of the earnest and emphatic language in which the queen is reminded, that it is not sufficient to have begun well the work of the reformation of the church, but that, the writer exhorts and entreats her majesty, to devote herself, with all her might, to the holy task of providing, that religion, pure, true, and undefiled, should be established throughout the whole kingdom. "You owe the duty," it says, "to God, yourself, and to your subjects, thus to act; and to remove at once the cruelties and the plague of the antichrist." It is not probable that Illyricus would thus address the queen of England. If, however, the pages in question were written by John Foxe, then we at once account for his own long residence, agreeably to the wish of his friends, at Basil. He was editing, or aiding the editors, of the Centuriators, as well as preparing the edition of his own work for the public. He was enlisting the sympathies of the queen in the cause of the reformation generally. He was expressing the feelings of the devotional and highminded ultra-protestant. He was uttering the sentiments of the patriot and christian, by submitting to his sovereign, before he returned home to his native land, his wish to see truth and religion once more established in England. He was speaking as an English subject, and not as a foreign adventurer.

I shall now proceed to consider the principal writers who have opposed this once universal national approbation with which John Foxe was honoured. It will be impossible to notice all who have contributed to the reaction. I shall select the chief, beginning with those who are now living, and ending the list with the antagonist to whom Foxe himself replied—the persecuting Harpsfield. We will consider the following objectors, their objections, and the replies to those objections. Churton, Tyler, Tytler, Maitland, Eusebius Andrews, Bishop Milner, Haydock, Milborne, Collier, Heylyn, Archbishop Laud, Parsons, and Harpsfield. On one point all these are united in favour of Foxe. They take for granted the received

(1) See note (I) art. Illyricus, in Bayle.

truth—that the martyrologist, so far from being deemed unworthy of a place in the catalogue of ecclesiastical historians, or of being despised as a plagiarist from his contemporaries, is worthy to be regarded as an authority to whom deference must be paid on many points. Let it be remembered that Foxe wrote at a time, when, with the marvellous and superhuman exception of the language of the English Prayer-book, the style of the best writers was unrefined. References were not given with particularity. Notes—that great explanatory improvement on the text, were unknown. The art of criticism was in its infancy. The authorities to which he alludes as the basis of his narratives, have been thoroughly sifted since his age, and have become for some time obsolete. His credulity was that of his age; but it was not so childish as that of many of the most eminent ecclesiastics of his own church in the second and third generations after him, who objected to the favourable estimation of his labours.[1] The modern believer doubts more, and believes less, than his ancestors. But the work of Foxe has retained the favour of very many in a refined, critical, inquiring age. He pleases the devout by his piety, the candid by his honesty, the incredulous by the evidences of his facts. The publication of his book began in his own language the study of ecclesiastical history in England; and though it has not only lately been neglected, but contempt of Foxe, and an affectation of disregard for his labours, have been made the criterion of attachment to the forms and discipline of the church, his volumes have not lost their value. The time has come when they ought to be set aside by other works, which our theologians and historians may be justly expected to produce, embodying all that is desirable to be retained, rejecting much that is objectionable, and interweaving more that is useful. But until another history is written which shall include all, and much more than all, the facts which he has collected, and which shall be written in the same honest and fearless spirit of the love of truth, and hatred both of persecution and error—until the labours of John Foxe are superseded, as well as abused—we are justified in affirming that the publishers of this edition have been well advised to re-edit the work—that the subscribers have not acted absurdly—and that the pages of John Foxe, so far from deserving to become obsolete, still continue to be worthy of the approbation and study of the truth-seeking, religious, and protestant people of England.

(1) Ex. gr. Heylyn, Archbp. Laud, &c. &c. See their Biographies.

I.—THE REV. EDWARD CHURTON, M.A.

Rector of Crayke.

The last assailant of the character of Foxe as an historian is the Rev. Edward Churton, M.A. rector of Crayke.

To name this gentleman is to praise him. Though I know that I ought to imitate the example of the ancients, who never sacrificed to their heroes before sunset, I shall not hesitate to speak of this clergyman, whose sun has not attained to its meridian, in the language of deserved respect and eulogy. Learned, laborious, exemplary in the discharge of his duties, blameless in deportment, and devoted to the advancement of the great cause of the holy catholic church of Christ, Mr. Churton deserves to obtain great influence in the church; and the mistakes or the errors therefore of such a man, require more especial notice. Last year, Mr. Churton published a work, entitled the "Early English Church." This book, though beautifully written, and therefore popular and interesting, is not so useful as it would have been if the author had given his references in the margin, according to the modern improvements in compiling historical narrative. But a greater fault has been committed. It is penned upon a false hypothesis; and the learning, labour, research, and talents of the author, are not only therefore rendered useless, but positively injurious to the student of history, who desires to know the facts which are recorded, and not the glosses, nor influences, nor partial statements of a biassed historian. This fault indeed is not peculiar to Mr. Churton. It is the one great error which characterizes the school, in which he seems to have been a pupil. Ecclesiastical historians may be divided into two classes. The one which represents the long record of the past as the mere contest between good and evil, terminating in general improvement. The other which represents it as the narrative of a general though not universal apostasy from the more perfect, and scriptural knowledge, and service of Christ. *The former school* relates the history of the crimes and follies, the virtues and vices, the superstitious or unscriptural and uncommanded modes of serving God, the usurpations of Rome, and the resistance to those usurpations, as events which might have been anticipated as the natural or unavoidable results of the collision of opinions and the progress of society. *The latter* regards that history as the record of the fulfilment of apostolic prophecy in the rise, progress, and fall of a predicted apostasy from scriptural and primitive order, truth, and discipline, into gross idolatry and sinful error; from which, by God's mercy, the holy catholic church began to recover at the reformation; and against which it is still the duty of every disciple of Jesus Christ to protest, and contend to the utmost of his power. *The principles of the one school* may be summed up in the startling, and to many persons, the monstrous propositions with which Mr. Churton concludes his lucubrations,[1] that if

(1) History of the Early English Church, p. 357.

the sovereigns had left the church her freedom, then would there have been no popery—and—and—that the authority of the pope was begun, and fostered, within the church itself, by introducing the *dissenting principle*, because the different orders of monks, canons, and friars, were so many sects, collecting their own partizans, and withdrawing themselves from the control of their bishops. *The other school* of church historians affirms, that popery was the usurpation of the church over sovereigns and communities, by the abuse of the very freedom which it had acquired by its patient submission to the monarchs and Cæsars of the earlier ages; and it is unable to identify the dissenting principle which rejects even the mild government of an unusurping episcopacy, with the monastic principle, which in the beginning was subjected to its own bishops; though it subsequently became the supple slave of the bishop of Rome alone. *The former school* of church historians affirms that the rulers and priests of the holy catholic church have fulfilled their high duty to mankind. *The latter* declares that they betrayed their trust, and loved money and power for their own sake; and refused to be reformed, when the light broke in upon the darkness. *The former* school palliates persecution, by enlarging upon the faults of the supposed or real heretics who were punished, rather than upon the errors of those who punished them. *The latter* too often palliates heresy itself, in its hatred to the cruelty, which endeavoured to suppress by violence the abuses of free inquiry. *The former* believes Rome to have been less erroneous than its victims. *The latter* believes the victims to be less erroneous than Rome. May God grant that the fiery trial may never pass upon England; but many have imagined of these two schools of students of ecclesiastical history, that if a law could be passed compelling or requiring the decision of the people between popery and puritanism—between transubstantiation, and commemoration of Christ's death as a means of grace—that the advocates of the former would go to the mass, and the advocates of the latter would go to the conventicle. Long may the church of England lift its venerable sanctuary, as the beauty of holiness, between the two extremes! *The partizans of the former* school of church history are variously known by the epithets of papal, Laudean, nonjuring, and lately, tractarian. *The partizans of the latter*, as protestant, puritan, or ultraprotestant. Both have considered such epithets, whether used as words of reproach, or words of honour, as titles in which they should rejoice. The two schools of history have mutually said harsh things of each other. *The former* denounces as unjust, uncharitable, and unworthy of credit, all such writers as represent the church of Christ as having been generally, though not universally, led into captivity in the Babylon of papal Rome. They are angry with all who speak—as they themselves ought to speak—of the church of Rome, so long as it repents not, as the enemy of the souls of men, the suppressor of the Scriptures, the subverter of liberty, the uniform persecutor of the Christians who reject her

creed wherever it has power to persecute; as the one great Antichrist out of many antichrists, drunk with the blood of the saints. *The latter* too often speak in very unmeasured and indefensible terms of the former, as wilful traitors to the Gospel, and total apostates from the spirituality of the faith once delivered to the saints; whereas, the worst errors may be sometimes maintained by the best of men. This view of the two opposite divisions of the writers on church history, will prove to us the necessity of some one historian, who shall reject all hatred, and all love of the two extremes, and who will afford us a key to the reasons which have induced so many wise, good, and pious men, as well as so many unwise, wicked, and irreligious men, to assail the martyrologist; while so many of the very same varied characters, have defended him with equal zeal and ardour. The abstract love of truth is known to few. A preconceived opinion; attachment to some favourite theory, hypothesis, or communion; a systematizing, and therefore a contracted spirit, prevent the bold declaration of the truth of facts; and Mr. Churton, both in his remarks on Foxe, and in the development of the details of his history of the early church, has not been exempted from the influence of some of these causes of error. An historian should be as unimpassioned as the paper on which he writes, or as the pen and ink he uses.

I shall first consider Mr. Churton's objection to the work of John Foxe. It is this:—

"There are many notices of early church history in Foxe's Acts and Monuments; but it must be considered as a misfortune that so much credit has been given to this writer, and that he has found so many imitators; for *his style is that of a coarse satire, rather than of history.*"

The answer to this sentiment is easy. Mr. Churton does not venture to say that Foxe's notices of early church history are false. He refers to them, on the contrary, as if they were correctly related, according to the materials, common to all historians, and referred to by the martyrologist. The regret that so much credit is given to him, arises only from the style of the author. If the facts he relates are true, the style in which they are told may be lamented or admired, but his fidelity will remain unimpeached. But his style is that of a coarse satire! If satire is only indignation,[1] truth may be told in the honest language of that indignation. But the words satire and "coarse satire," do not rightly describe the style of John Foxe. He has used many apparently harsh epithets, and said many things, which the more courteous and refined modes of conducting controversial discussions may condemn; but the censure of a modern scholar upon the style of Foxe, once so highly approved and admired by our fathers, and now so contemptuously derided by their sons, reminds me of the apology of Dr. Lingard for the different estimations of the style of ecclesiastical architecture, in the former and in the later periods of its history. "It is probable," he says,

(1) "Quod natura negat, facit indignatio."

"that these buildings of the monastery at Hexham,[1] which once excited raptures in the breasts of the beholders, would at the present day displease by the absence of symmetry and taste. But we should recollect, that they were the first essays of a people emerging from barbarism; the rudiments of an art, which has been perfected by the labours of succeeding generations. The men by whose genius, and under whose patronage, they were constructed, were the benefactors of mankind, and might justly claim the gratitude, not only of their contemporaries, but also of their posterity." What the first builders of the churches of England were to their more elegant and skilful successors, John Foxe has been to all the writers on ecclesiastical history who have followed him. He has been the common storehouse of their materials. He has been the connecting link between the total ignorance, which enabled the usurpations of Rome to prosper in these islands; and the more perfect knowledge which now enables the youngest tyro in history to contrast the primitive and scriptural catholicism of the universal church, with the traditional and unscriptural catholicism, of the gradually established errors of Rome. Our fathers were in raptures with the building, which such architects of history as Mr. Churton despise. But his style cannot be justly called "satire." It was the style, rather, of severe reproach, and of bitter, deserved invective. He lived with the sons and daughters of the martyred—he narrowly escaped the flames himself—he detested the crimes, he loathed the doctrines, he abhorred the persecuting laws, now obsolete in England, but still taught in the Romish colleges—still unrepealed in the codes of Lateran and Trent; and he spoke out the bold truths which have ever found, and which, till Rome changes, and God and man forgive it, will still I trust ever find a response, in the rulers of the church, and in the hearts of the people, of England.

When Mr. Churton's work shall be reprinted, I trust he will deem it advisable to approximate nearer to the style of John Foxe, when the subject of his paragraphs may require him to do so. The style of Foxe may be compared to the language of the impatient Hotspur; that of Mr. Churton to the language of the "certain lord, neat, trimly dressed," who pestered the warrior when the fight was done. Mr. Churton, for instance, might have expressed himself more coarsely, not in the language of Foxe, but in that of Asserius, or Collier, when he had occasion to speak of any great crime. Ethelbald, the king of the West Saxons, married Judith, his father's widow. Mr. Churton merely observes upon this, that Ethelbald attempted to espouse his father's widow.[2] Collier quotes from Asserius, a different mode of stating this circumstance. "He scrupled not to marry Judith, his father's wife: an action which was not only a notorious violation of the law of God, and a contradiction to the sobriety of the christian religion, but an excess beyond the liberties even of paganism."[3] Is this the language of coarse

(1) Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, page 141. (2) Early Church, page 200.
(3) Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. i. pp. 373-4, Ed. 1840. Vol. i. p. 158-9, folio edit.

satire, or of virtuous indignation? It was the latter; and such is the language of John Foxe, against the conduct which he believed he was required to condemn.

I shall now select one specimen of the manner in which Mr. Churton, contrary to the express promise, in his Introduction to his history, "has disguised the errors of former ages."[1] He has done so in his otherwise praiseworthy desire to represent our ecclesiastical ancestors, as worthy of our approbation, for their religious opinions, and clerical conduct; as well as for their good intentions, and sincerity. I refer to his representation of the conduct of Laurentius, the successor of Augustine; who, after the flight of Theonas, the last British bishop of London, into Wales, preached in England the Christianity of Gaul and Rome.

A physician who perceives that his patient has an abhorrence to the only medicine which can save his life, will sometimes venture to endeavour to deceive that patient, into adopting the useful remedy. Just so it was with some of the best, and most faithful, but ill-judging ecclesiastics in the early church. They applied to their endeavours to cure the soul, the same maxims which induce the skilful physician to heal the disorders of the body. They forgot the express command of Him, who knowing the end from the beginning, well perceived, that if the servants of his holy church once ceased to walk by faith, and not by sight—if they once began to apply the natural maxims and principles, which direct men in worldly matters, to the extension of the gospel of Christ—if they adopted any other mode of establishing Christianity, than merely preaching the truth, and submitting to suffering, if they were required to receive that great honour—if fraud or falsehood were ever to become the means of bestowing spiritual good to mankind—Christ well knew that such fraud or falsehood would become customary among the mistaken teachers of his people—they would become practices received as worthy of imitation by the less conscientious, and less scrupulous—they would become the impure source of all the usurpations, by which the consciences of men are governed by forged and inadequate evidence—by which the opinion of the ignorant priest would be made the guide to the ignorant barbarian, and by which the reasonable service of scriptural religion, would become changed into a debasing and degrading superstition. Christ therefore gave to his church by the mouth of his apostle, and under the influence which He Himself imparted after his ascension, such precepts as these: Abstain from all appearance of evil—Do no evil that good might come—Take heed that the good rendered to mankind should not at any time be evil spoken of; and one principal source of the corruptions of Christianity has arisen from the rejection of such simple precepts as these, for the more natural and worldly proposition, that the smaller evil of a well-

(1) Churton's Introduction, p. ii.

intentioned fraud may be committed, that a great and noble good may be done.[1]

Laurentius accompanied Augustine into England, and succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. Eadbald, the son of that Ethelbert, who had welcomed Augustine, impatient of the restraints imposed by Christianity upon a luxurious, incestuous, perfidious prince, had relapsed into paganism. Mellitus and Justus having refused to admit the cousins of Eadbald, the three sons of Sebert, the joint chieftains of the East Saxons, to the communion, without their being previously baptized, had been expelled from the country. They visited Laurentius at Canterbury previously to their departure. It was agreed among them that they would all three retire into Gaul,[2] and resign the mission to England, in despair. Mellitus and Justus sailed to Gaul, and Laurentius proposed to follow them, according to his promise.

Thus far all the historians, without exception, are agreed. Laurentius, however, did not leave England. The reason of his not doing so is variously related in modern times; though that reason is most plainly told by the only author, from whom all the subsequent historians have derived their narratives of his conduct.

Among the affirmations of miraculous circumstances which are rejected by the present age, in consequence of the deficiency of evidence, is one which was commonly believed at the time when Laurentius lived in England. It is, that it pleased God to permit the inhabitants of the invisible state to inflict, in this world, personal chastisement upon the bodies of men who offended the common God and Father of them all. The possibility, the probability, and the certainty, that the angels of heaven, or the spirits of the departed, were sometimes permitted to scourge an offender, was derived from the history in one of the apocryphal books,[3] of the scourging of Heliodorus in the temple of Jerusalem. The opinion was strengthened by the history of the scourging by angels of Natalius the confessor for accepting a bishopric among the heretics, as related by Eusebius,[4] after he had repeatedly disregarded the injunctions of Christ, in many visions. Eusebius not only affirms this scourging to have been inflicted, but assures us that it was received by Natalius in the time of Zephyrinus, the successor of Victor, in the bishopric of Rome; and he appeals to it as an event, which if it had been done in his own day, would have brought the people to repentance. Nor only were these instances the possible foundation of the general belief. There was no one ecclesiastic whose name was more influential in the days of Laurentius than that of Jerome, the translator of the Hebrew Bible into the common Vulgate, and the writer of the prefaces to the books of Scripture, which

(1) Deeply did I grieve to read the following sentence in Mr. Churton's Introduction, p. v.:—"Sometimes it may be, that the means used were not the best; but the end was noble." Such a palliation of the pious frauds, and well-meant ecclesiastical deceptions, of the "early church" ought not to have been found in the pages of a minister of that church, one of whose best claims to the love of the laity is its abhorrence and detestation of priestcraft and falsehood; and its pure love of truth.

(2) "Decretum est communi consilio, ut omnes patriam redeuntes, libera ibi mente Domino deservirent, quam inter rebelles fidei barbaros sine fructu residerent." Beda, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 112. Stevenson's edition.

(3) 2 Maccabees ii. 26, 27.

(4) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 28.

must have been familiarly known to Laurentius. Jerome informs his contemporaries that he too was scourged by angels.[1] Here then were three several authorities for convincing Laurentius, that men who offended God were sometimes scourged by angels, as a punishment for their past faults, and as a warning for the prevention of future transgression. These legends became the foundation of many imitations; and they were not only known to Laurentius, but to those also of his followers who might be anxious to remain in England; if it were possible to retain the protection of Eadbald, and to continue in the discharge of the duties of their holy mission.

The reason for the continued residence of Laurentius in England is thus related by the only historian upon whom all the rest depend:—"When Laurentius was now about to follow Mellitus and Justus, and to leave Britain, he commanded his bed[2] to be prepared for him in the church of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. There, after many prayers and tears, poured forth to the Lord on account of the state of the church; after he had composed himself to rest and fallen asleep, the most blessed prince of the apostles appeared to him, and scourging him for a long time in the middle of the night, with severe stripes, demanded of him with apostolical severity, wherefore he should leave the flock which he himself[3] had committed to his trust; or to what shepherd would he, escaping from danger, commit the sheep of Christ, which he was leaving in the midst of wolves. 'Are you forgetful,' said the apparition, 'of my example, who, for the little ones of Christ confided to me as a proof of his love, endured chains and stripes, imprisonment and sufferings, and finally death itself, even the death of the cross; from the infidels, and from the enemies of Christ, that I with Christ might receive the crown?" With these stripes of the blessed Peter, and with his exhortations also at the same time, the servant of God being encouraged and strengthened, immediately, as soon as it was day, went to the king, and throwing open his garments, showed the king with what severe stripes he had been lacerated. The astonished king inquired, who could have dared to have inflicted such stripes upon so great a man. But when he heard that it was on account of his (the king's) salvation only, that the bishop Laurentius had suffered so severely, he trembled much; and putting away both his idolatry and his forbidden marriage, he professed himself a Christian, received baptism, and devoted himself to honour and to protect the church in all respects to the utmost of his power.[4]

(1) See Jortin's Remarks upon ecclesiastial history, vol. ii. p. 104, of the collected 8vo edition of his Works. "Jerome," says Jortin, "declares that he was scourged for studying profane authors, Cicero, Virgil, &c. Upon which, one of the Italian Ciceronians observes, that if he was scourged for writing like Cicero, and for being in this sense a Ciceronian, he suffered what he did not deserve, and might have pleaded, Not guilty."

(2) Alfred says,—of straw.

(3) "Sibi ipse crediderat." The meaning of the sentence appears to imply that St. Peter, in the person of Gregory, who first commissioned St. Augustine, may be said to have sent him. The identity of St. Peter with the bishops of Rome was one principal source of their influence.

(4) I subjoin the original from Beda—

"Cum vero et Laurentius Mellitum Justumque secuturus ac Brittaniam esset relicturus, jussit ipsa sibi nocte in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, de qua frequenter jam diximus, stratum

Such is the account of the reasons of the continuance of Laurentius in England, given to us by Beda; and this account continued till our day to be received as the true, probable, unquestioned history. King Alfred, the translator of Beda, to whom Mr. Churton refers, relates his weeping, and the scourging.[1] Ralph de Diceto relates the history almost in the words of Bede.[2] Johannes Brompton does the same.[3] Gervasius confirms it.[4] Thorn the monk of Canterbury talks of the apostolical stripes.[5] Baronius quotes, without hesitation, the words of Beda.[6] Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints,"[7] informs us that Laurentius was severely scourged in a dream, on the eve of his intended departure; and that when the king was shown the marks of the stripes, he became a thorough convert. So that we have at once the united testimony of the most ancient ecclesiastical tradition, and the continuous testimony of authors from before the birth of Christ to our own century, that the scourgings of men by the denizens of an invisible state was possible and certain. The rule of Vincentius of Lerins, "that is true, which is believed always, by all persons, and in all places," appears to apply to this narrative of Laurentius. Yet there are few of our later writers, whether of the church of Rome or of the communions who have separated from it, who now appear to believe in the truth of the literal narrative, which was thus firmly credited by our ancestors. The fact is worthy of our further notice before we consider the account which has been given of these circumstances by Mr. Churton.

The great experiment is now being tried by the three most civilized nations, England, America, and France, whether the unchanged doctrines and influence of the church of Rome can coexist with a free press, and with the prevention of the enforcement of ecclesiastical opinion, and influence, by the civil power. In order that this experiment may be fairly tried, it is only necessary that authors on all sides should write the facts of the past as they find them, without attempting to deny that they are recorded as truths, by the historians who have preceded them; and then stating the reasons for believing, or disbelieving them. An opposite plan has

parari; in quo, cum post multas preces ac lacrimas ad Dominum pro statu ecclesiæ fusas, ad quiescendum membra posuisset atque obdormisset, apparuit ei beatissimus apostolorum princeps, et multo illum tempore secretæ noctis flagellis arctioribus afficiens sciscitabatur apostolica districtione quare gregem, quem sibi ipse crediderat, relinqueret, vel cui pastorum oves Christi in medio luporum positas fugiens ipse dimitteret. 'An mei,' inquit, 'oblitus es exempli, qui pro parvulis Christi, quos mihi in indicium suæ dilectionis commendaverat, vincula, verbera, carceres, afflictiones, ipsam postremo mortem, mortem autem crucis, ab infidelibus et inimicis Christi ipse cum Christo coronandus pertuli?' His beati Petri flagellis simul et exhortationibus animatus famulus Christi Laurentius mox, mane facto, venit ad regem, et, retecto vestimento, quantis esset verberibus laceratus ostendit. Qui multum miratus, et inquirens, quis tanto viro tales ausus esset plagas infligere; ut audivit quia suæ causa salutis episcopus ab apostolo Christi tanta esset tormenta plagasque perpessus, extimuit multum, atque anathematizato omni idolatriæ cultu, abdicato connubio non legitimo, suscepit fidem Christi, et baptizatus ecclesiæ rebus quantum valuit in omnibus consulere ac favere curavit." Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum rescensuit Josephus Stevenson. Londini: Sumptibus Societatis. 1838. Lib. ii. c. vi. § 104, pp. 113, 114.

(1) See Wheeloc's translation of the Saxon version of Bede by Alfred, at the end of Smith's Bede. Bædæ Hist. Eccles. Rege Aluredo Saxonice reddita, cura et studio Johannis Smith, lib. ii. c. vi. p. 508. fol. Cambridge, 1722.

(2) Apud Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores, x. p. 437, London, folio, 1652.

(3) Chronicon, ut supra, p. 739.

(4) Actus Pontificum Cantuar. ut supra, p. 1633.

(5) Chronica Guil. Thorne, Monachi S. Augustini Cant. ut supra, p. 1767.

(6) Annales, vol. viii. p. 230.

(7) Vol. ii. p. 32, Feb. 2. art. Laurentius.

been adopted both by the writers of the church of Rome, who desire to conceal the faults of their ancestors; and by some writers of the anti-papal communion, who imagine that the cause of peace and harmony is more effectually promoted by protestant retrogradation towards Rome, than by Romish progression towards protestantism; and also by the misrepresentation or suppression of the records which are now received with less than their former veneration. Whereas the fusion of parties, which must be the commencement of the more perfect union among Christians, can only be rightly effected by all parties acknowledging the mutual errors of the past; and resolving to resign every doctrine, or every practice, which they blush to recognise as indefensible, among their fathers. Some symptoms of this feeling have already appeared among the members of the church of Rome. Bossuet attempted to give a new colouring to the more odious transactions of the past, and to represent, by softening them, the doctrines of the church on various points. The example of Bossuet was followed in England by the author of the "Papist Represented and Misrepresented." The various petitions and documents which have been submitted to the English legislature by the members of the church of Rome, to induce the government to extend their civil privileges, have been uniformly drawn up on the same plan. The appeal of the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy to the people, previously to the passing of the bill of 1829, was similarly framed.[1] Whenever the Lateran doctrines—which are still, however, taught in the places of papal education—are alluded to in the House of Commons, or elsewhere, they are denied and denounced by the members of the church of Rome, in the most express and solemn manner. This is all well to a certain extent: for we must suppose that any christian communion will eventually forsake the doctrines and practices of which they publicly declare they are ashamed. We must believe that if it can be demonstrated, as in this instance, that the opinions at which they blush, are contained in the codes and creeds of their church, they will eventually demand of the rulers of that church, that corresponding alterations be made, to reconcile the truths they believe, with the church they love. These symptoms, however, of the tendency to some change, which may be the beginning of the cessation of our protestant jealousy of Rome, cannot be satisfactory, until the solemn denunciations of their erroneous conclusions be sanctioned and confirmed by the repeal of the canons, which the last article of the Trentine Creed confirms to be a portion of the faith of the Romanist. One proof of this change of opinion respecting some of the more objectionable errors of the past, is found in the manner in which the history of Laurentius is mentioned by Dr. Lingard, and others.

The authors whom I have already mentioned have depended upon the authority of Beda, and they assert with him that the archbishop was whipped by St. Peter. Dr. Lingard,[2] in an earlier work, informs us, that

(1) I published a pamphlet pointing out its discrepancy with the articles of the council of Trent.
(2) "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 15, Newcastle edition, 8vo.

Laurentius discovered to the king the marks of stripes on his shoulders, and assured him that they had been delivered by the hands of St. Peter. In a subsequent work,[1] Dr. Lingard omits the more miraculous part of the history altogether, and informs us, that on the morning of his intended departure, Laurentius made a last attempt on the mind of Eadbald, and his representations were successful. This is the truth, but not the whole truth.

Milner,[2] omits the story of the whipping altogether; and merely relates that Laurentius visited the king, who was struck with horror at his crimes. He apologizes for the omission in his note.

"When all was ready," says Mosheim,[3] "for the departure of Laurence, "he tried a last experiment upon the semi-savage prince, by submitting to such a flagellation as left marks upon his shoulders. These he exhibited to the king of Kent, assuring him that the chastisement had come from no meaner hand than that of St. Peter himself."

Soames[4] relates the fact briefly, but honestly, in the same manner as Beda.

Turner[5] relates the story that the archbishop appeared before the king, bleeding from severe stripes, and boldly asserted that he had received them from St. Peter, because he was meditating his departure, and that the idea was successful, because it was exactly suited to the king's intellect and superstition.

Jones,[6] omits the narrative altogether. Short also[7] passes it over. Dean Waddington also does not mention it. Southey,[8] taking his choice between miracle, fraud, and fable, calls the whipping a fraud, for which he is reproved by Mr. Charles Butler,[9] but which Dr. Southey vindicates at great length in a subsequent work.[10]

Let us now consider Mr. Churton's account. Bolder and more dextrous than any other historian, he so relates the narrative as to annihilate at one swoop the three alternatives mentioned by Southey, of miracle, fable, or fraud, on the part of Laurentius; while he destroys, at the same time, the testimony and facts of Beda.

"The departure of Laurentius," says Mr. Churton, "was prevented by a remarkable vision, which appears to have had in it something of a providential character. On the night before the day fixed for his journey, he ordered his pallet-bed to be laid in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, that he might take his last rest in that holy place before he quitted these shores. 'He passed,' says Alfred, 'a long night in prayers, and poured forth many tears, and sent up many a supplication to God for the continuance of the church, till he was spent and weary, and put his limbs in posture of sleep.' In a dream he seemed to see the apostle

(1) History of England, 2d edit. 8vo, vol. i. pp. 115, 116, and the last edition.
(2) Church History, p. 419, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1838, and note.
(3) Soames's Mosheim's Instit. Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 69, London, 1841.
(4) Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 49. (5) Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 333.
(6) Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 15—17. (7) Sketch of Hist. of Church of England, vol. i. pp. 11—14.
(8) Book of the Church, vol. i. p. 39, first edit. (9) Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 30.
(10) Vindiciæ Eccles. Ang. p. 104.

St. Peter, who sternly reproved him for thinking of flight, when he would leave behind the flock of Christ in the midst of wolves. 'Have you forgotten my example?' said the vision; 'the chains, the stripes, the bonds, and afflictions,—nay, the death I endured for those lambs, whom Christ committed to my care and bade me feed, as the test by which he would prove my love?' Laurence awoke, and, in the pangs of remorse for his weakness, afflicted his body with the discipline of the scourge; and thus, under the zeal inspired by what he believed to be a divine warning, came for the last time to make an appeal to the conscience of Eadbald. The earnestness with which he spoke, and the sufferings of mind and body displayed in his appearance, awakened the king's better feelings. As his refusal of Christianity had been from enmity to its moral standard, rather than want of conviction of its truth, he was now changed at once; he gave up his idolatry, renounced his unlawful union, and became a baptized Christian. Mellitus and Justus were recalled; and, from this time, Christianity was fixed in the kingdom of Kent, though some years were to elapse before it could be replaced in London. It is not wonderful, if the simple superstition of the Saxons, or the natural tendency in men 'to magnify the mighty things they hear,' led them to tell the story of this vision, as if the spectre himself had inflicted the scourge on the back of Laurence."[1]

Such is Mr. Churton's account! In a dream he seemed to see! Laurence scourged himself!—and under the zeal inspired by what he believed to be a divine warning! These are the expressions of Mr. Churton: but they are not the history of Beda. Whatever be the solution of the supposed difficulty, this is not the right mode of writing history, especially by those who presume to depreciate John Foxe. If the authority of Beda is to be depended upon—and we have no other—and if there are apparent impossibilities in his narrative, those impossibilities must be acknowledged, and the authority of the historian be rejected altogether. If the authority of Beda is not to be rejected—if he relates matters which rest upon no other evidence, but which are partly probable, and partly improbable, the historian must not falsify the narrations of his authorities, and thus stultify his book by rejecting, and by retaining, what portion of his statement he may please. He is bound so to solve the real or supposed difficulties, as to retain the actual details of the asserted facts. This the critic on Foxe has not done. He is evidently anxious to escape from the alternative of fraud, miracle, or fable. He wishes more especially to exonerate Laurentius from the charge of wilfully deceiving the king; and therefore he has thus perverted the simple narrative of Beda. In doing so, he leaves the painful conviction on the mind of any of his readers, who may desire to consult the original authorities, that his book is not worthy of the talents and learning of its author. The historian who would really benefit the world and the church, must follow truth wherever

(1) Churton's "Early English Church," pp. 53, 54.

it leads him. He must write truth at all hazards. He must write it as the inspired writers relate it, whether it please or displease a party; whether it support or oppose an hypothesis, a theory, a church, or a favourite opinion. As the Scriptures, for instance, inform us that David was the man after God's own heart, and yet say also, that he commanded Joab to place Uriah in the front of the battle; so should we tell the truth alone, whether we can reconcile discrepancies and inconsistencies or not; though the enemies of the Lord blaspheme, and the friends of the Lord weep.

There is, however, no necessity for thus falsifying the narrative of the scourging of Laurentius by St. Peter. We may dispense with the alternative of miracle or fable; and, so far as the character of Laurentius is concerned, we may reject the supposition of fraud also, on his part. We cannot suppose that St. Peter was sent forth from the world of spirits to scourge the archbishop; though there is no doubt that Beda believed he did so. We have no evidence that Laurentius scourged himself, and then wilfully deceived the king, by affirming that St. Peter scourged him; and therefore that Laurentius was an impostor and a liar. I believe the whole solution of the supposed difficulties, which enables us to retain literally every part of Beda's narrative, and which vindicates Laurentius, at the same time, from the suspicion of intentional deceit, to be briefly this—Augustine had brought with him to England forty Benedictine monks. Many of these had probably become deeply interested in the continuance of their mission to England. The council held at Canterbury prior to the return of Mellitus and Justus could not have been secret, and the very idea of a conciliar deliberation implies a majority and a minority of voices; or at least a difference of opinion among both the bishops in authority, and among the ecclesiastics over whom they presided. The departure of these two bishops would have given offence to many of their coadjutors in the mission. Laurentius had promised to follow his brethren. This design also could not be kept secret. I believe—that one or many of these Benedictine monks—anxious to remain in England, if it were possible; and deeming their departure to be a desertion of their bounden duty—convinced, also, that the artifice intended was perfectly justifiable—contrived the whole scheme related by Beda. Laurentius, worn out by sorrow, maceration, and fatigue, had fallen asleep on his matting of straw. He was awoke in the dead of the night, by a monk, who addressed him in the language related by Beda. He was scourged by that monk. Laurentius had no doubt that such scourging might have been divinely appointed, and apostolically inflicted. He might have been tormented with remorse, that he had permitted himself to be outvoted, or overruled by his colleagues; and he believed the words addressed to him, and that St. Peter himself had descended to punish the deserter of the church. I hope that this is the true solution of the problem. I am anxious for the honour of the apostolical succession, which God has ordained to be the channel of truth and grace, and

not of falsehood and deception; to prove the second archbishop of Canterbury to be free from the pious fraud, which has been so often, and so triumphantly alleged against him. I believe that Laurentius was himself deceived by one of his mistaken, though conscientious friends, and that he then unintentionally deceived the king. This hypothesis vindicates the character of the archbishop, who is not accused in any other instance, of similar attempts to influence the people around him. It reconciles all the circumstances of Beda's narrative with probability. It preserves every fact. It destroys at once both fraud, miracle, and fable; and it is most surprising that this obvious solution of all the difficulties of the story has not, so far as I know, occurred to any of the historiographers. Neither have I any doubt that the various miracles which were supposed by the holy, pious, but often weak men, whom Mr. Churton desires throughout his book to eulogize; and who have been too often condemned as mere forgers of miracles, and, therefore, intentional impostors; might, in many instances, be as easily explained to have been mistakes, exaggerations, or natural phenomena, misunderstood by their piety and ignorance.

But the question may be asked, what relation does Foxe give of the reasons for the continuing of Laurentius in England? I answer, that he treats the subject of these reputed miracles more philosophically than any of his contemporaries; and in a spirit worthy of a subsequent age. He seems desirous to believe all he can of such narratives. He very briefly mentions Laurentius, and entirely omits the tale of his flagellation by St. Peter; but he speaks in general terms of the miracles of Augustine and his followers, as worthy of credit,[1] and that through them, Ethelbert "heard them more gladly," till, "by their wholesome exhortations, and example of a godly life, he was by them converted and baptized." He confines his account of Laurentius to the fact of his having been the bearer of the despatch of Austin to Gregory, to inform him of their success in England, and to request answers to the ten notable queries.[2] He warns his readers to distinguish between miracles recorded in Scripture, and those of mere tradition; belief in the latter being optional, while the former demand credence as resulting from the agency of God.

The miraculous conversion of king Edwin, being wrought, he says, by that peculiar deliverance from trouble and affliction which human discernment could neither expect nor explain, and which human means of themselves could not accomplish, may be ascribed to divine power, and, though not scriptural, is not unworthy of credit.[3]

Cuthlake confining the devil in a boiling pot—Brithwald, after being dead for a long time, coming to life again, and telling of the wonders he had seen in other regions—St. Egwine's liberation from iron fetters by means of a fish—and others of the same class, he pronounces to be monkish phantasies.[4]

(1) See Mr. Chas. Butler, Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 26.
(2) Acts and Monuments, vol. i. edit. 1684, pp. 128, 129, 132, 187.
(3) Idem, p. 134. (4) P. 139. Id.

The well-known test by which the service-book of Gregory became universally substituted for the more popular one of Ambrose, he classes with such "tales as the idol Bel eating all the meat that was set before him all the night."[1]

The miracles of St. Swithin, which are read in the church of Winchester, "them I leave," he says, "to be read with the Iliads of Homer, or Tales of Robin Hood."[2]

But in no one instance can be found in his pages any subject deformed or garbled to suit his own sentiments. Whatever he has thought worthy of narration is faithfully reported, according to the duty of an historian; and in all these instances John Foxe will be found to be a guide to the history of the early church in England, as worthy of credit in his facts, though not as elegant in his language, as the critic who informs us that the credit which has been given to the martyrologist, must be regarded as a misfortune, for his style is that of a "coarse satire."

One additional remark only shall be made upon Mr. Churton's introduction. There is a certain period between the prevalence of unscriptural Christianity in England, and the Reformation, which we are accustomed to call "the dark ages." The labours of John Foxe, who relates the mingled errors which were invented, and the cruelties which enforced them, justify most fully the appellation. Mr. Churton, following the example of Mr. Maitland, whom he eulogizes for the sentiment, remarks that "these ages have been called dark, chiefly because the moderns have chosen to remain in the dark about them."[3] This is not so. These ages were justly called dark, not because of our prejudices, but because the mass of the people were kept in ignorance, by an unchristian christian priesthood. All that the learned writer to whom Mr. Churton refers has said respecting the arts, and ecclesiastical architecture, of the dark ages may be true. But the period was justly called dark, because, when the starving children of the church of Christ demanded the bread of life from those of the apostolical succession who boasted to be their spiritual fathers, they were presented with the carved stone of the magnificent cathedral. If the priesthood had given the bread of life when they gave the stone of the visible church, they would have united the hearts of the children to the fathers, and the hearts of the fathers to the children; and God in his providence might not have smitten the catholic church with the curse of our existing dissensions.

(1) Acts and Monuments, vol. i. edit. 1684, p. 145. (2) P. 153.
(3) Cave (Historia Literaria) was not ignorant of the centuries of which he wrote, yet he calls one sæculum obscurum.

II.—THE REV. J. ENDELL TYLER, B.D.

Rector of St. Giles in the Fields.

THE next living assailant of the labours of Foxe, who deserves notice for his station in society, character, and influence, is Mr. Tyler, of whom nothing can be said, that is true, which will not seem to be eulogistical. The work in which Mr. Tyler has mentioned his various objections to certain portions of the Acts and Monuments, is entitled, "Henry of Monmouth, or Memoirs of the Life and Character of Henry the Fifth." The object of this book is to clear the character of his hero from the charges both of folly in his youth, and of a persecuting spirit in his maturer age; and to represent Henry the Fifth as one of the most amiable, magnanimous, and illustrious monarchs of England. He has not failed in this object. He has un-Shakspeared the youth of Henry, and honoured his maturer age; but he has rendered a greater service to the world than by thus proving that our estimate of historical characters, must be suspiciously drawn from our best dramatist and poet. He has most certainly demonstrated to the legislature and to the people of England the truth of that appalling fact, which is affirmed by every page, of the crimes and follies of the past; that every kingly virtue is neutralized, and every effort to promote the political happiness, or greatness of a realm is ruined and destroyed, when the civil power permits the ecclesiastical power of a kingdom to punish opinions not causing immorality, as a crime against the civil laws of the country. Henry is proved to have been a mild, religious, devout king; anxious to please God, and to do good to man. Very beautifully is the contest within his own mind delineated, between the natural humanity, which revolted from the sight of an inoffensive and harmless tailor burning in a tub, because he could not believe in transubstantiation; and the imbibed conventional impression forced upon his mind by the ecclesiastics of his day, that his bounden duty to God, and to the church, required him to leave the supposed heretic to his fate. Let not the most tolerant and amiable of the devout and religious persons who belong to our various communions, imagine that they, in an age when the civil power enforced an external conformity with the church, would have been exempted from the common error of persecution. I have known many deeply religious, pious, gentle persons, both of the papal and presbyterian churches, both of the high church and low church in the episcopal protestancy of our own communion, who, with many misgivings, and tears, and regrets; but with no less certainty and decision, would inflict pain on the body of one Christian, to save the soul of another. One word of Him who spake not as man spoke, describes the whole matter—He that killeth you, will not kill you from caprice, cruelty, or wickedness, but from piety and devotion, because he thinketh that he doeth God service. Every sect and party among Christians may be thankful to God, that the civil power controls the eccle-

siastical power, by refusing to identify any longer the canon law of Rome with the municipal laws of their respective countries; and the crime of the church of Rome is, not that it did once persecute, but that it refuses, in its claims to freedom from error, to infallibility and unchangeableness, to rescind one atom of the canons or articles of Lateran and Trent; which still imply the propriety of corporal severity, to restrain dissent from its faith; and which consequently compel our protestant jealousy to be proportionate to its increase of power. Many useful remarks are made by Mr. Tyler on this point. He justly observes, that the history of the reign of Henry[1] proves to us that all the united efforts of the clergy and laity were required to induce Henry to put the existing laws in force, against those who were bold enough to dissent from the Romish faith. So far from his "having watched the Lollards as his greatest enemies," so far from "having listened to every calumny which the zeal and hatred of the hierarchy could invent or propagate, against the unfortunate followers of Wickliff," (the conduct and disposition ascribed to him by Milner,) "we have sufficient proof of the dissatisfaction of the church with him in this respect; and their repeated attempts to excite him to more vigorous measures, against the rising and spreading sect." This is well and truly said; and ample justice is done to the memory of Henry. Mr. Tyler, however, has not rendered sufficient justice to the causes which had compelled his father to be the first sovereign who committed to the flames an heretic, whom the prince of Wales endeavoured in vain to save. An opportunity was afforded to Mr. Tyler to compensate in some measure for the omission by all our preceding historians, of a more perfect account of that great ecclesiastic, who exalted the power of the church of Rome in England, to its greatest height. Few biographies would be more interesting than that of archbishop Arundel. Created a bishop at the age of twenty-two years by the pope, in opposition to the laws of England, and against the wishes of an illustrious but aged and dying king,[2] he became for a period of sixty-two years the most influential ecclesiastical ruler in England. The church ruled the state. The pope ruled the church. The bishops were the servants and slaves of the foreigner. The decretal and canon law, the attempt to impose a part of which in a former age had elicited from the barons of England the celebrated declaration, that the laws of England should not be changed, became, under the influence of Arundel upon Henry the Fourth, so identified with the statute-law of England; that the fearful law was passed, which made heresy the greatest crime, to be punished with the most terrible death. Arundel succeeded, where Becket failed. We may with some difficulty now recover the proofs of the intrigues which rejected Richard the Second from the throne, to place there his subtle opponent, the duke of Lancaster. He had no doubt offended his subjects deeply, and deserved their severe censure, and restraint upon his power. The archbishop, too, had much personal cause of complaint; for, like Becket

(1) Vol. ii. p. 8. (2) Edward the Third. See art. Arundel, Biog. Britt., and note B.

and Anselm, his predecessors, he had been banished from the kingdom. But the chief crimes of Richard, in the opinion of the influential ecclesiastics of his age, would have been, the non-persecution of the Wycliffites; and the letter of Richard to the Pope, in which the king reproves the pontiff, and affirms the right of secular princes to control the ambition of the ecclesiastical power. The secret conferences between Arundel, when he was in exile on the continent, with his fellow exile, the duke of Lancaster, are not recorded; and we cannot therefore prove the possible or probable contract, which was then made, that if the power of the church was granted to the duke, to give him the crown of England; he in return for the favour, should grant to the church, that disgraceful law, which was passed in the very commencement of his reign; when his usurpation was successful, and the duke of Lancaster, principally by the means of the archbishop of Canterbury, became Henry the Fourth. Richard with all his follies retained possession of his throne, till this letter completed the previous but useless efforts of his government to resist the papal power. He was deposed in the following year. Can there be any doubt that if he had adopted a different course in ecclesiastical matters—if he had consented to the plans of Arundel to suppress the more spiritual efforts of his subjects, to retain the free use of the Scriptures[1]—if he could have passed the law for burning heretics, instead of tolerating them, that Richard would have retained the crown by the aid of the church; and the civil wars of York and Lancaster would never have afflicted the nation.

This dark, darkest page of our history, when the law for burning heretics was first enacted, has not been sufficiently considered. Arundel, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Richard, when he was archbishop of York and lord high chancellor of England, made his solemn protestation in the open parliament, that he would not consent to any law, which restrained in England the authority of the pope. Arundel was the archbishop who placed several of the churches of London under an interdict, because their bells were not rung in honour of the archbishop as he rode on horseback through London. He affirms in his interdictal decree, that this ought to have been done in token of special reverence to himself. Arundel was the archbishop who forbade the Bible to be read, while the decretals of Rome were neither to be questioned nor doubted. He commanded images and the cross to be adored, while the books of Wycliff were forbidden; not merely because they contained some propositions which the protestant of the church of England will condemn as severely as the members of the church of Rome would condemn them; but because they contained truths, for which the very bishops and archbishops of the church, in the century which followed, submitted to the law, which Arundel, their predecessor, induced the king to enact. We may thank God for his mercy that such days appear to have gone by for ever; though there are many who would

(1) But see on this subject Collier, and the note in the Biog. Brit.

still restore the spiritual authority of Rome, the source of all these political evils. We may thank God, too, that he has so ordered the course of the world by his providence, that all the doctrines of Wycliffe at this time did not obtain the ascendancy,[1] but that the contest between good and evil was to proceed, till the martyrs who died for the truth of the Gospel, and not for the usurpations of the pope, had sealed the truth with their blood: and till the Reformation could be established by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities; and not by the violence of a turbulent and maddened populace. Such topics as these were brought before Mr. Tyler, and they would have been worthy of his consideration. They would have enabled him still more graphically to have painted the character of his hero; and they would probably have induced him to mention with dispraise rather than with eulogy, one part of the conduct even of Henry of Monmouth. Mr. Tyler, when speaking of the devotional character and piety of Henry, observes,[2] that "though he delighted to hear Heaven's message of reconciliation faithfully expounded and enforced home; yet his soul took chief delight in communing with God, by acts of confession, and prayer, and praise; and though he spared no pains, even during his career of war and victory, in providing himself with the assistance of those teachers who had the reputation of preaching the gospel most sincerely and efficiently; yet his was not the religion which would substitute in the scale of christian duties punctuality of attendance or frequent preaching, for the higher and nobler exercises of devotion." This is a strange paragraph. It would lead us to imply, that because the command to preach the gospel has been by some so exclusively considered the only means of grace, that the other commanded means of grace have been comparatively undervalued; and that because preaching has been perverted to the encouragement, among the puritans, of sedition and folly; that our preferable service to God is to regard prayer and praise more highly, than the sermons of the preacher. The sentiment is unworthy of the historiographer of Henry of Monmouth. God has directed his church to preach his gospel, as well as to offer him prayer and praise, and to administer the sacraments. All his commands are to be obeyed, and one means of grace is not to be exalted above the others, either by the puritanical, who depend too much upon the preaching; or by the papistical, who depend too much upon their ritual, and the sacraments. "There is no intimation," says Mr. Tyler, "intended in these pages, that Henry's eyes were open to the doctrinal errors of the church of Rome." We may therefore conclude that none of his favourite preachers were taken from that class who were beginning to oppose those errors. No follower of Wycliffe, no chaplain of the court of the good Queen Anne, whom Arundel himself had praised as a student of Scripture, was permitted to preach before the king. He confessed, he prayed, he praised; but his knowledge remained the same. He was left, therefore, to believe

(1) See a beautiful passage on this point in Le Bas's Wycliffe. (2) Vol. ii. p. 38.

in his ignorance. His devotion was accepted, we must believe, by the Almighty; but by not increasing his knowledge, he was prevented from seeing the more glorious brightness, of the whole truth of Christianity. He was raised up to be the reformer of the church, by his influence, devotion, and integrity. His ignorance prevented him from accomplishing his high destiny. He died young, and he left the civil war to his posterity, beneath which the common people of England were protected from the ecclesiastical tyranny which would have destroyed the seeds of the reformation. The very storm was their shelter,[1] till the mass of the people was leavened, and the time came for a better reformation than either Richard or his deposer could have established. To use the beautiful language of Mr. Tyler in another part of his work,[2] it pleased the Almighty, in his inscrutable wisdom, to bring about the reformation of the church in his own way, by his own means, and at his own appointed time. We recognise his hand in the blessing which we have inherited, and are thankful.

We shall now consider Mr. Tyler's objections to the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe.

1. In the account of the martyrdom of Badby, related by Foxe, and quoted favourably by Mr. Tyler to prove that Henry was no persecutor, *Foxe affirms that Badby's examination began on Sunday, the 1st of March: whereas the 1st of March was on Saturday.*[3]

I quote this trivial objection on the part of Mr. Tyler, because we may regard it as a proof of the extreme care, which has been taken to discover any faults which may have been committed by the martyrologist, in the course of his narrative, of the transactions, to which Mr. Tyler's book refers.

The answer is given by Mr. Tyler himself. "Foxe derived his information chiefly from the Latin record (v. Wilkins's Concilia) preserved in Lambeth. We there find that the date is Die Sabbati."

The expression is undoubtedly a barbarism, for Saturday: and the mistake is indefensible. I can only account for it by supposing that the person upon whom Foxe may have depended for that portion of his narrative which is taken from the archbishop's register, translated it Sunday instead of Saturday, because he supposed that as the English, or Hebrew word, Sabbath, was generally used to describe the Lord's day, or Sunday; and not the seventh day, or Saturday—therefore the Latin term, the day of the Sabbath, or Dies Sabbati, referred also to the day of the christian rest. It was impossible that Foxe could be ignorant that Dies Saturni was the right term for Saturday, and Dies Dominica, or Dies Solis, for Sunday; or, that Dies Sabbati was used also to describe the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday. He probably depended on another. The mistake, however, from whatever source it originated, is indefensible.

(1) These are the words of Fuller.
(2) P. 69, vol. ii.
(3) Henry of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 343.

2. The second objection of Mr. Tyler is, that *Foxe is not warranted*, by his probable authority—the chronicler of London—*in saying that Henry added threatenings at the martyrdom of Badby the tailor*, to induce the poor artisan to accept his offer of pardon, and to save his life.[1]

The martyrdom of this unfortunate mechanic, presents to us a singular picture of the kindness, gentleness, and reluctance, both of the ecclesiastics, the people, and the prince, to punish heresy with fire, as the canon and statute law now, for the first time, demanded. Nothing but their conviction that it was their bounden duty to God, and to the gospel, so to prove their love to religion, could have induced them thus to persecute. This martyrdom, as much as any of the sad scenes which then disgraced our established Christianity, demonstrates the often repeated truth, that the danger of persecution arises from the pious and virtuous, as well as from the interested and ambitious. John Badby was found guilty, says the sentence,[2] of teaching, and boldly affirming, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ; after the sacramental words are uttered. This was declared to be heresy—this was the crime. No treason was alleged, no immorality, no fault of any other kind. A poor humble mechanic was accused of believing that the priest "could not make the body of Christ; and he required to see the manifest body of Christ before he could believe this; and that Christ had not his own body in his hand to be distributed to his disciples at the last supper; and he spake, too, other things, horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the catholic faith." This was the offence. The loathsome laws of the hour required that it be punished with burning. The bishops who sentenced him endeavoured often and kindly to persuade him to recant. The archbishop, Arundel, assured the poor man, that he would "gage his soul for him at the judgment-day, if he would change;" and he subsequently implored him to reconsider the question. All, as might have been expected, was in vain. Sentence was pronounced by the ecclesiastical power. He was delivered over to the secular authority, with the usual, infamous, and most hypocritical petition that he be not injured, nor put to death for the offence. He is brought to Smithfield, to be placed in a tub bound to a stake, with the dry wood for the fire heaped around him. Before the flame was applied, Henry of Monmouth, with his attendant nobility, entreated him, as the good Samaritan, in the words of Foxe, to change his decision. He added thereto, says the martyrologist, "*threatenings, the which might have daunted any man.*" This is the sentence to which Mr. Tyler objects as unauthorized. The answer is—first, that the very words of Walsingham, (Gratiam nullam consecuturum,) the bigoted enemy of all the Wycliffites, confirm the truth of Foxe's narrative; and,

(1) Vol. ii. p. 346.
(2) Sentence of the Bishop of Worcester, ap. Foxe, vol. i. p. 594, ed. 1684. vol. iii. p. 236, ed. 1840.

secondly, that there is an internal evidence in the narrative, of the great probability, that the humane prince, observing by the man's countenance that his expostulations of entreaty were useless, proceeded in pure compassion towards the humble victim, to the expostulations of threatening; shewing him the danger to his soul, as well as the terrible suffering which was about to ensue to his body. I deem the threatenings at such a moment, if they followed the supplications of a prince, to a poor tailor about to be burned for an opinion, or for a truth; to have been a proof, that Henry of Monmouth was all that Mr. Tyler has related of him. The threatenings, however, as well as the entreaties of the prince were useless. Courtenay, the chancellor of Oxford, preached a sermon to the tailor, after royalty had made its vain effort. The prior of St. Bartholomew, with twelve of his retinue, brought forth the consecrated wafer, and solemnly placing it before the bound confessor, made a last appeal to him in the name of their holy religion. He demanded of him, what he still believed respecting the sacrament of the altar. The firm, yet trembling sufferer replied, that the wafer was hallowed bread, and not God's body. The fire was lighted. When the flames kindled upon him, he cried out for mercy. The prince commanded the fire to be extinguished, and again entreated him to forsake his heresy, and to embrace the belief of the church. He added another motive. "Change your opinion," he said, "save your body from this fire, and you shall receive a daily provision from the king's treasury for your life."[1] The cessation of the fire, which had begun to torment Badby, the consternation, and the unavoidable pain he must have suffered, may have appeared to occasion hesitation, as the kind-hearted prince was speaking. But praise was ordained out of the mouth of the spiritual babes and sucklings, whom the whole power of this world was thus visibly assailing; and the half-roasted tailor shamed by his constancy the timid and the wavering, who yielded to less temptation. He again refused to recant; and the prince commanded the pipe or tun to be replaced, and the fire to be again kindled. Whether he continued in Smithfield till the tailor was reduced to ashes, or whether he retired from the execrable spectacle, is uncertain; but the martyr was left to his fate, after Henry had declared that no grace, nor favour, could be further shewn to him. Oh! why will Rome persevere to insist on the reception of the same doctrine of transubstantiation, of the presence of the blood and bones of Christ; and to enforce it, in its still unchanged, though obsolete canons, by the same sanctions as we read of in these warning and fearful martyrdoms? The church and the state of England are both willing to rescind all laws which experience may prove to be unworthy of the approbation of the people, and opposed to the public good. Is Rome more, or less wise than England? Is Rome the only church or state in the world that has never imbibed a

(1) "Promittens nunc etiam victurum se et consecuturum veniam, ac singulis diebus vitæ suæ, de fisco regio tres denarios oblationem," &c. &c. Thom. Walsingham, Hist. Ang. p. 379. ed. Francofurti, 1603, folio.

doctrine that may require reconsideration or change? The assumption must—must be resigned.

3. The third charge of Mr. Tyler against Foxe is, that "while he certainly follows the original statement in archbishop Arundel's register, in the case of lord Cobham, much more faithfully than others, yet he *gives an unfavourable and unfair turn to the whole proceedings by one or two strokes of his pencil.*"[1]

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Tyler should have so limited his reading on the subject to which he has devoted so many chapters, that he compels us to believe he is utterly ignorant of the fact, that the charge which he has alleged against Foxe, ought to have been attributed to the authority from whom Foxe has derived his whole account of lord Cobham, and of the conduct of Henry of Monmouth to that illustrious and holy nobleman. Mr. Tyler ought to have read the book from which Foxe borrowed: the "Brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastel, the Lord Cobham, collected together by John Bale," afterwards bishop of Ossory, was published, in black letter, in the year 1544, ten years before Foxe published the first edition of his work in Latin, at Basil. A new edition of Bale's book was published in 1729; another impression is printed in the first volume of the Harleian Miscellany; another in the first volume of Hargrave's State Trials.[2] If Mr. Tyler had compared either the original edition of this work, or that in the Harleian Miscellany,[3] he would have discovered that Foxe has principally differed from his original in omitting the more severe and unrefined expressions, which Bale has used concerning the Romish priesthood: as well as much of the more graphic parts of the narrative of the execution of lord Cobham. Bale, indeed, was called the foul-mouthed; and Foxe may therefore have been ashamed of his authority, as he has not mentioned him. He has omitted, for instance, such expressions as "subtle sorcerers," "fat bulls of Basan," and worse epithets. He has omitted also the mournful and degrading picture drawn by Bale of the manner in which the priests at the execution of lord Cobham, while the tortured victim was suspended in chains, roasting slowly to death, "blasphemed and cursed around him; and required the people not to pray for him, but to judge him damned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their pope."[4] Foxe omitted these sorrowful descriptions; for he never designed to exaggerate the painful details which he only committed to the press, in severe truth, as a warning to protestants, rather than as a reproach to the papists. "May God in his mercy," he exclaims,[5] "keep the sword out of the papists' hands;" and if he could aid the people in preventing this calamity, he was contented. All this Mr. Tyler ought to have known

(1) Vol. ii. p. 358.
(2) See Watt's Bibliotheca, art. Bale.—Hargrave: London edit. folio, 1776. Harleian Miscellany, 8vo. edit. pp. 245—286.
(3) The edition in Hargrave's State Trials is more mutilated, though more of the old spelling is preserved even there than in the account by Foxe.
(4) Bale's Cobham; ap. Harl. Misc. vol. i. p. 281.
(5) Defence of Lord Cobham, in his reply to Harpsfield.

before he ventured to have censured the language of Foxe, or to have represented the martyrologist as unworthy of the approbation of his countrymen for his language respecting the character and conduct of Mr. Tyler's favourite, Henry of Monmouth.

But it will be justly said, that, if Foxe has adopted from Bale any mistakes or misapprehensions, he is as much responsible for them all, as the authority from whom he has borrowed. If this is the case, it might be said, who then can presume to write history? I will not, however, demur to this opinion. If Foxe has written any statements which will not bear investigation, let him be censured. We seek for truth only.

The proof, then, that Foxe gives an unfair turn to the proceedings of Henry the Fifth to lord Cobham, is found by Mr. Tyler in this sentence. "The king," says Foxe, "*gently* (the word is printed by Mr. Tyler in italics) heard those bloodthirsty prelates, and *far otherwise than became his princely dignity*," etc. etc.

If Mr. Tyler had read the account in Bale, he would not only have found that the words are those used by the bishop of Ossory, but that he has appended a note in the margin, contrary to his usual custom, explanatory of his reason for using the expression. It is this:— "Because he should not have stooped so low as to yield to the arbitrary proceedings of the prelates, but, by his supreme power, secured his good servant from their tyrannical usurpations." This note was written two years before the death of Henry the Eighth, who, though he was not a protestant, in the sense of rejecting the doctrinal errors of the church of Rome, had proved his resolution to resist both its ecclesiastical and political supremacy, and to overthrow the arbitrary usurpation of the crosier over the crown. Foxe omitted the note, and retained the words of the text only. He wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, when the policy on which Henry the Eighth acted in removing the authority of the see of Rome, and of the temporal power of the bishops, was more universally approved; and the explanatory note would not be deemed so necessary. Mr. Tyler bears witness to Foxe's fidelity in following, with impartiality, the original statements in Arundel's registers;[1] and Foxe, though he has copied from Bale, declares, "that to stop the mouth of any adversary, he has taken the foundation of his story from the archives and registers of archbishop Arundel;"[2] that is, he had compared Bale with the registers, as Mr. Tyler has compared Foxe with the same, and found him faithful. But Foxe omitted the note because he may have imagined it was no longer necessary; and he may have believed that Henry need not have temporized with Arundel, but have acted as Henry VIII. or Elizabeth ventured to do. Henry the Fifth could not have treated the prelates of the church in the same manner in which the imperious Elizabeth treated them, when she compelled one to surrender his revenues, and

(1) Henry of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 358.
(2) Foxe, vol. i. p. 644, col. 1, edit. 1684; vol. iii. p. 342, ed. 1840.

threatened to unfrock another.[1] Perseverance in error had then produced disrespect for their order. Cruelty, continued cruelty, had ended in hatred and abhorrence. Their pretensions, however well-founded, to be the exclusive rulers of the church of Christ, as the apostolical succession from its first teachers, were derided, because of the union of cruelty and error which had dishonoured them; and John Foxe imagined, perhaps, that Henry might have opposed the power of Arundel as successfully as Elizabeth might have resisted Parker or Whitgift. This may have been the cause of his continuing the expression of which Mr. Tyler complains. Henry would have lost his throne if he had dared to have opposed, at that time, the authority of the church; which, inflicting rather than suffering persecution, accounted its disgrace to be its strength. The crimes of the episcopal fathers in the days of Henry the Fifth were punished upon their successors in the days of Elizabeth and Charles; and the experience of many centuries was necessary to give *this lesson to the episcopal churches* of the catholic church of Christ—that *their strength consists, not in their authority alone, but in the mode in which it is exercised; not in their apostolical succession alone, but in the wise discipline it enforces, and in the truths it teaches.* In this consists the strength of the Anglican church; that though it is not perfect, a wise man who believes in revelation, and desires a blessed immortality, may conscientiously submit to its authority, and value its apostolical succession for the truth's sake alone; and if a Christian may conscientiously join his national church, he is then bound, on account of its well-ordered authority and succession, for Christ's sake and for his soul's sake, never to forsake its communion.

4. "*It is painful to read the marginal notes of Foxe*, to the trial of lord Cobham, such as these:—'Lord Cobham would not obey the beast.' 'Caiaphas sitteth in consistory.' 'The wolf was hungry; he must needs be fed with blood.' 'Bloody murderers;' with others, still more ungentle."[2]

Such is Mr. Tyler's fourth objection to Foxe. I agree with Mr. Tyler in wishing that these marginal expressions had been omitted. Yet we must not only, with Mr. Tyler, "make allowance for the times," but remember that, the sight as well as the endurance of oppression maketh a wise man mad. The peculiarity of the conduct of the church of Rome is in this respect remarkable; that no exaggerated statements—no poetical flights—no romantic colourings are ever necessary to excite in the mind of the reader of these narratives the deepest emotions of contempt, or hatred, for the judges; or of deep compassion for the victim. The world is only benefited by the fair and impartial relation of the facts of the past. The fidelity of Foxe remains unimpeached. It is acknowledged that he derived his information from authentic sources, and that he has written faithfully the facts, which are there developed. This is

(1) See the account of this expression to Heton, the successor of bishop Coxe in the see of Ely.
(2) Vol. ii. p. 369.

all I desire. His work may be considered as the demonstration of the mournful consequences to people, and governments, of permitting one false principle only to be a maxim of law, to states and churches—that evil may be inflicted on the body for the good of the soul, when no immorality is committed, and no injury rendered to society. The value of his work consists in his proofs of the lamentable results of this evil maxim: and that value can only be destroyed, by proving him to be an incredible witness, as the narrator of wilful falsehoods. The marginal expressions of his sorrow, indignation, contempt, or any other emotion, if his facts are unimpeached, are of little moment. We must, however, remember that Arundel, of whom Foxe speaks, was the first archbishop of Canterbury who commenced that system of cruelty, to which Foxe himself had nearly fallen a victim. Mr. Tyler eulogizes Foxe above Milner, Sharon Turner, and other historians;[1] and with such testimony to his veracity, and fidelity, the most fastidious of his readers may be contented.

5. The fifth objection is—

Foxe affirms that Arundel swore the witnesses against lord Cobham on the mass-book: whereas Arundel swore them on the evangelists.[2]

Mr. Tyler ought again, I say, to have known, that these are not the words of Foxe, but of John Bale; from whose careful narrative, they are borrowed by the martyrologist. The probability is, that as a large number (their names are enumerated by Bale), were sworn, both the mass-book and the evangelists were used. They were all sworn, apparently, at the same time. The error could not have been wilful either on the part of Foxe, or of Bale; for both, when giving the account of the oath, said to have been taken by lord Cobham, in the abjuration forged in his name by the bishops, and circulated by them among the people, affirm that the oath concluded with the usual words: So help me God, and these holy evangelists.[3]

6. The next objection appears, at first sight, to be more formidable. It is thus expressed:

It is impossible not to observe upon *the great inaccuracy of Foxe's translation* of the archbishop's words, for he professes it to be a translation; and the unfair turn and tone given to his sentiments, together with the unjustifiable addition which he has made to his definitive sentence.[4]

Then follows, as we should suppose, the fairest mode of proving this alleged delinquency—the placing Foxe's translation with his own in two parallel columns—with the concluding remark, that "to do him (lord Cobham) unto death" may be the horrible implication; but it is not, as Foxe unwarrantably represents it to be, part of the sentence.

(1) Vol. ii. p. 368. (2) Henry of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 369.
(3) Compare in Foxe, edit. 1684, vol. i. col. 1, and page 639, col. 1. The words are—"Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta evangelia."
(4) Vol. ii. pp. 370, 371.

The parallel translations are—

Foxe's Translation.

"We sententially and definitely by this present writing judge, declare, and condemn him for a most detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church: again committing him here from henceforth to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to *do him thereupon to* DEATH."

Mr. Tyler's Translation.

"Him, convicted of and upon such a detestable offence, and unwilling to return penitently to the unity of the church, we sententially and definitively have judged, declared, and condemned for a heretic, and to be in error in those things which the holy church of Rome and the universal church teaches, hath determined, and preacheth, and especially in the articles above written; leaving the same as a heretic henceforth to the secular power."

The original is not quoted by Mr. Tyler. This is to be regretted. Neither is it quoted by Foxe, or Bale. It is, however, to be found in the records at Lambeth, and in Rymer's Fœdera;[1] from whence it is extracted by Hargrave, and appended to the trial of lord Cobham.[2] The passage in question is this:

"Præfatum Dominum, &c. &c. hujusmodi detestabili reatu convictum, et ad ecclesiæ unitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum, ac in his quæ tenet, docet, determinavit, et prædicat sacrosancta Romana et universalis ecclesia, et præsertim in articulis suprascriptis, errantem judicavimus, declaravimus, et condemnavimus sententialiter, diffinitive in his scriptis, relinquentes eundem exnunc, tanquam hæreticum, judicio seculari."

We may observe on these two translations, that Mr. Tyler's is by far the most elegant and scholarlike; but that the rendering of the words by Bale and, after him, by Foxe, is not unfaithful, nor partial, nor designed to misrepresent the facts of the narrative. With respect to the expression which Mr. Tyler so severely condemns, I affirm that Bale and Foxe have correctly translated the words, condemnavimus—judicio seculari. The phrase, to do him ther-upon (as Bale expresses it) to death, is the precise meaning of the condemnation of a heretic to the secular power. It was the form and mode in which sentence of death was pronounced. The ecclesiastical judges used no other phrase. It is derived from the canon law under which they acted. It was not an implication, but a judgment. The smoothness, or courtesy, or affectation of gentleness and mercy did not prevent the infliction of the terrific business, which resulted from the ecclesiastical decree.[3]

(1) Tom. ix. p. 61. (2) Vol. i. State Trials, ut supra.

(3) See the proofs of the identity of the ecclesiastical sentence upon heresy, with the punishment of death, to those who were given over to the secular arm, in the decretals, and canon law generally. See especially Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. cap. 9; also Boehmer's Canon Law, vol. ii. pp. 745—752.

May I observe here, that it is curious to read the manner in which the sentence of death is variously worded. In the Peloponnesian war the prisoners who were murdered, were said to be made quiet. The Athenians always used paraphrastic terms for death. The Romans considered the word death to be of ill omen, and carefully avoided its use. The most singular instances of expressing an approaching execution are found perhaps in Shakspeare. They vary according to the character of the person who speaks; thus—

A magistrate, Angelo, says—

"See that Claudio
Be executed by nine to-morrow morning:
Bring him his confessor; let him be prepared,
For that's the utmost of his pilgrimage."

Measure for Measure, Act ii. Scene 1.

[A friend,

7. Mr. Tyler's seventh objection to Foxe is:—"Another instance occurs in *the translation of the passage in which the archbishop gives his reasons* for making this public and authoritative statement of the transaction.

FOXE.	ARUNDEL.
"That, *upon the fear of his declaration*, also the people may fall from *their evil* opinions conceived *now of late* by *seditious preachers.*"	"That the erroneous opinions of the people, who perhaps have conceived on this subject otherwise than the truth of the fact stands, may by this public declaration be reversed."

"The archbishop," Mr. Tyler observes, "declares his object to be the substitution of the true statement of the affair of lord Cobham's condemnation, in place of the false opinions which were abroad; not a word about 'fear,' or 'evil opinions from seditious preachers.'"[1]

Here, too, the translation is copied by Foxe from Bale; and the correctness of the rendering will be seen from the whole paragraph only. Its object is to intimidate the people from following the example of lord Cobham. Bale's translation is an abridgment or condensation of the paragraph; it is not a literal translation. I will submit the entire paragraph to the reader, and beg him to consider it. I think he will conclude that the erroneous opinions which the bishop desired the people to reverse, were the heresies which had been taught by the Wyckliffite preachers; and that as the public declaration of the bishops not only censured the heresies and opinions, but also condemned to death the heretic or opinionist who affirmed them; that the fear of capital punishment may have been intended to prevent the extension of such heresies; and that the erroneous opinions condemned, were not merely, as Mr. Tyler imagines, the mistake of the people concerning the true statement of lord Cobham's condemnation, but their erroneous opinions in embracing lord Cobham's doctrine. Arundel and his brethren hoped, by their severity, to terrify the people; and Bale and Foxe are right, therefore, in giving this version to the words of the archbishop.[2]

A friend, beautifully says to the condemned—

"By eight to-morrow
Thou must be made immortal."

Act iv. Scene 2.

An unrefined, and unlettered clown says—

"You must rise, and be hanged."

Act iv. Scene 3.

An affectionate sister says—

"Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
Intends you for a swift ambassador—
To-morrow you set on."

Act iii. Scene 1.

All the expressions vary, but the meaning in all is the same. How exquisite is the poetry, and painting of the human nature, by Shakspeare!

(1) Vol. ii. p. 37.

(2) The paragraph in the original is—"Et ut ista præmissa omnibus in Christo credentibus, innotescam, vestræ fraternitati committimus et commendamus, quatenus præfatum dominum Joannem Oldcastellum, sicut præmittitur, per nos fuisse et esse damnatum, hæreticum, schismaticum, et in articulis superscriptis errantem, omnesque alios et singulos qui eundem dominum Johannem de cætero, in sui favorem erroris, receptaverit vel receptaverint, defensaverit vel defensaverint; aut sibi auxilium, consilium, vel favorem in hac parte præbuerit vel præbuerint, tanquam receptores, fautores, et defensatores hæreticum, per dictam nostram sententiam diffinitivam, excommunicatos in ecclesia vestra, per vestras civitates et diœceses, per singulos subditos vestros et curatos earundem, in ecclesiis suis, cum

8. The eighth and last objection of Mr. Tyler to Foxe is, *that Foxe acquits lord Cobham of the charges of sedition and treason.*

I shall consider the fidelity and veracity of the martyrologist on this point, when I examine the allegations of Harpsfield with Foxe's replies. The principal question will be, whether the meeting of the followers of Wycliffe in St. Giles' fields, on the 10th of January, 1414, was an assembly for religious worship, an organized insurrection, a seditious but tumultuary gathering, or a collection of oppressed and maddened people, whose meeting partook of all these characteristics. On the unfavourable side are Harpsfield, Hume, Walsingham, and Tyler; on the other side are Bale, Foxe, Milner, and Le Bas. I think it will be made to appear that the assembly partook of the nature of a religious and discontented, but not warlike, meeting; and that there cannot be found the shadow of evidence to prove that lord Cobham was a traitor, in the sense of a conspirator against the life, person, crown, safety, or dignity of the king. Mr. Tyler's additional authorities, from the Pell Rolls, seem to me to prove nothing. I shall reserve the arguments till the time I have mentioned, and only now remind Mr. Tyler, in his own words,[1] that "the hierarchy set all engines in motion for the extirpation of Lollardism, as the principles of the rising sect were called. They felt that their dominion over the minds of men must cease as soon as the right of private judgment was generally acknowledged; and *they resolved, at whatever cost of charity and of blood, to maintain the hold over the consciences, the minds, and the property of their fellow-creatures, which the church had devoted so many years of steady, unwearied, undeviating policy, to secure.* The real question, the point on which every other question between the protestant communions and the church of Rome must depend, is this: '*Have individual Christians a right to test the doctrines of the church by the written word of God;* or must they receive with implicit credence whatever the church in communion with the see of Rome, the only authorized and infallible guardian and propagator of gospel truth, decrees and propounds?' All the other differences, however important in themselves, and practically essential, must follow the fate of this question. The Romanists are still aware of this, and are as much alive to it as ever were the uncompromising vindicators of the church in the days of Lollardism. They took their resolution, and it was this: 'Come what will come, this heresy must be put down; the very existence of the church is incompatible with this rivalry: either Lollardism must be extinguished, or it will shake the very foundations of Rome.' And having taken this resolution, they lost no favourable opportunity of carrying it into full effect."

Such is Mr. Tyler's eloquent description of the fierce determination of the bishops and clergy, contemporary with lord Cobham, to conquer

major in eisdem affuerit populi multitudo alta et 'intelligibili voce et in lingua materna, prout supra seriosius continetur in hoc processu, declarent, publicent et exponent—ut sic opiniones erroneæ populi, qui aliter concepit forte in hac materiâ quemadmodum se habet rei veritas, hac declaratione publicâ rescindantur."

(1) Vol. ii. p. 353.

the unconquerable spirit which, we may hope, will still resist the smiles, as it once resisted the frowns, of Rome. That church, indeed, has reason to tremble, when the love of truth is so powerful among the authors who thus speak of its pretensions to govern consciences and churches, by its authority alone, whatever be the doctrine it teaches, or the discipline it enforces; that they refuse to canonize the best, and greatest, and holiest of their own adherents. Lord Cobham was at once an eminent warrior, an accomplished statesman, and a most pious and religious man. He has ever been regarded as one of the most illustrious ornaments of the Wycliffian reformation. Yet his actions are investigated, scrutinized, and criticized with the utmost severity by the writers who, like Mr. Tyler, so zealously seek for truth only, that while they condemn the errors of Rome, and the conduct of its partizans, they are willing, no less severely, to censure the actions of their own brethren, if they deem that censure to be deserved. Mr. Tyler considers Foxe to be wrong in his estimate of the character and actions of lord Cobham. He believes Cobham to have been probably guilty of sedition. I believe Foxe to have formed a just estimate; and that lord Cobham was not guilty. Whatever may have been the true state of the question, we both join in abhorring the conduct which both Foxe and Cobham opposed and condemned. We both desire to see the church of Rome so rescind its decrees, and so reconsider, and change its creeds and doctrines, that God may render it a blessing to the true catholic church; and that all christian people may once more hold communion with the reformed church of Rome, when its faith shall again be spoken of with admiration and affection, throughout the whole world. We will not submit to its supremacy. The Anglican church shall, by God's mercy, be free from the dominion of the papal church; but Mr. Tyler will join with me in addressing the members of the church of Rome, and saying, *Brethren, our heart's desire and prayer to God for Rome is, that it be changed, and be saved.*

III. PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.

The grandson of the author of the "Inquiry into the Evidence respecting Mary Queen of Scots," etc. etc.,—the son of lord Woodhouslee, the author of the "Essay on the Principles of Translation," etc. etc.,—and himself the author of the "History of Scotland,"—the possessor of the talents, and the imitator of the example of his ancestors, the plucker of the laurel of holiness from the brows of John Knox[1]—the illustrator of

(1) See the last volume, vi. p. 326, of Tytler's History of Scotland. I have spoken, in the Life of Foxe, with some eulogy of the Scottish reformer. I retract it all. The bishops of the church of England did not rebel, nor conspire, nor murder—they suffered, and died—and we have, hitherto, entered into their labours.

the history of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary,[1] is the next assailant of the authority of Foxe. Though Mr. Tytler mentions the martyrologist as an authority in one portion of his work, on the reigns of Edward and Mary,[2] and thus leads us to infer, as all do, who have occasion to quote him, that Foxe is a fair and impartial historian, he discovers two objections, which will, I think, be proved upon a closer inspection than Mr. Tytler has given to them, to be unfounded, and therefore untenable.

The first is, that "Foxe affirms, that a promise of pardon was made to the duke of Northumberland, if he would recant and hear mass, even if he did so after his head was on the block." The objection to this affirmation of Foxe is—that Mr. Tytler has no where found any good authority to support the assertion.[3]

The reply to this objection is, that Foxe, who was contemporary with the duke, gave to his readers the general news and report of the day. The only remaining evidence that this report, however improbable, was correct, is to be found in a manuscript letter[4] addressed to Foxe, informing him of the suspicion, but not of the promise. This evidence is defective: but it is amply sufficient to prove to us that the report was believed, both by Foxe, and by his contemporaries; and that it was not therefore an invention of his own.

The next objection is of more importance. "Foxe," says Mr. Tytler,[5] "has evidently been anxious to impress upon the minds of his readers, the conviction that Mary treated her sister, the princess Elizabeth, with much unnecessary harshness. The consequence of this has been, that every protestant historian, has believed, copied, and argued on the statement of Foxe, without examination (as being certainly true) from the days of Elizabeth, till those of her amiable female biographer; who, if she has erred, has done so in the best historical company." Mr. Tytler affirms that he has discovered evidence which totally dèmolishes the inflated narrative of Foxe. That evidence is a letter, a "simple unvarnished" letter from an honourable English nobleman, lord William Howard, discovered in the State Paper Office, and now for the first time printed, by Mr. Tytler. This objection is so specific, so fairly made, so clearly proposed, so independent of all partiality, or prejudice (so far as I am able to discover), that the fidelity and veracity of Foxe must be materially diminished, if a satisfactory reply cannot be made to the allegation.

I shall first submit the objection to the reader in Mr. Tytler's own words; and then add to it, the part of Foxe's narrative to which it refers. We will then consider the manner in which the new discovery is

(1) England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, with the contemporary History of Europe, illustrated in a series of Original Letters never before printed, with Historical Introductions and Biographical and Critical Notes. In two volumes. Bentley, 1839.
(2) Vol. ii. p. 71, account of the death of the duke of Somerset.
(3) Reigns of Edward, &c. vol. ii. p. 229 compared with p. 234.
(4) Harleian MSS. 417, art. 84. (5) Page 428.

to be reconciled with the long credited account: and thus vindicate, or give up as indefensible, the fidelity of the martyrologist.

"Here I must say a word," says Mr. Tytler, "on Foxe's celebrated narrative of Elizabeth's sufferings.

"Mary has been attacked with severity by most of the protestant historians for her conduct in imprisoning Elizabeth at the time of Wyatt's rebellion. Their opinion, as far as I can trace it, appears to be founded on a narrative in Foxe,[1] which has been copied by all succeeding writers from Strype to Mr. Turner; and on the letters of Noailles, the French ambassador. Where Foxe got the particulars of this story, he himself does not inform us; but it is highly coloured: some facts are stated in it which are completely disproved by the best evidence: and it is important to notice, that on these facts the charges of the undue severity and cruelty of Mary towards Elizabeth are mainly founded.

"He affirms, for example, that on the day after Wyatt's rising, (that is, the 26th of January, for he rose on the 25th,) Mary sent three of her Council, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to Ashridge, with a troop of horse, to bring the lady Elizabeth to court, '*quick or dead.*' These knights, he tells us, arrived there late at night, and insisted, at that unseasonable hour, on seeing the lady Elizabeth, who was then very ill in bed. Some delay having taken place, they refused to wait; burst rudely into her bed-chamber, informed her that she must away with them to court, and next morning, by ten of the clock, carried her off, amid the tears and remonstrances of her servants. Foxe's narrative is long and minute, but this is the sum of it; and were it true, no one would acquit Mary of cruelty. I proceed to show that, although copied by our best historians, it is completely erroneous.

"When Wyatt broke into open rebellion, and when it was found, as we have seen by the intercepted letters of Noailles, and by the confessions of some of the prisoners, that Elizabeth and Courtenay were the great cards to be played by the conspirators against Mary and the Spanish match; that the Queen was to be dethroned, Elizabeth crowned in her stead, and Courtenay to be married to her; that France and Scotland were involved in the plot, and meditated a simultaneous invasion—when all this came out, Mary, instead of instantly sending, as Foxe affirms, a body of horse to bring her sister to court, 'quick or dead,' acted with kindness and forbearance. She addressed a letter to her sister on the 26th of January, in which she alluded to the unnatural rebellion of Wyatt, to the *untrue* rumours that had been spread through the kingdom, to the insecurity in which Elizabeth must remain, if she continued at Ashridge; and she concluded by bidding her make her repair with all convenient speed to court, where she would be safe and heartily welcome.[2] Who, considering the circumstances in which she was then placed, can blame Mary for taking such a precaution? And what opinion are we to

(1) Foxe, vol. iii. p. 792, edit. 1684. Vol. viii. p. 606, new edit.
(2) Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part i. p. 127.

form of a writer so culpably careless as to omit all mention of this letter, and to substitute in its place an ideal commission given to three of the council to repair to Ashridge, and bring Elizabeth to court, alive or dead?" In a note there is added—"We have a still stronger proof of Foxe's carelessness in the fact, that he is not only contradicted by contemporary documents, but contradicted by himself; for I have since found, that the account given of the mission to Ashridge, in the body of his work, is entirely different from that of the narrative, printed as a kind of appendix to the third volume."

The text then proceeds: "To this letter of Mary, written on the 26th of January, Elizabeth returned a verbal answer. She was too ill, she said, to come at that time to court, but she would repair thither as soon as she could travel with safety; and she requested the queen's forbearance for a few days. Now it is worthy of notice, that although, as we have seen from the letters of the Spanish ambassador, every day was bringing some new presumption that Wyatt's rebellion had for its principal object to raise Elizabeth to the throne, Mary's forbearance, at this trying crisis, extended not only to a few days, but to more than two weeks.[1] She waited for her sister's coming from January 26th to February the 10th; and it was not till sir Thomas Wyatt himself directly accused Elizabeth and Courtenay of being accomplices in his conspiracy, and cognizant of the rebellion, that the queen, on the 10th of February, despatched lord William Howard, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to bring her sister to court. And how was it that she was sent for? Was it with the barbarous injunction, as Foxe has expressed it, to bring her thither 'quick or dead?' So far from it, that the queen ordered her own physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, to accompany these noblemen, that they might see whether she was in a fit state to be moved without danger, and sent her own litter for her to travel in."

"Foxe has given us no proofs upon which he founds his statement, and I have already shown it to be erroneous. I can support mine by the letter of the nobleman and knights who were sent by Mary. It is addressed from Ashridge to the queen, and fully explains the object of the mission, and the judicious, nay, I may say the tender, manner in which it was executed. It appears that this nobleman, with sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys, arrived at Ashridge on the 10th of February, and requested to see the lady Elizabeth; but so far from using haste, rudeness, or abruptness, previous to the interview, they sent the queen's physicians to see the sick princess, and, having ascertained from their report that she was able to travel without any danger to her person, they then delivered their message. (So at least I understand the letter.) Elizabeth declared her readiness to obey, but expressed her fears that her life would be in danger, if she ventured to travel in her present weak state. This was the natural apprehension of an invalid; but the opinions of the physicians, the advice of the privy-councillors,

(1) Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part i. pp. 127, 128.

and 'the persuasions of her own council and servants,' overcame her fears and reluctance, and she resolved to remove from Ashridge to the court. Neither was there any undue hurry. The councillors arrived on the 10th, they remained all the 11th at Ashridge, and on the 12th, Elizabeth set out, travelling by slow journeys in the queen's litter.

" But it is time to give this important letter.

" The Lord Admiral, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to the Queen.

" 11th Feb. 1553-4.

" In our humble wise. It may please your highness to be advertised, that yesterday, immediately upon our arrival at Ashridge, we required to have access unto my lady Elizabeth's grace; which obtained, we delivered unto her your highness' letter: and I, the lord admiral, declared the effect of your highness' pleasure, according to the *credence* given to us, being before advertised of her estate by your highness' physicians, by whom we did perceive the estate of her body to be such that, without danger of her person, we might well proceed to require her in your majesty's name (all excuses set apart) to repair to your highness with all convenient speed and diligence.

" Whereunto we found her grace very willing and conformable; save only that she much feared her weakness to be so great that she should not be able to travel and to endure the journey without peril of life, and therefore desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength; but in conclusion, upon the persuasion as well of us as of her own council and servants, whom, we assure your highness, we have found very ready and forward to the accomplishment of your highness' pleasure in this behalf, she is resolved to remove her hence to-morrow towards your highness, with such journeys, as, by a paper herein inclosed, your highness shall perceive; further declaring to your highness that her grace much desireth, if it might stand with your highness' pleasure, that she may have a lodging, at her coming to the court, somewhat further from the water than she had at her last being there; which your physicians, considering the state of her body, thinketh very meet, who have travailed very earnestly with her grace, both before our coming and after, in this matter.

" And after her first day's journey, one of us shall await upon your highness to declare more at large the whole estate of our proceedings here. And, even so, we shall most humbly beseech Christ long to preserve your highness in honour, health, and the contentation of your godly heart's desire.

" From Ashridge, the 11th of February, at four of the clock in the afternoon.

" Your highness' most humble and bounden servants and subjects,

" W. Howard. Edward Hastings.
T. Cornwaleys."

"ENCLOSURE.

"The Order of my Lady Elizabeth's Grace Voyage to the Court.

"Monday, imprimis, to Mr. Cooke's, vi. miles.
"Tuesday, item, to Mr. Pope's, viii. miles.
"Wednesday . to Mr. Stamford's, vii. miles.
"Thursday . . to Highgate, Mr. Cholmeley's house, vii. miles.
"Friday . . . . to Westminster, v. miles.

"Such is the account given of this celebrated mission to Ashridge, by lord William Howard, the principal nobleman to whom it was entrusted. It is a simple unvarnished letter from an honourable English nobleman, and, as far as I can judge, carries truth upon every word of it, and it totally demolishes the *inflated* narrative of Foxe."[1]

Mr. Tytler is eminent, learned, well known, and respected: and the writer who would oppose his statements must be prepared for the most severe censure, if he cannot fully substantiate the charge, when he declares that such an author is mistaken in the inferences he has deduced from his premises. I have therefore extracted his chief objection to Foxe at full length, that the reader may judge of the truth of my affirmation—that Mr. Tytler has utterly misunderstood the case—that the letter which he has been so fortunate to discover, and so impartial as to submit to the world, confirms, instead of opposes, the narrative of Foxe—that the truth of that narrative remains therefore unshaken: and that the only difference between Foxe, and Tytler, is to be found in the dates of the commission, given to the three noblemen, to bring Elizabeth to London from Ashridge; and, of the day in which the princess was removed. Foxe affirms that they were sent on the 26th of January. The letter discovered by Mr. Tytler proves that they were sent on the 10th of February, and that the princess was removed on the 12th, and not on the 11th. The other facts remain precisely the same. The only error in Foxe is that very error which the Quarterly Reviewer, who eulogizes Mr. Tytler, as possessing (and the Reviewer is right,) an hereditary claim to public favour, established and augmented by merits of his own,[2] attributes to Mr. Tytler, "a want of sufficient care in giving the dates to his facts."[3]

The real and only question is—"Whether Mary gave a commission to three noblemen to bring Elizabeth to London, after Wyatt's rebellion, *at all hazards*—and if she did so, whether this commission was issued, as Foxe relates, on the 26th of January—or, as the newly-discovered letter affirms, on the 10th of February. Foxe, Tytler, and the discovered letter all agree in the facts—that they were sent—that Elizabeth, though in bad health, was removed; and, though Mr. Tytler has not noticed the itinerary of her journey from Ashridge to London, yet Foxe

(1) Tytler's Edward, &c. &c. vol. ii. pp. 421—428.
(2) Quarterly Review, No. CXXXIV. for March, 1841, p. 344.
(3) Quarterly Review, ut supra, p. 305, Note in the margin.

agrees with the newly-found letter in the fact, that the party of the knights, the princess, and their retinue, in consequence of her bad health, were actually five days travelling thirty-five miles.

By collating the three various documents, the letter, Foxe, and Tytler's commentary upon the two, we shall obtain a clear narrative of the whole transaction; and the singular manner in which the account of Foxe, with the exception of the dates, is confirmed both by Mr. Tytler, and by the letter, will strengthen the general argument for his fidelity.

To do justice, however, to the martyrologist, we must not be contented with Mr. Tytler's summary of the account of Foxe, but permit him to relate the circumstances in his own words.[1] "Queen Mary, whether from that surmise (that is, the suspicion that Elizabeth was cognizant of Wyatt's plot), or from what other cause I know not, being offended with the said lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge: the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her, three of her councillors, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty; who, at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sore sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they willed one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her grace that there were certain come from the court, which had a message from the queen. Her grace, having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming: howbeit, being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten of the clock), she requested them, by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word again, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being aghast, went to show her grace their words; but they, hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber, unbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them, 'Is the haste such, that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?' They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case. 'And I,' quoth she, 'am not glad to see you here at this time of the night.' Whereunto they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, 'Certes, no creature more glad than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify.'

"'Indeed we see it true,' quoth they, 'that you do say, for which we are very sorry. Albeit, we let you understand, that our commission is such, and so straitneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead.' Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said,

(1) Vol. viii. p. 606, new edit. and vol. iii. p. 729, of the folio edit. 1684.

'that their commission was very sore; but yet, notwithstanding, she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait.' 'Yes, verily,' said they. Whereupon they, calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life or no. Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment, in their judgment, to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

"In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the next morning, at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers, declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered as appertained to their worships.

"On the next morrow, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swound three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what an heavy house there was to behold the unreverend and doleful dealing of these men, but especially the carnal fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

"Now to proceed in her journey from Ashridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redbourne, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Albans, to sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Mr. Dod's house at Myms, where also they remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

"From that place she was conveyed to the court,"[1] &c. &c.

From the three narratives, and other well-authenticated circumstances of the day, then, we may gather these facts.

On the 25th Wyatt was defeated. On the 26th Mary sent a letter to her sister, desiring her to come to the court. A verbal answer was returned: a circumstance, in those days of lofty courtesy and ceremony, which could only be explained by the most undoubted inability, from dangerous sickness, to send a letter. The queen would inquire of the messenger, who brought back the answer, the state of her sister's health. The reply appears to have satisfied her for the time; but a transaction was about to take place, which neither Tytler nor Foxe have noticed, and which was undoubtedly the secret cause of the severe measure of commanding the presence of Elizabeth, *at all hazards*, at the court. On the 12th of February lady Jane Grey was to be brought to the scaffold. The same party which made her queen, to secure the cause of the protestant reformation, would be probably anxious to obtain another royal chief; about whom they might rally. Elizabeth was that chief. There was danger of another insurrection, which could only, the queen

(1) Foxe, vol. viii. p. 606, and edit. 1684, vol. iii. p. 792.

might naturally suppose, be prevented by securing, *at all hazards*, the person of Elizabeth. Three knights are sent to Ashridge, with two of the queen's physicians, and two hundred and fifty men. The nature of their instructions is described by Foxe; and his account is proved to be entirely true, by the very letter, in the State Paper Office, lately discovered. "Their coming was unexpected," says Foxe; "and when they came, ascending up to her chamber, they willed one of her ladies to declare to her grace the queen's pleasure." What says the letter? "*Immediately* on our arrival, we requested to see the princess." "They insisted on seeing her," says Foxe. "We did see the princess," says the letter to the queen, "and delivered your grace's letter." Foxe relates a conversation between Elizabeth and the commissioners. There was no reason for repeating it in the letter. The result, however, is the same. "We must bring you quick or dead," Foxe declares to have been their language—the language, at the report of which Mr. Tytler expresses his virtuous indignation at the insult to queen Mary. "I, the lord admiral," says the letter, "declared the effect of your highness' pleasure, according to the *credence* given to us"—that is, according to our credentials, or, perhaps, according to our private instructions—"that we proceed to require her, in your majesty's name (*all excuses set apart*), to repair to the court." The princess obeyed. She set off at nine on the morning of the 12th; and after travelling, in consequence of her illness, thirty-five miles only in five days, she arrives at the court. Where is the discrepancy, excepting in the date of one day? How is the account of John Foxe falsified? How is it not rather confirmed by the document which Mr. Tytler has printed?

But Foxe omits all mention of the letter which Mary sent on the 26th. He had not heard of it, or he would have probably mentioned it.

But Foxe says that the commission was granted on the 26th of January. True: but in the preceding part of his work he says it was granted on the 11th of February. He ought here to have said the 10th of February, and that Elizabeth was removed on the 12th. In his dates he was wrong. Let him bear the blame. He has made the same error as that which the Quarterly Reviewer has imputed to his critic.

But the account of Foxe is inflated.—Is it false?

But the commission was ideal!!—Did the three counsellors with the two hundred and fifty men go then to Ashridge without a commission?

But the queen sent two physicians; and this proves her humanity—It proves rather her suspicion, that the sickness of her sister, of which she had heard by a verbal message only a fortnight before, was feigned; and she resolved, unless they found Elizabeth actually dying, to prevent her from being proclaimed queen, and being at the head of another insurrection. If it shall be thought that the youth of the princess would preclude such a supposition, I answer, that lady Jane Grey was three years younger than Elizabeth.

But Mary treated her sister with great courtesy and kindness.

Is Mr. Tytler indeed so forgetful of the phenomenon, confirmed by all history, that the most cruel and tyrannical rulers have been sometimes distinguished for mildness of demeanour, and gentleness of deportment? Nero regretted that he could write; and our great though erring contemporary, lord Byron, has observed of one of his characters, that he was as mild a mannered man as ever cut a throat.

Mr. Tytler's attempts, in short, to depreciate Foxe, and to eulogize the humanity of the miserable queen, are alike in vain. The reputation of the martyrologist remains confirmed and strengthened by the keenness and severity of the criticisms with which he has been assailed; and with respect to the queen, the stains of blood, needlessly and cruelly shed, are so deep on her royal robes—or rather, the deluge of the blood she shed, so surmounts both her crown and sceptre, that no words, no breath of man, can cleanse that stain, nor remove that deluge. The pardon of God and man can only be granted to such offences by the total removal of the very possibility of their renewal, among the adherents of the same cause, which that wretched sovereign defended. Naturally amiable and gentle, Mary might or might not have been. If she was the former,—her cruelties can only be imputed to the spirit of the canon law of Rome, which was now a portion of the statute law of England; and to the counsels of the execrable Italians and Spaniards, who came over from the continent to haunt the church and court; and who had not one noble, honourable, manly feeling, of the English love of liberty and truth, and hatred of falsehood and oppression, in their intellect, or hearts. If the latter—then we can but say, with all history, and with all impartial historians, that her cold and arbitrary temper united the tyranny of her father, with the mistaken piety of her mother. She retained the obstinacy of the former, with the religious zeal of the latter. She became what the English abhor, cruel, yet religious: dividing the nation equally between hatred to her crimes and temper, and respect for her religious zeal and devotion. "There goes one who lost three kingdoms for a mass," said Louis XIV. of James II. "Not ten such kingdoms as England," said Mary, "shall be more valuable to me than the salvation of my soul." James was right, and Mary was right, in the sentiment, which Christ has commanded all his followers to esteem above all price—"*What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?*" Both princes were right in the sentiment. Both were wrong only in identifying the church of Christ with the church of Rome—the gospels, with the canons—zeal for God's glory, with infringements upon the liberty and happiness of their people. Both were possessed of great and eminent qualities. Both loved God and their country, and intended to please God by their most atrocious and abominable measures. Both were examples to us, and to our posterity *for ever*—that virtues become vices, religion wickedness, love to God becomes hatred and ill-will to man, patriotism becomes the ruin and misery of the subjects it desires to

bless—when the maxims and the laws of a foreign church, and of a foreign bishop, are permitted to influence the counsels, and to guide the actions of an English prince. Mr. Tytler has informed us[1] of the manner in which pope Julius III. received the intelligence of Mary's accession. He has told us also of the mission of the Italian Commendone, to pass secretly into England; of his interviews with Mary—of her assurance of her inviolable attachment to the Romish church—and of her resolution to restore its worship; but that she implored him to conceal himself, and to act with the utmost caution. He relates also that she again sent secretly for the Italian, and entrusted him with letters to the pope, assuring him of her resolution to reconcile her kingdom to the Holy See. If Mr. Tytler had given us more commentary on their proceedings, and less criticism on the error of a date, in an undoubtedly true narrative by John Foxe, his book would have been more valuable, and his labours more useful to his countrymen. He inherits the talents of his fathers. He imitates their love of learning and their labour. Let him but imitate the example of his ancestors in higher matters; and never sacrifice an opportunity of expressing the more useful inferences from such historical facts as these. Seldom has an author who can command the attention of the public, possessed such an opportunity of uniting the most impartial truth, with new information, and a philosophical and enlarged liberality. Seldom has it happened that an author has been so favoured with every advantage as Mr. Tytler. I do not condemn his book, I am only dissatisfied with it. In common with the rest of his readers, I am pleased with many of his remarks and commentaries. It is possible that I am alone in my opinion, when I still declare myself to be deeply disappointed.

I shall not occupy more time in endeavouring to reconcile the itinerary of Elizabeth's journey from Ashridge to London, as it is given by Foxe, with that which is given by lord William Howard in his letters. Neither shall I discuss the question whether the high opinion of lord William Howard, expressed by Elizabeth on Nov. 10th, 1558, just before Mary's death, proves that he could not have conducted himself as Foxe describes.[2]. Mr. Tytler has permitted himself to be misled, as to his estimate of Foxe, by Mr. Maitland, the gentleman whose labours we shall now proceed to consider.[3] I shall only add that the account which John Foxe has here given to us of the removal of Elizabeth from Ashridge to London, was more especially addressed to his contemporaries, whose attention would be as much directed to this narrative, as to the accounts of the martyrdoms, to which they had been the eye-witnesses. No historical evidence in the world can prove the truth of any asserted fact, if such truth is not demonstrated by an appeal to eye-witnesses, at the very time, in the very place, among the very people among whom they are affirmed to

(1) Vol. ii. p. 237, &c. (2) Tytler's Edward VI. &c. vol. ii. p. 428, Note.
(3) See, says Mr. Tytler (vol. ii. p. 426) "the Rev. S. R. Maitland's learned and convincing papers on Foxe's Martyrology, in the British Magazine."

have happened; when inquiry can be easily made, and contemporary denial be recorded—if such evidence can be overthrown, three centuries after, by a document which confirms every circumstance related, excepting the date of a day, or some trivial and minor incident. This is the case with the newly-discovered letter of lord Howard; and the narration given to us by Foxe: and we are justified, therefore, in rejecting the inferences of Mr. Tytler, and of continuing our confidence in the veracity and fidelity of the martyrologist.

IV. THE REV. S. R. MAITLAND,

the librarian, at Lambeth, of the archbishop of Canterbury, an appointment to which he was deservedly raised on account of his profound ecclesiastical learning—the eulogized, as we have seen, by Mr. Dowling, Churton, Tyler, Tytler, and others—the principal and most formidable of the living assailants of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, is the next to be considered. So high is the reputation of this gentleman, so much is he regarded by his contemporaries as an authority in all matters relating to the history of those ages, in recording the transactions of which John Foxe was the earliest and the most unassisted historian; that I should have indeed deemed myself to have been guilty of presumption in venturing to question the truth and certainty of his conclusion—that Foxe is not worthy of our approbation; if I had not been accustomed to receive no conclusions whatever upon the mere authority of any author, in questions which relate to the controversies, and agitations, that have so long divided us. I speak with all reverence, when I declare, that I believe in Christianity itself, because I have fairly and impartially studied the evidences of its truth; and am therefore convinced, that an immortal and reasoning man is more wise to believe in Christianity with its difficulties, than to reject Christianity with its evidences. I accept the Church itself, because I have compared its claims to my homage, as a believer in revelation, with those of the two extremes of popery and dissent; and I perceive that it embraces the excellences to which the two rivals of its acceptableness aspire, without their defects. My experience as a magistrate confirmed this habit of believing nothing without satisfactory reasons, and teaching me the necessity of hearing both sides of a question before I decided; and I could not depart from this habit, even when I read the condemnation of John Foxe, from the scholar, the student, and the critic, whom the Metropolitan had honoured; whom his most studious and estimable contemporaries had praised, and to whom so many of my own friends deferred as the cautious, discerning, and sarcastic opponent, to be at once venerated for his knowledge and talents, and dreaded for his unsparing severity. I thought it possible

that even Mr. Maitland might be mistaken in his estimate of our noble martyrologist; and that if I could show that he had probably misapprehended him, then I should have but little difficulty in satisfying the reader; that he would not act very unphilosophically, if he considered other opponents of Foxe, who possessed less learning, and less claim, therefore, to his attention than Mr. Maitland, as unentitled to his more anxious curiosity. I thought that if Mr. Maitland's objections to Foxe could be overthrown, the remainder of my task would be shortened, and the reader be more readily satisfied, that our fathers were not deceived, when they admired the Acts and Monuments. It is necessary, therefore, that we devote more time and attention to Mr. Maitland than to any other assailant of Foxe, whether dead or living. I think it will be shown that neither this well-armed warrior, nor any of the motley troops which have followed him, has hitherto obtained a triumph over the veteran chief whom our ancestors delighted to honour.

In estimating the merits of a critic who desires to convince the protestants of England that they have, through three centuries, decided wrongly on the merits of a work, which, through that long period, has been deeply valued by the great majority of their number; we must take into consideration his *motives*, his *qualifications*, and his *success*. If he be a member of the church of Rome, we shall believe his motives, in assailing the Acts and Monuments, to be, partially at least, influenced by the desire to defend the honour and the purity of his church; and we shall look, therefore, with much suspicion on those of his statements which peculiarly refer to the topics more fiercely disputed by the two churches. We may suspect the writer of motives of prejudice, hatred to the protestants, love for the papists; of bigotry, defending a proposition at all hazards, because it has been affirmed by authority; of fanaticism, ready to die for error as well as truth; of enthusiasm, blinded by attachment to a general cause, without condescending to care for its details. Together with these motives, however, there may be many great qualifications for the task of the critic. We may consider Eusebius Andrews and Bishop Milner, for instance, as being equally influenced by unworthy or questionable motives; yet the qualifications of the abusive and ignorant bookseller, are utterly inferior to those of the courteous, plausible, and learned bishop. The consequence has been, that the success of Andrews, even when he affirms the very same things as Bishop Milner, is regarded as unworthy of notice; while the success of Bishop Milner, in making the worse appear the better reason, in his depreciation of John Foxe, has been so great, that he is uniformly quoted by the controversialists who have followed him, as an authority to be depended upon, or as an antagonist worthy to be assailed. To appreciate Mr. Maitland rightly, we must apply this reasoning to his labours; and, leaving out of consideration both his eminent patron, the archbishop, and his respected eulogizers, we must inquire into his *motives*

and his *qualifications*, that we may more certainly appreciate his labours, and decide upon his *success*.

Surprise will be mingled with our respect,[1] when I affirm that Mr. Maitland's motives for publishing two pamphlets against the work of the martyrologist, are as pure and blameless, as any protestant who agrees with Mr. Maitland in his love of the protestant church of England could desire; and if he fails, therefore, in establishing his point against Foxe, the reasons of that failure must be found in the unworthiness of the cause he advocates, rather than in the inferiority of his motives.

That Mr. Maitland's motives for his publishing his attacks on Foxe must be of the most honourable nature, may be gathered from his own paragraphs in the two pamphlets which he has published against the authority and value of the Acts and Monuments.[2] They may be, so far as I can understand them, all summed up in one, the best characteristic of an Anglican, episcopalian, protestant—the pure love of truth for the truth's sake; and they are developed in these four instances—his hatred of the supposition that error is endurable provided a great object is to be obtained,—his love of the church of England,—his regard to his own reputation,—and his deference to the opinion of his diocesan. Each of these may be only so very briefly noticed, as may be essential to our understanding the undoubted fact, that no unworthy motive is imputable to this formidable assailant.

His first motive—the hatred to the supposition that error is endurable provided a great object is to be obtained—appears from his honourable and severe declamation against what he calls the "never-mind" principle.[3] He justly argues, that no fear of unpopularity, no fear of lowering the character of an eminent historian, ought to prevent a critic from pointing out errors. He condemns those who urge, that it is better to say nothing about the mistakes of the well-meaning, though ignorant, lest we should lower the credit of a good man, and lessen his authority in matters of more importance. "I feel bound," Mr. Maitland justly says, "to express what I believe to be the truth on the subject, though I am aware that by such a course I may give offence, where I am sorry to do so. I believe that all such feeling and such argument, as I have attempted to describe, arises from incorrect views on the nature of truth in general; and particularly from an idea that truth has no intrinsic value whatever, but that any particular truth derives such value as it may at any time possess, merely from circumstances. If a matter of fact is not, in the estimation of such persons, of some probable use for some effect which they think it may produce, they not only consider it of little or no consequence whether it is correctly or incorrectly (in plain terms, truly or falsely) stated by a writer whose credit they wish to keep up,—they are prepared to do every thing in their power to excuse, to conceal, and so

(1) "Sir Roderick marked, and in his eyes,
Respect was mingled with surprise."—SIR W. SCOTT.

(2) The two pamphlets are entitled—Review of Foxe the Martyrologist's History of the Waldenses. Rivingtons, 1837. Six Letters on Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Rivingtons, 1837.

(3) Six Letters on Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 38, 39.

to perpetuate, the falsehood, and to deter others from exposing it. The correction of a falsehood is, in their view, a mere matter of expediency. If it is to be set right, it is not because it is wrong, but because it may do mischief; and the question as to acknowledging and amending a fault is a mere calculation of probabilities. I repeat, that all this is grounded on an idea that truth has no intrinsic value, and derives importance only from its consequences or probable results. I hold a totally different opinion."

Such is Mr. Maitland's language: and his remarks are admirable. They prove that Mr. Maitland is actuated by the same love of truth in attacking the errors of John Foxe, as he was, when he sought for evidence against the Waldenses and the Albigenses in the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse. The only difference is, that he makes no apology for assailing the protestant martyrologist; though he does make an apology for quoting, as evidence against heretics, the records of the Inquisition, and assures us that he does not mean to palliate its proceedings.[1]

Another motive with Mr. Maitland to assail the reputation of the martyrologist was his orthodox fidelity and attachment to the church of England. Foxe has expressed many sentiments which I shall certainly not attempt to justify, on the subject of the clerical vestments; on tithes being originally, and therefore continuously, intended as alms; and other matters, which, however censurable they may be, have escaped even the researches of Mr. Maitland. The errors, however, which he has discovered, and, to use his own words,[2] "the style and spirit of Foxe's work, and its aspect towards the church of which I am a minister, are quite sufficient to justify my *personal dislike* to it."

In the course of the late or present unhappy controversy at Oxford—the deliberate reading and confirmation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, both in Latin and English, by the Convocation of 1571, eight years after the closing of the council of Trent, was referred to, in one of the replies circulated through the university in answer to the ninetieth of the miscellaneous Tracts, which occasioned the discussion.[3] This convocation was referred to as an authority acknowledged by all churchmen, and this, *this* was the convocation which commanded the volumes of John Foxe to be placed in all the churches. My correct and orthodox churchmanship appears to myself to be most fully proved by defending the decree of my church, and by vindicating the act of the apostolical succession, the bishops and archbishops, who issued this decree. I bow to their authority, because I believe it to have been rightly exercised. I uphold their decision. I esteem my church, in this assembly of its principal magistrates, to have done

(1) Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses, 8vo. Rivingtons, 1832, page 224, and section viii.
(2) Six Letters, p. 74.
(3) The paper was signed N. S. It consisted only of three pages. Why will our controversialists write anonymously?

wisely, in submitting to our christian people, and to the congregations of churchmen, the perpetual memorial of the consequences of permitting the punishment of the body for the good of the soul; when no crimes and no immoralities are proved against the holders of conclusions supposed to be erroneous. I honour my church, I love my church, because it thus abhors persecution, while it dovetails the Bible into its services, and appeals to the people, as Christ and his apostles appealed to the world. It appeals to them by its truth and usefulness, rather than by its authority, which it still affirms and upholds, as of more than human origin. I seem to be proving my love and zeal for my church, when I maintain the value and usefulness of that laborious work, which the church thus honoured. Mr. Maitland has formed an opposite opinion. He proves his love and zeal for his church, by endeavouring to show that its decision was erroneous, and that Foxe deserved its censure, rather than its praise. I honour his love of the truth, and appreciate his endeavours to find it. I believe it to be equal to my own: yet I rejoice to have discovered truth, where the church I love has found it. I regret that Mr. Maitland should have sought for the same truth, and imagine that he has discovered it in conclusions which his church did not approve. I am sure Mr. Maitland will agree with me in this respect at least, that it is fortunate for us all, that the church of England claims neither infallibility nor unchangeableness, nor the power to punish those who may doubt the justice of the decrees, which its convocation may have established, and not rescinded. If the church of England had claimed the same power as the church of Rome, no enactment of its bishops and council could have been altered. The impugner of its most erroneous conclusions would have been severely censured. Mr. Maitland, affirming that he loves the church, endeavours, with his utmost energies, to prove that his church was wrong. The church, with its usual toleration, will believe in his professions of love. I hope it will forgive his peculiar mode of proving his attachment to its authority.

Another motive which must have prevailed with Mr. Maitland to assail the labours of John Foxe must have been the natural and laudable regard for his own reputation. Highly eulogized by Mr. Dowling, and raised to his present preferment by the estimation in which his learned labours caused him to be held, he must be anxious to retain the good opinion of his contemporaries; and he must have believed that his honours would be increased, or at least continued undiminished, by his attacks on the volumes of the martyrologist.

The last of the honourable motives which actuated Mr. Maitland, and to which I shall allude, is the proper, natural, praiseworthy feeling of gratitude to the metropolitan who has bestowed on him the preferment he holds. It is impossible that Mr. Maitland can be deficient in this virtue. Now gratitude is sometimes shown by silence on the opinions in which the obliged differs from the obliger. We generally suppose that nothing

but the most intense love of truth, with the deep conviction that to express a difference of opinion with the patron who may have conferred ecclesiastical preferment on a student, is both useful and absolutely necessary to the church and to the world—will justify the public assertion of such difference. How great, then, must be the love of truth! how deep the conviction that his task of attacking the Acts and Monuments was imperiously required! when we find that Mr. Maitland has acted on the right principle of preferring the assertion of that supposed truth, to the suppression of his difference of opinion, with his eminent friend and patron. Mr. Maitland could not have been ignorant that the present archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1827, when he was bishop of London, was pleased to accept the dedication to himself of the then proposed new edition of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, by Dr. Dibdin. The letter of the archbishop was published by the learned doctor.[1] "I am glad," says his grace, "that you have made up your mind to republish the great work of the Martyrs, and most willingly consent to your request of being allowed to dedicate the new edition to myself." "His grace's views upon the entire bearing of the original," says Dr. Dibdin, "appeared to me to be as luminous as just. He desired nothing more than that error might be guarded against; and truth, if possible, still more firmly established." Such is the testimony of Dr. Dibdin to the favourable estimate which the archbishop had formed of the work of John Foxe: and I am not aware that there is any reason to induce us to conclude that such opinion has been changed. We cannot, therefore, but conclude that an overwhelming sense of duty alone impelled Mr. Maitland to assail the work which his patron had thus approved; and that the conviction, that the cause of truth demanded his criticism, superseded that proof of gratitude, which might otherwise have been found in his silence.

From the laudable *motives* which may have impelled Mr. Maitland to have published his Letters on Foxe, let us consider his *qualifications* for the task he has undertaken. If it shall be proved that his qualifications are as undoubted as his motives are pure; and if we can then prove that his failure is the most signal that has ever attended an effort of the same nature; we shall, I think, have laid a more solid foundation for the defence of the martyrologist, and for a sufficient justification of the decision of the English convocation—that his book was worthy of the perusal of the people in the churches. If Mr. Maitland, with his high motives and profound erudition in the ecclesiastical knowledge requisite for a critic on the work of John Foxe, shall be shown to have signally, totally, and irrecoverably failed, we may justly believe that Foxe is certainly unassailable with success; and it is to establish this point that I am discussing, at so much length, this part of the argument relating to Mr. Maitland and his labours.

The undoubted *qualifications* of Mr. Maitland to assume with success the office of a critic upon the labours of Foxe, appear from his

(1) Reminiscences of a Literary Life, by the Rev. Thomas F. Dibdin, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1836, p 839.

deeply learned papers on the history of the Waldenses, Albigenses, and the transactions of the middle ages. They are redolent with minute and interesting information, and prove to us, that Mr. Maitland is himself "the great sublime he draws," when he presents to us the portrait of a true church historian. "The real church historian," he observes, "if he would do anything like even such imperfect justice as uninspired man can do to such a subject as church history,—if his object is to trace the true light shining in darkness,—is not to wait till persecution has fanned up a flame, and then to run just where he sees a blaze, to warm himself at the stake, and rake in the ashes for relics: much less is he to trust to picking up those relics at second hand from pedlars, and to give his account of the Auto-da-fé from the newspaper. He must be out at nights, creeping under the hedge, and beside the ditch, in darkness and dirt, to catch the glow-worm; or, to speak plainly, he must toil through much that is useless, worthless, and repulsive,—much offence to taste, logic, and common sense,—much ignorance, and much superstition; he must be strong in mind, in body, and in purpose; his daily task must be 'the reading that was never read;' and half his books, what where (sic in orig.) not thought worth printing; he must tuck up his sleeves, and bid defiance to dirt and dog-latin, and all the tricks of monkish penmanship; he must have free access to old and large libraries, and full permission to ransack their stores."[1]—All this Mr. Maitland has done. He has had access to the noble library at Lambeth. He has the patience, the zeal, the knowledge he thus deems requisite; and I again repeat, therefore, that if the labours of John Foxe can bear the searching, piercing, powerful scrutiny of this scholar, it will endure any ordeal prepared for it by any critic whatever, whether of England or of Rome.[2] It remains for us, therefore, to consider Mr. Maitland's *success*.

To estimate the value and extent of his success, I beg the reader to remember two remarkable facts.

It has been said that there are thirty thousand various readings in the six comedies of Terence. Yet the reader of each comedy is able to understand fully the plot of each, the shades of character, the unity of time and place. The various readings do not affect one incident, nor change one scene, nor alter one material point. Terence is admired

(1) Maitland's Facts and Documents illustrative of the Waldenses. Rivingtons. 1832. Pp. 48, 49.

(2) I beg here to express my agreement with Mr. Maitland in one sentiment, immediately preceding (p. 45) the extract in the text. He is speaking of true, but unknown Christians, before Calvin and Luther:—

"I will not shrink from avowing my belief that many a tonsured head now rests in Abraham's bosom, and that many a frail body, bowed down with voluntary humility, and wasted with unprofitable will-worship, clothed in rags, and girt with a bell-rope, was a temple of the Holy Ghost." I believe this as well as Mr. M., and I believe also that many a Whitfieldite shoemaker, and many a Wesleyan weaver, rests there with the tonsured and bell-rope-girt Franciscan; and I am sure Mr. Maitland will agree with me, that as these several personages may meet with christian popes, emperors, bishops, and laymen in the world to come, blessed would that man be, who could blend them all in one communion, as the sons of God, on earth. Let us only unite in abolishing the pretensions of that church which enforces error by persecution; and the chief impediment to the union of believers will be removed. When shall the angel descend to roll away that stone from the door of the sepulchre in which the church is buried, that it may rise from the dead! One day with the Lord is as a thousand years. The second day is ending. The third day will dawn. The church will rise, and the kingdom of God come.

as a graphic depicturer of the customs of the day in which his Dramatis Personæ lived; and his knowledge of the human heart is not lessened by the blunders of his transcribers, or the errors of manuscripts and versions.

Just so it is also with the various readings of the New Testament. They amount to many thousands. No great doctrine of Christianity is affected by them. No material fact is overthrown or shaken. The book—the wonderful book which presents the surprising phænomenon of exhausting the learning of all the universities of the world,—of still employing the most acute intellects in its study,—yet guiding the humble and the ignorant to present peace and future happiness, is undiminished in value and interest by all the variations in its text, and by all the carelessness of its copyists.

These two facts illustrate the nature of the success of Mr. Maitland in his severe remarks upon the labours of the martyrologist. He has discovered innumerable misprints, blunders, and various readings. He has detected the results of imperfect transcriptions. He has demonstrated, that another church history than that of John Foxe is imperatively required for a critical and inquiring age; because the language of the old man whom our fathers loved is quaint and obsolete. He has proved that the character of John Foxe was weak, though pious; and that many of his conclusions and opinions were of questionable value; but he has not overthrown one material fact recorded. He has not found him guilty of the heresy which denies the truth of revelation, as the church of Christ among us has received and taught it. He has not proved him guilty of the schism which needlessly and wantonly separates itself from the communion of saints; though Foxe desired that the Anglican church should have effected a more entire reformation. He has left untouched altogether the great mass of facts which constitutes the chief value of Foxe's labours, the demonstrations in the narratives of his martyrdoms, of the miserable results which follow the power to enforce the reception of a doctrine by secular authority. He has utterly failed therefore in his attempts to prove that our fathers were fools for their admiration of Foxe, or that his pages are unworthy of the attention of their sons. Till Rome alters,—till the last persecuting laws in the decretals and canons of the church, which still claims authority over all the churches of the catholic church, are rescinded and expunged, the labours of John Foxe deserve to be, and will be, received as the one immutable record of the consequences of this intolerable assumption. Till that change come,—and God grant it may arrive soon!—the records of the martyrdoms of the opposers of the errors and authority of the church of Rome are an invaluable inheritance and memorial to be treasured up, and never to be neglected nor forgotten. Till that day come, the labours of John Foxe cannot be worthless or obsolete. When it does come, every protestant, and every ultra-protestant, will rejoice to see the hour when the pages of Foxe may be thrown as

useless to the moles and to the bats; as they may be, then, and then only, when Rome returns to the primitive catholicism of antiquity,—when communion is restored to the churches,—and the one fold, with its countless scattered sheep, hear the voice of the one Shepherd.

To prove the truth of my affirmation, that Mr. Maitland has signally failed to destroy the value of the labours of Foxe, I shall proceed, as briefly as possible, through the two publications which he has especially devoted to the depreciation of the martyrologist. The first is the Review of his History of the Waldenses, the second his Six Letters on the Acts and Monuments.[1]

We begin with Mr. Maitland's review of Foxe's History of the Waldenses.

Five years before the publication of the new edition of the Acts and Monuments, Mr. Maitland published his own work on the Ancient Waldenses.[2] A long controversy had been carried on, from the Reformation till the visit of Dr. Gilly to Peyrani and to the Valleys of Piedmont, respecting the origin of the name and opinions advocated by the Waldenses. Some derived their name from Waldus, or Waldo, or Vaud, the gentleman of Lyons, or Leona, who, being suddenly impressed by the death of a friend, changed his more free, to a more austere mode, of living, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the circulation of the Scriptures, the saving of his soul, and the instruction of his brethren. Others, and this was the more general opinion, trace both the name and opinions of the Waldenses to the most remote antiquity. One of their principal opponents, Reinerius Saccho, has affirmed,[3] that their sect, according to some, originated in the times of pope Silvester, in the fourth century; and according to others, existed as early as the days of the apostles. This testimony, however, is rejected by Mr. Maitland, and by those who advocate the later origin of the Waldenses, because he refers to no previous authority. Mr. Faber derives the name Waldenses from one Peter, who sprang from the region Valdis, three hundred years after Constantine. He considers Valdis to be one of the valleys of the Cottian Alps, immemorially inhabited by the Waldenses, and that the name Leonists did not originate from Lyons, but from Lugdunum Convenarum in Aquitaine.[4] Mr. Faber, also, has so interpreted those passages of the Book of Revelation which speak of the two witnesses which should prophesy in sackcloth while the outer court and the Holy City were trodden down of the Gentiles, that he identifies these witnesses with the two churches of the Albigenses and Waldenses. Mr. Maitland is exceedingly indignant with this hypothesis, (which this is not the place to discuss,) and he denominates the general theory of the

(1) Both published by Rivingtons. 1837.
(2) Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrines, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses; 8vo. 1832, Rivingtons.
(3) Liber adv. Waldenses, c. 4; Bibliotheca Patt. tom. xxv. p. 262; ap. Soames's Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 506, 1841.
(4) Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Vallenses and Albigenses, (London, 1838,) pp. 279—302.

remote origin of the Waldenses, in language not quite philosophical, "popular cant,"[1] and the attempt to set up Waldo as a learned man, which had been done by the editor of the Christian Observer, as "a mere matter of sectarian nonsense."[2] These are singular expressions. They almost seem to prove to us the truth of the remark of our poet, that—

> "Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one,
> Have ofttimes no connexion——."

I have nothing to do with that part of the controversy respecting the Waldenses which has been so long carried on by Mr. Maitland, Dr. Gilly, Mr. Faber, the Christian Observer, and others. Foxe, copying either from Illyricus, or from the common documents,[3] which both of them may have consulted when they were engaged in their mutual labours on the Continent, gives his reader the common story of the origin of the Waldenses from Waldo, a circumstance which his editor condemns, and which we might have expected Mr. Maitland would have approved. Foxe quotes Reinerius Saccho in testimony of the purity of life and true christian principles of the Waldenses, but he does not refer to the passage in which that writer affirms their antiquity. As I am now, however, on this subject, I trust—though I do not wish to discuss the various arguments of the writers who derive the origin of the Waldenses either from Waldo, or from Peter of Valdis, or from any other person—that I may be permitted to digress for one moment from Mr. Maitland and his review of Foxe, to relate that which appears to me to be the real origin of the doctrines and name of the Waldenses, more especially as the view I take on the subject, though new, reconciles nearly every authority and opinion which our protestant writers have submitted to the world on this much controverted subject.

The doctrines of the Waldenses are summed up in the tables given by Foxe[4] and Illyricus. They are collected also by Soames.[5]

"Peter Waldus and his associates did not aim so much to change the system of religion, or to inculcate new articles of faith, as to restore the form of the church, the morals of the clergy, and the lives of Christians, to that primitive and apostolic simplicity, which they thought they had learned, particularly from the words of Christ. They, therefore, taught that the Romish church had degenerated from its original purity and sanctity in the times of Constantine the Great; they denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff; they would have the rulers and ministers of the church imitate the poverty of the apostles, and procure their own frugal and slender sustenance by manual labour; they asserted, that

(1) Preface to Six Letters on the Acts and Monuments, p. vii.
(2) Review of Foxe's History, &c. p. 18.
(3) Since I wrote my remarks on Mr. Dowling, who considers Illyricus, and not Foxe, to be the father of ecclesiastical history, I have procured the collation of the first edition of Foxe's work, published in 1556, with that of 1559, and with Illyricus, and find that I have been misled in the supposition that the account of the Waldenses was in that edition. It first appeared in 1559, after the Catalogus of Illyricus had been published; not before, as I had been informed.
(4) Vol. ii. p. 265, new edit.
(5) I refer to Mr. Soames, as the last and best of our ecclesiastical writers. Soames's Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 508.

authority to teach, to confirm, and to admonish their brethren, was, to a certain extent, given to all Christians; the ancient penitential discipline, which was nearly subverted by the grants of *indulgences,* that is, the making satisfaction for sins, by prayer, fasting, and liberality to the poor, they wished to see restored; and these *satisfactions,* on which they laid great stress, they believed any devout Christian could enjoin upon those who confessed, so that it was not necessary for people to confess their sins to priests, but only to lay open their transgressions to individual brethren, and look to them for advice; the power of forgiving sins, and remitting the punishment of them, they held to belong to God only, and, therefore, that *indulgences* were an invention of base avarice; they regarded prayers, and the rites performed in behalf of the dead, to be useless ceremonies; because departed souls are not detained and subject to a purgation in some intermediate region, but are, immediately after death, either taken into heaven, or sent into hell. These, and like these, were the doctrines they inculcated. Their morals were very strict, for they explained our Saviour's sermon on the mount according to the literal import of the words; and therefore disapproved altogether of war, law-suits, efforts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, taking any oath, or defending one's life or limbs against offered violence."

This statement proves to us that they held in common with the church of Rome, as we still do, all the doctrines which that church held in the days of St. Paul, when its faith was spoken of throughout the whole world; and they rejected, as we do, those doctrines of Rome only which are of later origin, or which are peculiar to that church; such as the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over others; and that they desired to establish that indefinite perfection and excellence to which all Christians are commanded to aspire, and not to rest in any external services and observances, however admirable, ancient, or divine.

We are no more justified in imputing the first teaching of such a code to Waldo of Lyons, or to Peter of Lugdunum Convenarum, than we are justified in imputing the first teaching of the doctrine of predestination to George Whitfield, or the doctrine of human responsibility, from the freedom of the will, or the freedom of action, in man, to John Wesley. Both teachers insisted on certain, common, known, received, truths; and both became the leaders of sects, because they insisted on some great truths, without sufficiently blending them with other equally important, though apparently antagonistical, truths. Peter Waldo of Lyons, or Peter of Valdis, might both teach and preach many solemn truths, and blend those truths with some errors; but the large mass of truths which we call the Waldensian doctrines must have had a purer and a more ancient origin than in any individual, whether of the sixth or twelfth centuries; and the truth of the great controversy will, I think, appear to be probably that which I shall now mention, as my own inferences from the general survey of ecclesiastical history. I speak with distrust of my opinion, because it is novel; though I confess my surprise

that it has not been previously advocated by others. I am not anxious to defend it; but I think it will be refuted with difficulty, because it reconciles all the phænomena or facts of the controversy.

The questions between Rome and its opponents may be resolved into this one. Were all the peculiar tenets of the church of Rome, taught from the commencement of Christianity by its Divine Founder and his holy apostles; or did not a certain number of its doctrines and opinions originate at a later period; and if so, were not some doctrines enforced by ecclesiastical power, which had not been previously taught by divine and apostolical authority?

The church of Rome affirms that it has invented and enforced no new doctrine whatever.

The protestants generally, the Waldensians, the Anglican church, with the episcopal churches of Scotland and America, which are not in communion with Rome, affirm that they are not in that communion because of certain alleged novelties.

We will select one doctrine or opinion only; and test the two masses of Christians, the papal and antipapal, by it: and thus see in what manner the answer to the question—whether the church of Rome has taught any novelty, illustrates the history of the Waldenses.

We will select this question. Were images commanded to be venerated in any manner whatever, either with Latreia, Douleia, or Hyperdouleia, by Christ, and by his apostles?

It is certain—and the chief Romanist writers themselves agree with the protestants—that the veneration of images was not taught by Christ, or by his apostles.[1]

In the next generation, if we may credit the earlier traditions of ecclesiastical history, Trophimus, whom St. Paul left at Miletum, sick, had become the founder of the church of Arles,[2] on the river Rhone, in the south of France. Irenæus had founded the church of Lyons on the same river; Crescens, that of Vienne, near Lyons, on the same river.[3] These early bishops would have instructed the people in the apostolic faith; which did not include the worship of images.

After some centuries of slowly encroaching corruptions in the church, the worship of images was established in the church of Rome; and commanded therefore to be enforced among the churches which maintained their primitive communion with Rome. This worship was established by pope Gregory II. and by a council summoned at Rome under his auspices, in 730. From this time the church of Rome affirmed the propriety and necessity of such worship.

When the credit of the church of Rome was endangered by its rup-

(1) See Mede's Apostasy of the latter Times, book iii. c. 5, p. 683, ed. 1677, and Pagi de usu Imaginum, Crit. in Baron. Annal. 55, p. 42, Antwerp, ed. 1727. Though see Baronius in ann. 102.

(2) Gallia Christiana, on the Bishops, &c. &c. of the Church of Arles.

(3) The church at Berri, is said to have been founded by Ursinus, or Nathaniel, Tours by Gratian, Paris by Dionysius, Sens by Sabinianum, or Potentianum, Limoges, the capital of Upper Vienne, by Maltial, Metz by Clemens Romanus, Marseilles by Lazarus—but see on all these traditions the note (c) in Mosheim's Commentaries on the State of the Church before Constantine, vol. ii. p. 9.

ture with the eastern churches, and its authority placed in peril by the resistance of the Lombards, the see of Rome received great support from the conversion of the German tribes to its own dogmata by the English monk Winfrid, its active advocate for forty years, from 715 to 755. To reward his zealous labours, Gregory II. made him a bishop in 723; when he assumed the name of Boniface. By Gregory III. he was created archbishop of Mentz, and vicar-general of the apostolic see. On his promotion an oath of allegiance was exacted from him; and on this occasion the first precedent is furnished of a claim of fealty by the papal power. Boniface and his missionaries were the persons who first promulged the higher and more exaggerated notions of the supreme authority of the popes on earth, as deciding what Christians should enter the kingdom of heaven.[1] While the doctrine of the papal supremacy was agitating the western world, the papal vicar-general, Boniface, was called into France by Carlman and Pepin, to act as legate of the holy see in reducing the ecclesiastical affairs of France to submission to the papal head.[2] By these transactions, says Gieseler, "the kings of the Franks, as well as the national church, were brought into close alliance with Rome."—"Thus when Pepin, already possessed of regal power, wished also to assume the royal title, he applied for the approbation of the pope; and Zachary, by his ready consent, effectually secured the future assistance of the kings of the Franks.[3] This took place in the year 752. In that year, Pepin and Zachary the reigning pontiff, had so identified their mutual interests against the emperor, that Zachary had declared the expediency of Pepin's assuming the throne of France; and Pepin devoted his whole energies to the upholding and strengthening the papacy. Zachary died without deriving any great benefit from the royalty of Pepin. His successors, Stephen II. or III.[4] and Paul, reaped the chief benefit of the alliance.

When Aistulph the king of the Lombards threatened Rome with a siege, Stephen fled to Pepin; and after crowning Pepin at Paris, he was restored by him to Rome, and re-endowed with the exarchate of Ravenna, and other possessions. Every enemy to the papal see, and therefore to its newly established idolatry of image-worship, was now considered as the enemy of Pepin; whose plans of ambition were carried on from henceforth in the name of religion. Stephen died in 757, and was succeeded by his brother Paul, who instantly on his election solicited, and obtained the friendship of Pepin. The same steps were taken by the usurper, who succeeded Paul in 767. Pepin was regarded

(1) See the addresses of the popes to the Frankish kings, in which they never fail to impress their precept—Petrum clavigerum regni cœlorum. Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 14, note 3, and § 12. Part taken by the Gallican church in the controversy concerning image-worship, p. 35; where may be found in the notes some valuable information on the subject.

(2) Bonifac. Epist. Zachariam P. edit. Serar. p. 132, apud Gieseler. ut sup. p. 14.

(3) Gieseler. ut sup. note 5.—Ivo, bishop of Chartres, *Chronicon*, p. 53. Hanov. 1613, says, Pipinus Francorum regnum defecisse videns, jussu Zachariæ Papæ elevatur in regem. On the crowning of Pepin by Boniface, see Greenwood's Germany, p. 805.

(4) The first successor of Zachary was named Stephen, but he died before he was consecrated. The next was also named Stephen. Hence the actual ruler of Rome after Zachary is variously called Stephen II. or III.

as the principal upholder and defender of the political and ecclesiastical interests of the see of Rome. Pepin died in the year 768.

Being thus identified with the progress of the papal power, and the establishment of the novel, yet revived idolatry of image worship, Pepin proved his attachment to the upholders of his own usurped authority by two measures, one of which refers to the use of images, the other to the more ferocious prosecution of the war against Waifar, the duke of Aquitaine. The original causes of the war against the duke of Aquitaine, were not merely the obtaining by certain disaffected Leudes,[1] an asylum in Aquitaine, and the refusal of Waifar, to surrender his guests; but the refusal also of the duke of Aquitaine to comply with the demands of Pepin, respecting the government of the churches of the duchy. The government of the churches was the privilege of the duke. Pepin, no doubt acting under the influence of Rome, interfered between the rights of the temporal prince and his ecclesiastical subjects,[2] and *it is in this war that the two names of the Waldenses and Albigenses, are first introduced in union* to the student of ecclesiastical history.

In the council of Chantilly, A. D. 766, the use of images was discussed and approved.[3] Immediately after the bishops who composed this council were dismissed, Pepin led his army into Aquitaine. He proceeded through Narbonne, attacked Toulouse, and in his way back to Paris, near which he soon after died, he received the surrender of two districts of Aquitaine, which are respectively called Albi, and Gavuldan, or Givauldan.[4] Much controversy has lately taken place, on the origin of the word Waldenses. *I believe the word originated in the name*

(1) See Greenwood's Germany, p. 853.

(2) The words of the historian, on the cause of the war, are these—His itaque gestis et duobus annis cum terra cessasset à præliis, prædictus rex Pipinus legationem ad Wajofarium Aquitanum principem, mittens, petens per legatos suos, *ut res ecclesiæ regno ipsius*, quæ in Aquitania sita erant redderet, et sub immunitatis nomine, sicut ab antea fuerant conservatas esse deberent, et judices ac actores in supra dictas res ecclesiarum, quod a longo tempore factum non fuerat, committere non deberent, et Gothos prædicto regi, quos dudum Wajofarius contra legis ordinem occiderat, ei solvere deberet et homines suos, quod de regno Francorum ad ipsum Wajofarium principem confugium fecerunt, reddere deberet, hæc omnia Wajofarius, quæ prædictus rex per legatos suos ei mandaverat, hoc totum facere contempsit. Collectio Chronograph. ex Toromacho, lib. vi. apud Thesaur. Monumentorum, &c. Canisii. tom. ii. p. 222. Amsterdam, 1725.

(3) Concilium Gentiliacense de cultu Sanctarum Imaginum, ac de Sanctissima Trinitate celebratum in Gallia, anno 766, tempore Pauli Papæ.

Legatio illa, quam pro confederatione Pipini regis impetranda Constantinus imperator miserat in Franciam hæc impietatis zizania seminaverat; pro quibus extirpandis, hisce sarculis opus erat. Nemo quidem Scriptorum illud expressè affirmat; sed tamen quia Francorum Annales evidenter commemorant, per nobilissimam legationem aliquanto tempore actum fuisse de fœdere ineundo, haud dubie hæc impietatis semina ibidem sparsa fuerunt.

Præterea in hoc synodali conventu tractatum fuisse questionem hanc, An Spiritus Sanctus a Patre, Filioque procedat? tradit Ado Viennensis in Chronico. Cum enim Occidentales Constantino Copronymo, ejusque sectatoribus orientalibus sacrarum imaginum despectum, et contemptum vitio verterent; ille contra Latinis exprobrabat, quod ad symbolum vocem *Filioque*, adjecissent. Unde patet, quod, cum Græci schismatici hac in re Latinos impugnent, aperte profiteantur, se impiissimi Constantini Copronymi, quem suo ipsi judicio condemnant, causam turpissimam turpiter agere, tueri, et defendere.—Baïl. Summa Conciliorum omnium, &c. tom. ii. pp. 290, 291. folio, Patav. 1701.

(4) Orta questione de Sancta Trinitate, et de sanctorum imaginibus, inter Orientalem et Occidentalem Ecclesiam (id est, Romanos et Græcos), rex Pipinus, conventu in Gentiliaco villa congregato, synodum de ipsa quæstione habuit: eoque peracto ad bellum prædictum conficiendum, post natalem domini in Aquitaniam proficiscitur: et per Narbonem iter agens, Tolosam aggressus cepit. Albiensem et Gavuldensem (aliis Gavuldanum) pagos in deditione accepit: et Viennam reversus, postquam ibi et paschalis festi sacra peregit, et exercitum à labore refecit, jam prope æstate confecto mense Augusto ad reliquias belli profectus est: et Bituricam veniens, conventum (more Francico) in campo egit: et inde iter agens, ad Garosunam fluvium pervenit: castella multa atque speluncas, in quibus se hostium manus plurima defensabat, cepit: inter quæ precipua fuere castra, Scoralia, Tormina, Petrotia. Reversus Bituricam, exercitum in hyberna dimisit: ipse ibi considens natalem Domini celebravit. Eo anno Paulus papa Romanus defunctus est: cujus rei nuntius ibi ad regem pervenit."— Adelmi, vel Adelmar, vel Adelmari Benedictini, Annales Francorum Regg. Pipini, Karoli Magni, etc. etc. ap Corpus Francicæ Historia, etc. etc. Folio, p. 387. 1613.

of the people of Gavuldan, who opposed the ecclesiastical usurpations of Pepin, and *were called Ga-vuldenses.* The Gavaldenses, in conjunction with the Albigenses of Aquitaine, preserved, I believe, the ancient faith which had been planted by the primitive apostolical bishops in Gaul; and were, from the earliest period, till the reformation found them in the valleys of Piedmont, the upholders of the ancient truth, the opposers of image-worship, and the impugners, in many changes of settlement, of the papal supremacy and usurpations.

There are two objections to this novel theory—one derived from the geographical position of the later Waldenses; the other from the etymology of their name.

The first objection seems at first to be unanswerable. It is, that the Waldenses of the modern controversies are situated in the four valleys on the south of the Cottian Alps; on the eastern side of the Rhone, very far from the district of Albi, and from the Givauldan, or Gavuldan, which surrendered to Pepin; both of which are on the western side of the Rhone. The pagus or district of Albi, with the pagus or district of Gavuldan, which were wrested from Waifar, were three degrees south-west of Lyons; the territory of the Vaudois in the four valleys is three degrees south-east of Lyons. The question is, in what manner, before the Albigenses were driven by the crusaders from the south of France to the valleys of the Alps, and before the time of Waldo of Lyons, can the Gavuldenses, in the time of Pepin, be shown to be the same as the Waldenses of the valleys?

I answer, that the histories which record the wars of Pepin inform us, that the Gavuldensian, or Waldensian, forces passed and repassed from the eastern side of the Rhone to the western—that is, from Dauphiné to Languedoc, by the Pont d'Esprit, over the Rhone—that the Albigenses remained in their country after the time of Pepin till they became the victims of the crusaders and of the inquisitors, but that the Vallenses or Valdenses of Aquitaine made their escape across the Rhone, both by the Pont d'Esprit, on that river, and by other passes,[1] to the territory between Grenoble and the Pennine Alps, on the borders of the river Ysere. That territory was subsequently called Givauldan. It is north of their present settlements. From thence they descended to the four valleys, where their posterity still remain. In these valleys they found other refugees, who retained the same faith which had been taught from the beginning, and resisted the worship of images. This faith was professed in the diocese of Turin, in which so many other opponents of the ever-increasing claims and novelties of Rome had also taken shelter.

I am not aware of any modern maps which will enable me to make my conclusions so plain to the student who may be interested in this inquiry, as those which I have before me: the maps in the Atlas of

(1) The devastations of Aquitaine by Pepin were intolerable. There was not, in some districts, a husbandman nor a vine-dresser left. "Vastavit," says the historian, "ita ut nullus colonus terræ ad laborandum, tam agros, quam vineas colere non audebat."—*Adelmar ut supra.*

Janssonius, published at Amsterdam.[1] I beg the reader to refer in this Atlas to the Map of Languedoc, which is numbered XX. and to the Map of Dauphiné, which is numbered n n n; and to the Latin explanation of the latter map. He will see the Gavauldan territory in the former. In the latter he will see the district of Grais-Vauldan, which the explanation of the map tells us, is called by others, Givauldan. Thus the two names are found on each side of the Rhone, but in this Atlas only. From any other maps, however, I beg the reader to consider the countries on each side of the Rhone, from Albi, three degrees and a half west of the Rhone; to the four valleys three degrees and a half east of that river; and if he will include in his survey of this district the territory two degrees north, and two degrees south of Albi, and of the valleys, (Albi and the valleys lie on the same parallel of latitude), he will remember in his survey of this country, these remarkable coincidences—

He is contemplating the country where the apostolical Christianity of the primitive churches was preached in its greatest purity; he is surveying the district where opposition to Rome prevailed more extensively than in any other part of the world; for it includes not only Albi, and the valleys of Piedmont, but Carcassone, Bezieres, and the country in which the Inquisition originated to extirpate the real or supposed heresy of the inhabitants.

He will perceive that this country abounds with places beginning with the syllable "Val," almost any of which would give the name Vallenses to the inhabitants; such as Vallance, on the Rhone; Vallais, to the west of Lake Leman, in a deep vale of the Pennine Alps; and that the district Givauldan, or Gavuldensis, on the west of the Rhone, which surrendered, with Albi, in 767, to Pepin, is precisely the same as another Givauldan, on the eastern side of the Rhone. This Givauldan is called also Great Vaudan Valle, Graiswoulden, or Givauldan.[2]

The general conclusion, then, at which we may arrive from considering, in connexion with these facts, the various arguments of Mr. Maitland, Dr. Gilly, Mr. Faber, the papers in the British Magazine, and the several references to which their authors have appealed, may be, that the word Valdenses or Vallenses, was common to the inhabitants of this whole district, both before and after the time of Waldo of Lyons—that Waldo of Lyons was but a pious individual, who revived much of the pristine purity of religion, when the corruption had begun to be more general; and that he restored also, by the coincidence of his own name with that of the Givauldan or Wauldan territory on both sides of the Rhone, the common name Waldenses, when it was becoming obsolete, to the opposers of the papal corruptions.

If this theory be correct, all the accounts are reconciled, both of the antiquity and modernity of the name Waldenses—the antiquity affirmed

(1) Atlas Novus, sive Theatrum Orbis Terrarum in quo, Galliæ, Helvetiæ Universæ, et singulorum Cantonum necnon et Belgii Universi, Tabulæ Geographicæ cum suis descriptionibus. Tomus secundus. Amstelodami apud Albinum Janssonium, anno 1649.

(2) See the Novus Atlas, Amsterdam, 1642, vol. ii. art. Delphine.

by Rainerius Saccho,[1] that the opinions of the Waldenses are traceable to Silvester or to the apostolic times, will be confirmed to the utmost—Peter of Valdy, to whom Mr. Faber assigns the origin of the name, will have been one of the Givaldenses or Waldenses of Languedoc; and Waldo of Lyons the same.

Aversion to the worship, or to the use, of images, characterised the first Christians on the Rhone. Aversion to images was one of the causes of their resisting Pepin, when he endeavoured to impose on the people of Gavauldan the united yoke of his own tyranny and the papal idolatry; first by the council of Chantilly, and immediately after, by his devastating army. Aversion to images, scattered the conquered Waldenses from Languedoc over the Pont d'Esprit to the eastern Givaldan, the Alps, and the valleys. Aversion to images, characterises their descendants to this moment. The idolatry of image-worship is one of the chief causes of the present impossibility of union among those Christians who desire the restoration of the primitive faith and worship, established among the episcopal churches, of the catholic church, by Christ and his apostles, and their earliest successors.

With respect to the etymological objection, that Waldensis cannot be properly derived from Gavuldensis, I answer, that the territorial divisions, over which the judicial officer, among the Teutonic nations, in these ages presided, who was called Graf; and which corresponds with the word pagus, the term used in Adelmar, to describe the extent of the districts of Albi, and Gavuldan—was always called, Gau.[2] Albi was the capital town of the Gau, or pagus of Albi, pagus Albiensis: and pagus Gavuldanum, would be the pagus, or Gau, of which Valdan would be the capital. The inhabitants of Gavuldanum are the Gavuldenses. The people of Valdan are Valdenses. The u at the end of Gau, and the W, or the V, at the beginning of Waldan, or Valdan, would merge also into each other. The word Gau would be omitted, when the people of the pagus, or Gau, left their territory. The word Waldensis from Valdan, and the term Vallensis from the towns beginning with Val, or from the numerous valleys of the district would become, and did become the common epithets, not of a sect, but (as the word protestant is now used) the name of the opponents of the errors, and usurpations of Rome. The subject requires a volume, rather than a few parenthetical paragraphs, when I am treating of other subjects; and I must return from this digression to the duller labour of following Mr. Maitland through his criticisms on Foxe. I shall only add, that the view I take confirms to the utmost the conclusions of the learned and eminent Mr. Faber, whom Mr. Maitland seems delighted to insult; and to whom, as well as to my friend Dr. Gilly, I am indebted for much pleasant reading on the controverted topics I have alluded to. I think I could prove

(1) See Maitland, etc.

(2) See Spelman's Glossary, verb. Gobia; Kemble's Introduction to the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, vol. i. Preface, p. 4; Eber's German Dictionary, (Leipzig, 1796,) under the word Gau. See also Serotini Lexicon German. Nuremberg, 1691, 4to. p. 13. Gau—Geu—et antiq. Gow—proprie tractus Vallensis.

the certainty of every part of my theory, from the various materials they have collected, from the authors to whom they have referred—from the History of the Inquisition and of the Crusades—and from all the scattered notices of the people and countries of the districts between Gavauldan on the east, and Givaldan on the west, of the Rhone: but these flowers of literature must be gathered by others. I must return to the weeds.[1]

Mr. Maitland's review of Foxe's History of the Waldenses is a pamphlet of fifty-four pages.[2] The principal subject discussed in them is, whether Foxe is to be regarded as an historical authority; and the question is repeated from the Christian Observer, "*Does Foxe falsify, or unfairly abridge, or partially select historical documents?*" Mr. Maitland's conclusion[3] respecting Foxe as an authority of any kind is, that it is "perfectly absurd" so to regard him. He omits, however, till thirty pages are gone over, to meet the question, whether he falsifies, abridges, or unfairly selects his authorities.[4] He then alleges that he frequently gives no authority at all, or he gives them in a manner so vague and uncertain, that his quotations are useless; and,[5] that he sometimes gives one authority when he is, in fact, using another. Having discussed these points, Mr. M. proceeds to consider the charge of unfair abridgment, which he confesses it to be difficult to define;[6] and he confesses also, that though there is another species of abridgment, which by the suppression of truth, amounts almost to the allegation of falsehood, he is not "*prepared to say to what extent Foxe may have done this, for I have compared very few of his extracts with his authorities.*" That is—the candid critic, like Pope's Atticus,

> "Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
> Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike."

He says nothing whatever of the third topic of accusation—the partially selecting documents; but hastily concludes his pamphlet, by declaring that he is conscious, "that each case of misstatement exposed, may by itself seem trifling; but that the *popular delusion* about the Waldenses and Albigenses is only kept up by little suppressions, and omissions, and alterations in ancient testimonies, and therefore he desired to expose

(1) I shall only add here, that the reign of Charlemagne presents a continuation of the persecutions and devastations committed upon the survivors of the Albigenses and Waldenses who had escaped the ten years' successive havoc, cremations, and huntings among the Alps and Pyrenees, and their intermediate territories, by his father Pepin. Blondel, from the Annals of Pithou, mentions the fact in the Prolegomena to his Vindiciæ pro Sancta Veteri Romana Ecclesia, etc.; that a remnant of the fugitive Gavuldenses, or Waldenses, escaped into Ceritania, and sought protection among the Moors and Saracens, where they were found after a lapse of sixty years from the period when they were routed by Pepin from their native abode in Languedoc. The passages in Blondel state—"Anno sequenti (A. D. 827), defecit ad eum filius Beronis nomine Wiliemundus, et alii complures novarum rerum gentilitia levitate cupidi, junctique Sarracenis Ceritaniam et Vallensem rapinis atque incendiis quotidie infestabant." Then, after an account of a delegation from Charlemagne to admonish them, we read that, in 827 the emperor sent his son Pepin against them. "Contra quem imperator filium suum Pipinum Aquitania regem cum immodicis Francorum copiis mittens, regni sui terminos tueri præcepit."——"Eandem historiam vitæ Ludovici auctor describit his verbis—Præterea Aizone infestante eos qui in nostris finibus consistebant, et præcipue Ceritaniam Vallensemque regionem usquequaque vastante, eo usque immanitas illius processit, annitentibus Maurorum et Sarracenorum auxiliis," etc. —Blondel Prolegomena, pp. 29, 30. Genev. 1635.

(2) That is, the pages are numbered to fifty-four, but the first page is the ninth; it consists, therefore, of forty-five only.

(3) Page 13. (4) Page 43. (5) Page 46. (6) Page 52.

that delusion. With this the pamphlet terminates. I shall briefly proceed through its pages. The allegations against Foxe are reduced to one only—the manner in which he uses his authorities. Mr. Maitland, we shall see, himself acquits him, both of falsehood, deception, and fraud; and thereby establishes his value as an historian.

Page 1 or 9 introduces the subject of the pamphlet by declaring the question to be, whether the Waldenses were a sect, ancient or modern. Foxe (and I think him in error) agrees with Mr. Maitland and Illyricus, that they originated from Waldo of Lyons.

Page 10 proposes the question, does Foxe falsify, unfairly abridge, or partially select documents.

Pages 11, 12, 13 contain a criticism on the publishers of the new edition, concluding with the declaration, that if Foxe had any character for accuracy of detail, it is quite undeserved.

Hitherto no criticism has been made upon the martyrologist. We are now brought to the three paragraphs, with which Foxe introduces the history of the Waldenses. The whole account which he gives of them is contained in eight pages of the new edition, vol. ii. p. 263—270. The reader is requested to keep those pages before him as we proceed.

Mr. Maitland begins his attack on the history itself by a criticism on the misprint of a date; 1109 is printed for 1160. He omits to mention that even this error is corrected in the following page. "*The* 6," says Mr. Maitland, "*appears to have jumped over the* 0, *and alighted on its head!*" What reply can I make to such trifling, minute criticisms? Shall I say that Mr. Maitland could not spell the word *were*, because in his Facts and Documents, p. 49, he has carelessly permitted himself to be guilty of writing the expression—"What *where* not thought worth printing"—instead of "what *were* not thought," &c. &c. I am sure I may as well suspect Mr. Maitland to be ignorant of orthography, as John Foxe of chronology. Yet—ex pede Herculem—such is the first specimen of the criticisms of this redoubted assailant on John Foxe! Such is his wit! He should remember with me, that "Dulness is sacred in a sound divine"—and not venture to tarnish his character for orthodoxy, by descending to the buffoonery of a joke, or even to the playfulness of a witticism.

"*The next paragraph*," says Mr. Maitland, "*is little more than a translation from Illyricus.*" This is alleged against Foxe in the 13th and following pages as a crime. I am really unable to conjecture why it should be so regarded. Dr. Dodd wrote some beautiful paragraphs on various passages of Scripture. They are quoted by many persons, but Dr. Dodd's name is not mentioned by the quoters. The reason is obvious. Dr. Dodd was hanged for forgery. The borrowers from his pages were ashamed to mention their authority. Does this dishonour them? So also it was with Illyricus. He was a disreputable writer. Yet the account of the Waldenses was deemed to be authentic, and Foxe therefore did not name his authority. This may have been the

reason — or he may have quoted from the common documents from which Foxe also borrowed. In either case Foxe is not affirmed, even by Mr. Maitland himself, to have spoken unfairly, or falsely. I see no necessity for defending the martyrologist against the charge of quoting from another who was never suspected of wilfully deceiving his readers.

In page 15 Foxe is condemned for stating that *the Waldenses* "*maintained nothing else, but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church.*" "Let this be borne in mind," says Mr. Maitland, "while we examine the history itself." P. 15.

I do bear it in mind. Foxe is right. The church of England, and the catholic anti-papal church does generally, though not universally, affirm, maintain, and profess, in substance, the same creed as that of the Waldenses, against Rome. What can be either the utility or the meaning of such remarks as these? Foxe, though Mr. Maitland omits the sentence, is contrasting, not from Illyricus, the real character of the Waldenses with the false imputations against them of the popish writers. Against these he affirms that the Waldenses upheld the common faith.

In page 16 the same crime is alleged against *Foxe*, that he *translated from Illyricus.*

In page 17 we meet with a reference to the expression of Foxe,[1] that the doings of Waldo remain in old parchment monuments. This confirms my supposition that both he and Illyricus might have seen many documents on the continent, which are now lost. Can Mr. Maitland convict him of falsehood, in such a reference?

An extraordinary question proposed by Mr. Maitland in his preceding publication,[2] is repeated in the same page of his review. It is this: If the Valdenses had a pure confession of faith forty years before Waldo began to teach, *why did he trouble himself to make a translation of the Scriptures?*

To confirm that very faith—is the answer—and to strengthen his conviction that more good would be effected, if another translation was given. For the same reason James the First caused a new translation to be given, though the church was settled. The translation previously used was not deemed so perfect as to supersede improvement by another.

In page 18 we have another sneer at Foxe's "honesty," *for alluding to old parchment documents.* The sneer is unfounded. There is an apparent inconsistency between the declaration that Illyricus says that he had seen the doings of Waldo in old parchment monuments; while in another part Illyricus affirms that no ancient writings of Waldo, nor of the sect were in existence. But Foxe is not guilty of the inconsistency. He says only that it "appears from the doings of Waldo, yet remaining in old parchment monuments, that Waldo was able to translate the books of Scripture."

(1) Vol. ii. p. 264. (2) Facts and Documents, etc. p. 127.

Pages 19, 20, 21, 22 contain remarks on Illyricus, and on Foxe borrowing from him, which have no reference to Foxe of a disparaging nature, excepting that Foxe, from inadvertency, omitted one article of the Waldensian creed, which Illyricus had printed. In the note to page 22, indeed, Mr. Maitland compliments Foxe on the correctness of his translation.

In page 23, Mr. Maitland asks *on what grounds the editor of the Christian Observer talks of Foxe's having passed by earlier statements of Waldensian opinions;* and demands whether he has any pretence for suggesting that Foxe knew of any.

The reply is evident. Foxe alleges that ancient documents existed. The editor of the Christian Observer, in common with myself, and others, believe Foxe. Mr. Maitland does not believe him; but he assigns no reasons for his incredulity.

Page 24, Foxe is *accused of omitting part of a paragraph* from Illyricus, because, says Mr. M., *I suppose he did not understand it;* and adds, what the meaning is, I really do not know; and he goes on in page 25, to prove that the editor of the Christian Observer misunderstood Foxe.

What am I to say? If I omit to notice the "I suppose's" and the "it appears to me's," I shall be considered as acting unfairly; but I do most solemnly assure the few who can be interested in this mass of dulness, that the criticisms of Mr. Maitland are so puerile, that the thought of their lessening the usefulness, and estimation, of the old martyrologist is most absurd. I feel, indeed, as I still fetter myself to the inglorious task of considering them, in the situation of Gulliver in Lilliput. Every hair of my head is fastened down by the invisible strings of the pigmy antagonists. Every attempt to move is followed by the showers of their small arrows. My united impatience and contempt, do but increase my pain in my imprisonment. I must submit with what self-possession I may command.

Page 26 presents us happily with a more tangible accusation. *Foxe is affirmed* (Mr. Maitland has no doubt unintentionally) *to have misrepresented a quoted document* in one or two particulars, and he considers it worth while to notice them.

The first is, that Foxe calls Aquinas, the first finder of Purgatory.

This he certainly was not; but, by his attempts to define the obscure and unscriptural doctrine more accurately, Mr. Maitland well knows that Aquinas gave it a "local habitation" though he did not give it the name. In this sense, Aquinas was the finder of Purgatory, and Foxe is right.

The next is, that Foxe so refers to an old chronicle, called Chronica Gestorum, as to represent Origen as quoting from it.

The faults must here be in the carelessness of the reader. The words are—sicut chronica ostendunt, et vetustissimus Græcus Origines.

Another follows. Foxe's confused way of stringing together extracts

produces the effect of intentional falsehoods; and a supposed instance is given in the account of the expulsion of the Waldenses from some city. "*They were thrust out,*" says Foxe, "*and were dispersed in sundry places: of whom many remained long in Bohemia.*" Upon this, Mr. M. remarks, that Foxe leaped from the twelfth century to a time more recent than Huss, and Jerome of Prague.—He does no such thing. He says only they were long in Bohemia. They were so. The principles which the Waldenses taught, and no doubt many of the descendants of the refugees, were found in Bohemia, in the time of Huss. If they were then found there, they must have remained long there, previously.

Some remarks follow as far as page 30, on the manner in which Foxe has translated the articles of the Waldensian faith from the pages of his authorities, whether Illyricus or Orthuinus Gratius; the objectionable glosses mentioned by Mr. Maitland are four.

First, that *Foxe affirms the Waldensian doctrines to be the same as those which were persecuted four hundred years before.*

Who can prove him to be wrong?

Secondly, the Latin states that ministers should be supported by alms only. *Foxe gives them tithes also.*

Mr. Maitland well knows that the Wycliffites, and their successors, regarded tithes as alms. They were certainly granted originally by the owners of the land, as permanent alms, that is, as freely made, voluntary endowments. The word alms denotes the casual contribution of charity. In this sense the tithes are not alms, and Foxe was wrong.

The Latin of the Waldensian creed says, that the preaching of the word is free to all men. *Foxe adds*—"*called thereunto.*"

He was right in supplying the words. Neither himself nor the Waldenses imagined that a man was entitled to preach without some authority. He believed, therefore, that the sentiment was to be inferred from the original; and translated it accordingly.

Foxe omits in his account of the Waldensian creed, that they affirmed that the magistrate, who is guilty of mortal sin, ought not to be obeyed.

This opinion was held by Wycliffe. Mr. Maitland is right in condemning Foxe for omitting it. Foxe ought to have mentioned it, and condemned it. Society could not be held together, if a wicked magistrate was to be disobeyed with impunity, at the pleasure of the subject, before the legal sentence had deposed the magistrate. Any slander against a magistrate would, in such a case, have been followed by anarchy.

These variations appear to Mr. Maitland to be very important. To me they seem to be of no very great moment.

This has brought us, I am happy to say, to page 31.

Pages 32 to 42 are still occupied with proofs that Foxe, with the exception of what he took from Orthuinus Gratius, borrowed all his

accounts of the Waldenses from Illyricus, without naming him. He then proceeds to offer some general observations on Foxe's conduct with respect to authorities.

In page 32, Foxe is affirmed *wilfully to have mistranslated the words of the inquisitor*, who reported the faith of the Waldenses. *His words are—They use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Ave Maria, and the creed, which they affirm not to be put in, as any prayer by Christ, but only by the church of Rome.* The Latin is—"Nullam aliam orationem dicunt, nec docent, nec habent, nisi orationem dominicam, Pater Noster, &c. Nec aliud (or aliquid, as Mr. M. suggests, p. 33) reputant salutationem angelicam, Ave Maria, nec symbolum apostolorum, Credo," &c.

There is no mistranslation on the part of Foxe. The words "*and the creed*" ought only to be placed in a parenthesis; and the remark on the Ave Maria, that it is not a prayer by Christ, but only of the church of Rome, is the permissible gloss of the martyrologist.

Æneas Sylvius affirms, that the Waldenses, in saying grace before meat, used the sign of the cross. *Foxe, translating from Æneas Sylvius, omits this fact.* Mr. Maitland condemns the omission. I cannot defend it.

In pages 34 and 35 these two topics are further descanted upon.

Page 36, Rainerius Saccho had said, that the Waldensian translators of the New Testament were ignorant men. He proves it by the circumstance that they had mistaken sui, "his own," for sues, "swine," in the passage in John i. 11. This appears to have been an error of the press, or of the copyist. Illyricus had considered it as intended, and called it "pius jocus." *Foxe, translating from Illyricus, says, that they rather merrily, than skilfully, interpreted the word of St. John.* Mr. Maitland is right in condemning the appearance of levity either in Foxe, or Illyricus, on such a subject. I have, however, no doubt that "sues" was written for "sui," by mistake; and that both Illyricus and Foxe believed that it was not a mistake, but was rather designed as a satirical translation, or as a description of those who rejected Christ. The common metaphor of the Scriptures, which denominates wicked or infidel men by the name of swine, might have been present to their mind and have occasioned the certainly objectionable expressions, "jocus" and "merrily translated."[1]

(1) Very singular are the instances of ignorance to be sometimes met in the ages which were once called dark, but which we are now forbidden to denominate by that name, unless we are ourselves willing also, because those ages had a knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture, to be deemed ignorant. One of the most curious of these is mentioned by the learned nonjuror, Dean Hickes. The words in Matt. x. 31, "Ye are of more value than many sparrows," "Multis passeribus meliores estis vos," is so rendered by the Anglo-Saxon translator, as if the original of the Vulgate had been ex multis passionibus meliores estis vos. "Censuit enim vir bonus," says Hickes, "passer esse nomen verbale, a patior, passus, atque adeo satis orthodoxe, ut theologus, etsi non satis perite ut grammaticus, swearwan (it ought to have been spearwan) per throwungum vertit. Ignorantiâ hæc, ut crassa, non hominis fuit, sed seculi in quo vixit, humaniarum literarum ad stuporem rudis, et barbarie ipsâ magis barbari; quod et id genus errores, qui infra ponuntur, curiosum lectorem plus satis docebunt." Then follow many other singular instances of mistranslations, which the curious reader may consult at pleasure.—"Hickes Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, et Mæso-Gothica, p. 92, folio—the first treatise in the Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis. Oxford, 1705." The beautiful copy of this work, in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham, was presented by the author, with an elegant inscription in his own hand. It

In page 38, we read in a paragraph translated by Foxe from Illyricus,—"Habeo consultationes jurisperitorum Avinionensium, item archiepiscoporum Narbonensis, Arelatensis, et Aquensis, item ordinationem Albanensis episcopi." Here a difference is made between the council of the three first-named bishops, and the ordinance of the last named. It is evident, however, that the last, by his ordinance against the Waldenses, sanctioned the council of the three former. Foxe therefore speaks of the whole four as engaged in the same conspiracy. There are yet to be seen, he translates the words, the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquensis, and Albanensis, devised among themselves, which yet remain in writing, against the Waldenses. In the second paragraph, page 38, from Illyricus, we read,—"ex prædictâ trium archiepiscoporum Gallicorum consultatione." Illyricus describes in these words—the council of the three. Foxe, including the bishop of Albano in the results of that council, speaks generally, as paraphrasing rather than translating, "what great persecutions were raised up against the Waldenses in France by these four archbishops before mentioned." *For this mode of relating the circumstances of the case, Foxe is spoken of, as if he was either ignorant that the word "trium" denoted three; or, as if he was so careless and inaccurate as to be unworthy of credit.* Yet the martyrologist is quite right, as he so generally is proved to be. Four archbishops persecuted. Four joined in one savage hatred; though three only are actually mentioned as a council, and the ordinance is mentioned of the other. I again ask, what dependence can we place on this learned, and formidable antagonist? *Is not such criticism like puerile, as well as personal hatred?* Does it not produce the effects of wilful error? Has not Mr. Maitland's causeless, unworthy, unmeaning hatred of John Foxe, which he holds in common with the papists only, altogether blinded his judgment?

In page 39, we are presented with a long unmeaning criticism on the omission of the word "et," and whether a council condemned the heretic Waldenses, or the heretics and Waldenses. *Foxe had not omitted the "et:"* a mistake as bad as that which Mr. Maitland has committed in omitting the syllable "ma" in the word "problematical," and printing it "probletical." What human patience can endure wading through such minutenesses as these?[1]

Page 40 contains an attack on the editor, which he may answer if he please; and in 41, an account of a various reading in Illyricus.

In page 42, *Foxe is condemned* both by Mr. M. and his editor, *for numbering the "Waldensis sect" among the papist religious orders.* The answer is given in the very note of objection.[2] Durand of Osca

is most carefully printed; yet there is an error of the press, in the very passage in which the nonjuring author has related the ignorance of the dark ages. What book could retain any value as an authority, if the pages of Foxe, Hickes, or of Mr. Maitland himself must be judged thus severely—ubi plura nitent. &c. &c. &c.

(1) This omission occurs at page 54, note 56, first line of the note, in Mr. Maitland's pamphlet,—"An Enquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years." Second edition: Rivingtons, and T. Jew, Gloucester. 1837.

(2) Page 353, vol. ii.

formed a religious order called "Poor Catholics." This order was accused of heresy, and therefore called by the common name of "Waldenses;" but they do not appear to have renounced, as the true Waldenses did, the idolatry of the church of Rome; and therefore Foxe rightly calls them, though a religious order, by the name usually assigned to them. He proves his fairness, not his ignorance.

At length, in pages 42 and 54, we are brought to the question, the only real question of the value of Foxe as an authority; and Mr. Maitland thus sums up the reasons for considering the martyrologist as no authority.

1. Foxe frequently gives no authority at all.

2. He gives his authorities so vaguely and so uncertainly, that they are useless.

3. He borrowed authorities.

4. He abridges unfairly; though Mr. Maitland confesses that he does not know how to define the unfair abridgment to which he alludes.

I reply briefly and generally,—

1. *Foxe frequently gives no authority at all.*

Mr. Maitland, in one part of his works,[1] asks whether the reader of Rapin and other historians, is of opinion that they wrote their histories from imagination? I ask the same question respecting Foxe. He might have spangled his pages with as numerous references as Sharon Turner has so beautifully, and so satisfactorily done. But I ask Mr. Maitland his own question,—Did Foxe invent history? or, if he did not, might he not have considered it unnecessary to give authorities for his more well-known facts? Or would Mr. Maitland have had him act as the gentleman, who refused to believe that the Duke of Wellington had won the battle of Waterloo, till he had the authority of a Dutch gazette? That the reader of Foxe, however, may believe the martyrologist, even when no authority is quoted, I will mention one coincidence, which may serve as a specimen of the careful manner in which Foxe collected the materials for his history.

In p. 482 of the edit. 1632, vol. i.; p. 420 of the edit. 1684, vol. i.; and p. 650, vol. ii. of the new edit., we read,—"Two legates came from Rome, sent by pope John XXII., under pretence to set agreement between England and Scotland; who for their charges and expenses required of every spiritual, fourpence in every mark."

Foxe gives no authority for this alleged fact. Mr. Maitland would have us, therefore, suppose that it is false. It is true. In the treasury of Durham, as our librarian[2] informs me, a mandate from bishop Beaumont to the prior and convent of Durham still exists, in which the Bull of pope John XXII. is recited, commanding the prior and convent to collect for these cardinals fourpence per mark from all beneficed persons

(1) Six Letters, &c. &c. Preface, p. viii. end of the note.
(2) The Rev. James Raine, well known by his valuable antiquarian labours, his works on St. Cuthbert, History of North Durham, etc.

in the diocese. Again I ask, what possible benefit can Mr. Maitland propose to render to the Church by such criticisms as these?

2. *Foxe frequently gives his authority so vaguely and uncertainly as to be useless.*

He was the earliest general ecclesiastical historian; and in his day references were certainly not given in the admirable manner they now are, with page, volume, edition, date, and publisher, enumerated fully. Yet, even now, if Mr. Maitland, Mr. Turner, Mr. Tyler, or Mr. Tytler, affirmed any historical fact on the authority of Hume, Rapin, or Echard, and their references, they would be sometimes contented merely to mention the name of the quoted historian; such as—see Rapin—see Hume; and the reader would understand that Mr. Maitland or Mr. Turner referred him to that particular part of Rapin or Hume, in which an account was given of the transaction of which he is speaking. So it was also with Foxe. If he refer to Hoveden, Matthew Paris, or to any other authority, though he may not quote the very page, he must be supposed to be directing his reader to the narratives of the same events, which he was himself relating. In the day when Foxe wrote, this was deemed to be sufficient: and that necessarily; for many of his authorities were still in manuscript, in the hands only of the learned. Hoveden, for instance, or Howden, as he ought to be called, was first printed after Foxe's death in 1587. But that the reader may know that Foxe, though he sometimes omits authorities, is generally anxious to give them, I submit to the reader the authorities he has collected for the events of the century between 1000 and 1100. I take them from the edition of 1684, under the heads of the subject, the page, the authority, and the year. They will be enough to convince the unprejudiced reader that Foxe had no wish to falsify history. He expresses his opinions of the facts he records, in terse, bitter, expressions in the margin; but he never wilfully misrepresents his facts.

SUBJECT.	PAGE	AUTHORITY QUOTED.	YEAR
First joining between the Normans and English	180	Henry Archidiac. lib. vi.	1000
A lesson for all judges and justices	181	Brompton. Hist. Biblioth. Hoveden	1013 1013
False, unfaithful, and unconstant mutability of English lords rewarded	182	Brompton. Hist. Biblioth.	1016
The story of Alfred	182	English chronicles compiled of certain English clerks	1039
Coming in of Alfred and the Normans	183	Ex historia ignoti authoris	—
Gunilda, wife to Henricus the Emperor	183	Gulielmus and Fabianus	—
Flatterers and clawbacks about princes	183	Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, lib. vi. Polydor, lib. vii.—Fabian	— —
Queen Emma accused of incontinency	183	Polydor.—Fabian	1043

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Laws of king Edgar	183	Polydor—Fabian	1043
The end and death of ungodly Godwin	184	Brompton. Hist. Bibl.—Malmesbury.—Polydor.—Fabian et aliis	—
Death of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside	184	Brompton. Hist. Bibl.	1056
Harold's journey to Flanders to see his brother and cousin, and his capture by duke William	185	Polydor.—Henry of Huntingdon	—
King Edward, the outlaw, dream or revelation of	—	Malmesbury.—Brompton.—History of Richard II. jussis composita	—
William the Conqueror sworn to King Edward's laws	—	Ex Matt. Paris.	
De jure et appendiis regni Britanniæ, et quod fit officium regis	—	Ex Libro Reg. Antiquorum in Prætor London	—
The office of a king further described	186	Ibidem	—
Landing and conquest of duke William, and death of Harold	186	Gerardus	1066
Sylvester II. a foul sorcerer	187	Johannes Stella.—Benno.—Platina.—Petrus Præmonstr. Nauclerus.—Antoninus.—Robertus. Barnus.—Balæus	—
The feast of All-souls brought into the church	187	Volateranus.—Ex Bakenthorpo, iv. lib. Sentent.	—
Pope Leo IX. and Berengarius	188	Concilium Moguntium.—Nauclerus.—Crantz	—
Death of Leo.—Theophylact.—Hildebrand.—Victor.—Deposition, etc. of bishops and priests.—Poisoning of popes Victor and Leo	188	Alb. Crantz. Saxo. lib. iv. c. 45.—Concilium Florentianum.	
Pope Nicholas undermineth the emperor's jurisdiction	188	Concilium Lateran, anno 1059, Dist. 23, cap. *in nomine*	1059
Transubstantiation brought into the church	188	Concil. Lateran.	
Nicholas II., beginning and end of.	—	Nauclerus.—Platina.—Eneas Sil.	1062
Two popes go to war for St. Peter's seat.—Alexander at length confirmed, and the other pardoned	189	Concilium Mantuanum.—Benno Cardinalis.	
The total change in church, state, coins, etc. by the policy of the Norman conqueror	192, 193	Ex Hen. Huntington, lib. vi.—Ex Hist. Johan. Brompton	1070
Concerning archbishops not being qualified to confirm bishops without a pall	193	Dist. 100, c. Prisca.	
Case of Lanfranc	—	Dist. 100, c. Novit.	
Exorbitant charge for a pall	—	Ex Lib. Gravaminum Nationis Germanicæ.	
Fifty bishoprics taxed in Germany by the pope	194	Eneas Silvius.	
King Lucius, and the first English archbishops	—	Ex Chron. Sigebert.	

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Contentions among prelates for superiority	195	Chronicon Hirseldense.	
Contentions between Lanfranc and Thomas of York	—	Letter of Lanfranc to pope Alexander.—Council of London and its decrees.	
Lanfranc's book against Berengarius	196	Opus Scintillarum Lanfranci	1074
The emperor holding the pope's stirrup	196	Ex Aventino et aliis.	
The tragical history of Gregory VII.	196	Ex Aventino.—Translation.	
Allusion to an epistle of Gregory, in which he boasted his exemption from possibility of error	197	Idem.	
Otho, bishop of Constance, cited to Rome for refusing to unmarry married priests	197	Letter of Hildebrand.	
Council of Rome to force the priesthood to swear perpetual chastity	197	Bull of Hildebrand.	
Archbishop of Mentz and German bishops' conduct respecting the oath of celibacy	198	Ex Lamberto Scafnaburgen, in Hist. Germanorum.	
The priests of Germany about to rebel and depose the archbishop of Mentz for his attempt to impose celibacy	198	Councils of Erpsford, and the following year at Mentz, under the authority of Sigefrid.	
Hildebrand addicted to necromancy	198	Cardinal Benno.	
Certain cardinals who withdrew from communion with Hildebrand	ib.	Idem.	
The breach of discipline and decency in the election of this pope	ib.	Idem.	
Numerous acts of crime and vice specified as done by him	199	Idem.	
Definition of a lie	200	St. Augustine.	
Various other narrations of the iniquity of Hildebrand	ib.	Benno and Aventine.	
Conduct of Hildebrand to the bishop of Bamberg, and to the emperor	201	Council of Lateran.	
Bishops of Germany agree in council, that it is expedient to depose Hildebrand	ib.	Council of Worms.	
The excommunication of the emperor by the pope	ib.	Ex Platina.	
The plea of excommunication, sedition threatening the destruction of the church	ib.	Illustrated by a passage from Juvenal.	
A detail of the entrapment of the emperor at Canusium, with the empress and child	202	Copy in English of the oath imposed on the emperor.	
Repetition of the excommunication of the emperor	203	Translated copy.	

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The pope condemned by the said council	ib.	Abbas Uspergensis.—Hen. Mutius.	
The emperor taketh the city of Rome, establishes Clement in the papacy, and deposes Hildebrand; who is rescued by Robt. Guiscard, and carried into Campania, where he soon dies	ib.	Platina.—Nauclerus.—Sabellicus.—Crantzius.—Benno, &c.	
Names of Norman nobles who entered England with the Conqueror	205	Annals of Normandy in French, from a very ancient parchment MS. in possession of Foxe	
List of those who remained alive after the battle, and were advanced in the seigniories of the land.....	206	Ancient Chronicles of England.	
Changes in the prelacy, and in certain sees.....	207	Ordinale Ecclesiastici officii secundum usum Sarum. Ex Eulogio Hist. lib. iii.	
A story of a German bishop being devoured by rats and mice	ib.	Brompton of Jarvail.....	1088
Death of Lanfranc and affairs of the church	208	Polydore.....	1092
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Councils held by pope Urban. Excommunicating laymen who presumed to grant investitures, and clergy who received the same ...	ib.	Synodus Romana vel Placentia.	
On the first Crusade to the Holy Land	ib.	Synodus Claremontana, and Oration of pope Urban	1096
Jerusalem conquered by the Christians	209	Ex Henric. lib. vii.	1098
King of England's judgment against the pope.....	ib.	Ex Matt. Paris.....	ib.
Decrees of Urban on the Canonical Hours.....	ib.	Joh. Stella.—Nauclerus.....	ib.
Married clergy to be deprived of their order.....	ib.	Dist. 31 Eos qui xv. q. 6 Juratos...	ib.
Subjects to break their oath to those excommunicated by the pope, made lawful	ib.	Ten references to the canon law...	ib.
Anselm's departure and appeal to pope Pascal	211	Ex Epistle 36. Paulo post initium Ex Legend. Anselmi, aut Eadmero ex Epist. Anselm. 36. Concil. Baionense.	ib.
Articles of the Romish church objected to by the Greek churches	212	Register of cathedral church of Hereford.	
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Rufus's sumptuousness in apparel...	215	Ex Vetusto Chronico.	
Kings of Wales ceased from this time	215	Ex Continuatione Rog. Hoveden .	1099

3. *But Foxe borrowed authorities.* He does so. Every historian, however careful, is sometimes guilty of the same fault: and every historian, with Foxe, is liable to be deceived. Foxe, Mr. Maitland proves, has been misled by an authority; but as Mr. Maitland does not intend to charge Foxe with falsification (p. 47), I shall be contented with confessing that he has erred with the original, or borrowed, authority to whom he has referred. Proofs of this misleading are given in pp. 48, 49, 50, which do not affect the veracity of Foxe, and which I therefore pass by. I shall only remark, that as Mr. Maitland professes to be much offended with the manner in which names are sometimes misprinted, his own example may explain the mode in which this kind of blunder may occur. Mr. Maitland has printed the name of Joseph Scaliger, or as he is generally called, Jos. Scaliger, as if it was one word. This cautious critic, Mr. Maitland, in the note, p. 51, prints the two, as if the Christian and surname were one—Joscaliger. Yet who will condemn Mr. Maitland for an error so minute as this?

4. The fourth objection against Foxe is—*unfair abridgment.*

Mr. Maitland acknowledges the difficulty of defining what he means; but observes, p. 52,—that species of abridgment is unfair, which, by the mere suppression of truth, amounts almost to the allegation of falsehood. It is unfair to tell that part of a story only which suits our own view of a disputed point, and to suppress the rest, if it bear in the least a contrary meaning.

This is certainly too much done by many controversialists; and it is a custom so infamous, that I can believe with difficulty the alleged suppressio veri, in the "Facts and Documents" of Mr. Maitland—as he so sternly condemns the custom—and I resign Foxe to his anti-protestant and papal critics as indefensible, if he can be proved to be guilty of this crime.

"I will mention," says Mr. Maitland, "an instance of unfair abridgment, which will illustrate my meaning:—

"'In like sort the Albigenses before mentioned, accounted also by the pope's flock to be heretics, with their bishops, and a great number and company of them, were slain by commandment of Pope Gregory IX., at the same time in a certain place in Spain. (Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 87.)'

"I do not know," Mr. Maitland proceeds, "that there is anything here which can be said to be untrue. Perhaps it is not quite fair to represent them as slain by commandment of the Pope, as if some special order had been given in their case; while it does not appear that the pope had ever heard of this particular business. Still they were slain by the Crusaders, to whom the pope had given a general commission to suppress the Albigensian heresy, and it may be said that they were slain by commandment of the pope. If there is any thing like misrepresentation on this point, it arose, I believe, from Foxe's not taking time and trouble fully to understand what he was translating. But a more important question is, why were these unoffending Albigenses slaughtered? Of course, merely because they were accounted by the Pope's flock to be heretics—why else are they put among the Martyrs? Foxe gives no authority but Matthew Paris, nor do I know that there is any; and how does he tell the story?

"In this year also the Albigensian heretics in Spain, and that part of the country, so prevailed, that, having ordained heretical bishops to preach their heresy, they boldly asserted that the christian faith, and especially the mystery of the incarnation, was a fond conceit, and to be altogether set aside. And collecting a numerous army, they entered the country of the Christians in a hostile manner, burning the churches, and slaughtering the Christians of either sex and every age, without mercy. But this being at length made known, their heretical aggression was put down by the faithful Christians, who, at the command of pope Gregory, had come as crusaders from various parts of the west, for the defence of the christian faith. In the spring the aforesaid heretics, with their bishops, were slain by them in a pitched battle, so that not one of them escaped. The Christians also taking possession of their cities, filled them with faithful Christians, and catholic bishops having been ordained in them, the conquerors returned into their own country enriched and rejoicing."

Matthew Paris, though he severely condemns, in many passages, the exactions and usurpations of the bishops of Rome in England, was the bitter enemy of all who were reputed to be heretics. He gave currency to every charge against them. He affirms here that they were murdered rightly. Foxe, knowing the character of the historian, merely relates the fact that certain reputed heretics were slain, as M. Paris relates, by command of the pope. He omits the allegation of crime against the Albigenses, because he knew, or believed, that it was a falsehood; and he treated it as such. If I affirm that Cranmer was burnt for heresy, is it necessary that I should refute all the charges of his papistical enemies? I treat them as fables. Foxe did the same in the matter of the Albigenses. Whether they were killed deservedly or undeservedly is the question which Foxe would not discuss, and which need not be considered here. Gregory IX. commissioned[1] the Dominicans and

(1) See Platinâ in Vit. Gregory IX.

Franciscans to support the papal pretensions; and wherever they went, persecution and the most atrocious murders, in the name of the God of peace, followed, as matters of course.

I am happy to find that I have come to the last page of this book. Mr. Maitland there talks of the *popular delusion* about the Waldenses and Albigenses.

There is no popular delusion. Christ and his apostles preached truth. Rome for a time maintained that truth, in common with the rest of the holy churches of the one holy catholic church. The common people for a long time upheld that truth. Rome innovated upon it. The people resisted the innovations. The history of the Albigenses, of the Waldenses, of the church of England, and of the reformed churches, down to Mr. Maitland himself, is nothing but the record of the resistance to those innovations. Their cause is ours. Though they had adopted, as Wycliffe and his followers, many errors; those errors evanesce before the greater, grosser, more abominable errors of Rome. Mr. Maitland, in common with many of our Oxford theologians, has electrified England by the intolerable insult of so speaking of many of the pious, though in many respects mistaken opponents of Rome; as if they were equally guilty of error, and condemnable folly, with Rome itself. It is certain that mere opposition to falsehood does not constitute truth. One error may be opposed, and the opponent may fall into another. Many were burnt for protesting against Rome, who maintained opinions which the church of England, as well as the church of Rome, in common with the primitive churches, and the Nicene church, condemns. But they were burnt for opinions, and not for crimes: and the attempt to depreciate the labours of the great and orthodox writers, who, like Foxe, though they did not in all points uphold our present Zion, still sought for truth, and zealously opposed error,—has failed, and must fail; and does and will bring down upon the clergy themselves, who thus write, the contempt and indignation of their own best admirers, of the people of England. I shall say no more on this part of Mr. Maitland's labours, than to congratulate both my reader and myself on arriving at the last page of his first attack on the authority of Foxe; and to assure him, that the general impression respecting him, and the uses to which he has applied his great learning, may be expressed, with slight alteration, in the words of Johnson, which he spoke in reference to another subject: that the cause he advocates, and the manner in which his advocacy is conducted, make at once his "talents useless, his knowledge ridiculous, and his orthodoxy itself contemptible."

We are now brought to the Six Letters on the Acts and Monuments. I shall proceed through them all with the same impatient patience with which I have laboured through Mr. Maitland's former publication: still premising, that I purposely omit all notice of his observations, good, bad, or indifferent, on the present edition. I confine myself to those

points only which affect the general reputation, fidelity, or accuracy of the martyrologist.

These letters were originally published in the British Magazine. This work is one of those which too often seems to advocate that opinion upon which so many of the worst errors and superstitions of Rome were founded; that customs, notions, modes of worship, external observances, and various forms of prayer, are to be preserved in churches, or among Christians, because they are defensible from antiquity and tradition, or because they have been commanded by authority, rather than from reference to their usefulness, and value. Though the beautiful poetry which abounds in its learned pages sometimes elevates the heart to the presence of Him who sitteth between the cherubim, and clothes the aspirations of the enchanted and devotional reader, in the language of prayer and of praise, worthy of the worshipper who values and enjoys the privilege of having boldness to enter into the holy of holies, by the blood of Jesus;[1] and though many of the lucubrations which are sent to its editor, do honour to their deeply-read contributors—though its zeal and love for the church entitle its editors to the esteem and approbation of all who venerate the church, because it deserves their homage; yet too much is sometimes said of minutenesses of little worth; too much attention may be thought to be devoted to the fringes of the curtains of the tabernacle, to the form of the golden snuffers, and bowls, and spoons. It is true that these things must demand notice. It is true, that the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water, are required for the service of the sanctuary; though they are neither as essential, nor as important as the victim, or the priest: but the guest in the Lord's house desires to know more of the master, and less of the servants; and to taste of the banquet of his holy table, rather than to listen to the attendants, who may discourse most eloquently on the ornaments and decorations of the guest-chamber. The influence of this publication is very great among the younger clergy. Those who are not the slaves of the Vatican, are too often the slaves of the press. They would deem the censure of a severe paragraph in this, or in its contemporary, of the same character,[2] as a heavy calamity. Peace be to all such; and, with that peace, freedom from the terror of magazines and reviews; with complete emancipation from the dominion of the anonymous usurpers of the government of the literary republic. I have known more talent suppressed, more genius extinguished, more learning rendered useless, more honourable ambition ruined, (united as it generally is with a sensitive and anxious timidity,) both from the real, and from the apprehended severity of nameless reviewers, than from any other cause whatever. The review, has nearly extinguished the race of eminent and original writers. The best publications which now adorn the press, are the reprints of the works of our fathers (who wrote when there were no reviews), instructing the sons who are still able to

(1) Heb. x. 19. (2) The Quarterly Theological, or British Critic.

equal them; but who do not dare to make the great attempt, lest they become the scorn of their contemporaries, who are influenced by the contempt, and the ridicule of concealed, unknown, irresponsible, and therefore unassailable reviewers. Till that yoke be broken, the illustrious scholars of our universities will still be too often contented to demonstrate their undoubted talent, and deep learning, by their academical success alone. They will fear to compromise their well-earned scholastic reputation by venturing to incur the severity of the anonymous critic. Mr. Maitland, however, has not confined himself to the domino, and the mask. He is a critic of a nobler order. I admire his candour, but not his manners. I honour his boldness, though I cannot congratulate him on his success.

The preface to the Six Letters consists of thirteen pages, filled with very magisterial remarks, written in the character of one of the public,[1] that is, as a self-assumer of the authority of the people, in the name of the people; and a determination to say unkind and painful things to the persons he professes it to be his duty to assail. As no tyranny is so great as the despotism which is exercised in the name of liberty; no criticism is so appalling as that which is spoken in the name of the public. Mr. Maitland has well chosen, however, the name of the tribunal in whose behalf he has become the self-elected advocate. The public is an irresponsible body; and the advocate insults the publishers and derides the editors of the book, as if his "personal dislike" to the work extended to its friends and supporters.

The preface speaks much of the present edition; but it tells us nothing, not a word, against the martyrologist himself. I therefore have nothing to do with it. The references to myself, as the writer of certain preliminary dissertations, prove only that he, in common with others, much misunderstood the task I had undertaken—which I have explained in the Introductory Letter, and which I shall ever lament, unless the promise I made to the publishers become eventually the source of much good to the sacred cause of Christ's holy catholic church. I shall merely observe, that it is in this preface,[2] the expression —the offensive, unphilosophical expression—occurs, "the *popular cant* about the Vaudois." Let us consider what is meant by this phrase. I do so because Foxe may be said to be one of the authors who has contributed to the upholding of the general theory which Mr. Maitland insults the unoffending public,—his self-chosen master,—by denominating "*popular cant.*"

The theory is this. That Christ declared he would come again to be the judge of the living and the dead. But he declared also, by the mouth of the person to whom he appeared from the invisible world, that the day of his second coming should not dawn till there had been a falling away, first, from the purity of the truth of the gospel. Other passages of the theopneusted Scriptures describe this predicted

(1) Page vi. (2) Page vii.

apostasy more fully: and a great number of believers in the truth of those Scriptures have adopted, for many centuries, the conviction, that of various antichrists, papal Rome is the chief; and that the doctrines it has taught, the persecution it has inflicted, the usurpation it has accomplished, the gentleness it has affected, and the perseverance by which it still hopes to conquer, describe the great apostasy. These Christians believe, too, that all this mass of evil will be overruled for a greater degree of good, than if such evil had not been permitted; but that this anticipated good will be the result of perpetual, restless, persevering, necessary opposition to that evil, so long as it continues to exist; and until the time when, the evil itself being removed, the good with which it was blended, will become united with the good which was found among those who opposed it; and thus truth alone will be the bond of final peace and union. They believe also that the Waldenses may be justly ranked among the upholders of the primitive truth, when error, supported by ecclesiastical usurpation, began its innovations; and that they may be honoured wisely, as the unquailing opponents of that error from the very earliest times to the present day. This is the theory which Mr. Maitland rudely and insolently calls "*popular cant.*"

Let us judge of the theory by the dealings of God with the world before and after the apostolicity of the christian faith and discipline was established; and by the indisputable facts of ecclesiastical history.

The whole volume of the Bible, from the beginning to the end,—strange, startling, novel as the affirmation may appear,—*is written on one supposition only, namely, that God's or Christ's church, uniformly, but never universally, goes wrong;* and therefore, though the particular church which its Divine Master may have ordained to be the channel of grace and communion to any individual Christian, is never to be forsaken; unless the same page and voice from heaven which is given to guide the church, say to that individual, "For the salvation of the soul committed to thy trust, depart from the corruptions, and the corruptors, of my holy word"—it is the undoubted, bounden, solemn privilege and duty of all to whom the providence of the ever-present God grants the opportunity, and the ability, so to keep the soul committed to its trust, that it adopt the faith which secures its happiness, upon well-studied evidence only. The patriarchal church was divinely founded. It fell away. Its errors were opposed by many; but idolatry conquered, and the family of Abraham became the church. The family of Abraham relapsed into idolatry. The gradually encroaching corruptions were resisted by prophets, and by now unknown thousands, who bowed not the knee to the idols. The church of Israel was punished by the captivity. The family of Abraham returned purified from its idolatry. They were still the one divinely appointed church of God. The evil spirit of idolatry had been cast out; but he took with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and he entered in, and again dwelt in that house,

the church of God; and the last state of that man, of God, was worse than the first; for they crucified the Lord of glory, and the destruction of Jerusalem, and their present dispersion, are a worse state than the captivity of Babylon. Thus the church of God went wrong.

That the christian church universal might not go wrong, by following one human guide only upon earth, Christ appointed twelve, and not one apostle only, to be the founders; that many apostolic churches might constitute the catholic church; and that the solemn lesson might be learned that any particular church may go wrong, and therefore that every individual Christian must take the instruction and authority of his own, or of any church, as additional evidences only, of the truth of the supreme, and inspired Scriptures. Therefore, the volume of Scripture ends with the representation of seven apostolical, divinely-founded, orthodox churches, departing, to a greater or less degree, from the faith, though not from the discipline of the apostles. The authority of the twelve apostles, that is, the authority of the many churches they founded, became merged in one apostle, the successor of St. Paul, and of St. Peter; and in one church, that of Rome. There was, therefore, if that church went wrong, no human security for the perpetuity of the primitive truth under the incipient, increasing, domineering, persecution-supported errors; but the continued succession of despised and hated witnesses. Such a succession of witnesses had been raised up under the corruptions of the patriarchal and Jewish stages, of the one holy church. Such a succession might have been anticipated under the corruptions of the christian stage of the same one holy church; and it is not possible for me, therefore, to consider the rational expectations which our wise, protestant forefathers, derived from the analogy of God's past dealings with mankind, as unworthy delusion, or "*popular cant.*" Such language may suit the men who are insulting England, by endeavouring to write up the church of Rome, and to write down the church of England; who prefer retrogradation to progression; who are incurring the present contempt of their religious countrymen, as they will assuredly obtain the contempt of their posterity. They play at pope and papist, as children play at master and scholar. They pipe to Rome, but Rome will not dance to their music.

If the expectation of a succession of witnesses against the usurpations and errors of a corrupt church cannot be deemed "*popular cant,*" neither can the absurd folly of the expression be justified by the facts of ecclesiastical history. Whether the Waldenses originated, as I believe can be proved, from the Gavaldenses, who resisted the attempts of Pepin to impose upon them his own notions of the immunities of the church, after he had made his treaty with Rome, and adopted that criterion and test of idolatry, the use of images; or whether they originated with Peter Valdis, or with Waldo of Lyons, certain it is, that *the continued succession of opponents to the errors and usurpations of Rome, which a student of Scripture and of God's dealings with man might have anticipated, can always be traced, in all ages.* The catholic question,

rightly considered, began when Rome departed from the primitive faith; and the discussions on that question will be only terminated when Rome, which has but overlaid that truth with error, renounces the error and returns to its first purity. This continued opposition to Rome is a fact so notorious, that whether the Waldenses and Albigenses be, or be not, as Mr. Faber believes, the two witnesses of the Apocalypse, the opinion that they are so, deserves a more respectful appellation than the term "*popular cant.*"

The circular of the three clergymen who signed the letter to the editor of a London newspaper, pledging me to write a dissertation on the *principles* and *facts* involved in the work of John Foxe, is appended to Mr. Maitland's preface. I shall only here say, in addition to the remarks I have already made on this point, that the *principles* of John Foxe are, the seeking, and for the most part, finding, the truth of unpapal Christianity. The *facts* he relates are reducible to one, the gradual ascendancy of one church over others; proposing continually new errors, enacting new laws, enforcing new severities, uniting cruelty to the body with intolerable unscripturism, to the soul,—till the catholic church, indignant at the unbearable yoke, spoke out by Wycliffe and Luther; and until this island gave proof to the world that the establishment of a purer than the papal Christianity, may be united with unlimited, though too often an abused, toleration. May God, in his own good time, make the example of England one source, at least, of religious union among mankind.

The first Letter is contained in eight pages. Like the rest which follow it, the title ought to have been, "A Letter on the New Edition," rather than on the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe generally. I shall pursue the same plan, of noticing those remarks only which affect the veracity and fidelity of the martyrologist, and neither the new edition, nor its editors.

In page 2 we meet with the following paragraph—"Some explanation of my views of the work, is due also, I hope and believe, to many most sincere and zealous protestants among the subscribers, to ask them whether they have fully considered what they are doing in supporting the republication of a work which is, to say the least, characterized by (I would not wish to believe that by any it is prized for) the strain of *bitter invective* which runs through it—whether, supposing that they could hope for success, they would be satisfied to maintain protestantism as a mere party question by *declamation* and *abuse*, *railing* and *scoffing*, and a species of *banter* often coarse and sometimes profane—and whether they wish to disseminate and to give their sanction to those views of *church discipline* which Fox had adopted, and which it is the tendency of his work to maintain? Above all, it is due *to the cause of truth*, which, in whatever form, whether doctrinal or historical, is indeed the cause of God; and which (whatever a lamentable expediency may suggest or defend) cannot be violated without offence to Him."

I answer thus—

It is not as a zealous protestant that I support the republication of Foxe, but as an humble petitioner to Almighty God, to restore to the world and to the church the apostolical faith which Rome has corrupted, and the apostolical discipline which Rome has perverted.

The "*bitter invective*" which runs through the pages of Foxe, is only that severe and proper indignation, sometimes rudely expressed, which the lovers of the primitive truth ought ever to feel towards Rome, until that day when Rome, ceasing to be Lateranized and Trentine, shall say to its sister-churches of the one catholic church—"I have fallen as Peter—I repent with Peter—and now that I am converted, I strengthen my brethren." It is but that which Mr. Maitland himself does or ought to do, as his ordination vow requires, in every sermon he preaches—boldly reprove sin. It is but the same just invective which the most merciful Saviour uttered, when he trod the streets of Jerusalem, and said to the very men for whom he was about to shed his blood—"Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" Deep compassion originated the solemn invective.

"*Declamation — abuse — railing — scoffing—banter*"— are not the words which describe the horror of our fathers to the power which commanded the people to bow down to an image, and burnt them if they refused to do so. That horror was clothed in expressions which shock the tame elegance, and the courteous refinement of the present day. Neither are they justifiable to those who read in dressing-gowns, and lounge on sofas. They can only appear justifiable to those who, like Foxe and his contemporaries, escaped with difficulty from that burning fiery furnace; from which the church of England plucked forth the truth, which its martyrs secured to us—their degenerate sons.

With respect to *the view of church government, which Foxe had adopted*, Mr. Maitland has no reason whatever to believe that one of the subscribers desires to uphold it. Foxe desired a further reformation from Rome, but he had no peculiar views of church discipline contrary to those which Mr. Maitland himself professes to uphold. Neither is it the tendency of his work to maintain any other discipline. I will not express my opinion of this insinuation of Mr. Maitland.

With respect to the *cause of truth*, I join my hearty prayers to those of Mr. Maitland, that it may ever prosper; for it is, as he says, the cause of God. He might have added, it is also the cause of man. It is the cause of his present happiness, and his present peace and liberty; for "godliness has the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come."

The three points (p. 3) Mr. Maitland proposes to consider are—*What authorities Foxe consulted—whether he did justice to them—whether the new edition does justice to them.* The two first of those have been partly considered. With the last I have nothing to do.

I pass by every remark relating to the editor and his labours, and notice those only which refer to Foxe generally.

In note, p. 4, Foxe's translation of "Regis Angliæ colloquio fruere-mur,"—"*we come to the king's speech,*" is objected to. Foxe is right; the word "speech" is used in the sense of "audience."

Page 5 accounts for the numerous misprints in Foxe, that the editions were left to the mercy of the printers. The chief misprints are enumerated, pp. 6, 7, 8. Mr. Maitland corrects many of them; but he thinks it probable he may have made some mistakes; and, alluding with a sneer, to the declaration made by the publishers, that the editor has the advantage of public libraries, he observes, "*I have not the facilities offered by public libraries,*" or *any such* "*experienced assistants,*" as are said to share the labours of the Editor.—How unworthy all this is of a learned, dignified clergyman! I beg to remind Mr. Maitland of his own words[1] in another work, after he had enumerated many old and strange names of places,—"these names are obviously mis-spelt, but I have thought it best to print them, just as they stand, for I really know not how to correct all of them." The Editor of this book is certainly a less learned man than Mr. Maitland; but when he reads such remarks as Mr. Maitland thus makes upon his real or supposed blunders, and compares them with his confessions of his own possible errors, he will probably say of his critic, what Jones of Nayland said of Milton's unjust remarks upon the episcopal clergy—"I would not have his talents, if with them I must have also his temper."

Pages 9 and 10 are filled with criticisms on a supposed carelessness, or on a foolish pun by Foxe on the word "Senibaldus," the family name of pope Innocent; but no great *principle* is shewn to be questioned by Foxe—no *fact* alleged by him is overthrown. The Letter concludes abruptly, by telling his correspondent, who was, I believe, my own dear friend, Hugh James Rose,—"I feel that I am trespassing upon your patience." I cannot know how much patience Mr. Rose possessed; but mine has long been conquered.

Letter II. occupies fifteen pages. Its object is (pages 11—14) to prove "*that the Editor has done Foxe positive injustice by attempts at emendation and explanation.*" In this latter page, Foxe is said to have been guilty of three mistranslations of the Latin. They are these:

I. "*Laneis vestibus*" is translated by him, "*thin garments.*"

II. "*Frustra canonicam audientiam imploravit,*" is rendered by Foxe —"*in vain desired he to have the canon read and heard.*"

III. "*Hyems præter solitum aspera,*" is translated—"*in the sharp winter, which never was used.*"

Mr. Maitland says, that all these translations are bad. I affirm them to be all defensible.

I. "Laneis vestibus," is rightly called thin garments,—not as being

(1) Page 405, "Facts and Documents relating to the Waldenses," etc.

the opposite to thick garments, but as being poor, or inferior garments. Thus—

> " He will not line his *thin* bestained cloak
> With thy poor honours."
>
> *King John*, Act iv. Scene 3.

And again—

> " The worst is this—that, at so slender warning,
> You're like to have a *thin* and slender pittance."
>
> *Taming of the Shrew*, Act iv. Scene 4.

The Latin has this meaning—

> " Quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
> Perditus, ut dicat regi, Bibe? Plurima sunt, quæ
> Non audent homines pertusa dicere læna."
>
> *Juvenal*, Sat. v. 131.

" *Homines pertusâ lænâ*—Ignobiles, et pauperculi, quorum tritæ vestes, ac laceræ." [1]

So Madan, from Ruperti—" ' Ecquis inter vos tam imprudens, quis deploratus, ut domino loquatur, Pota? Multa sunt, quæ pronuntiare non attentant homines pallio perforati'—' which of you is rash enough, &c. &c. Many things there are which men in a torn coat dare not say;' and ' læna,' is ' vestis lanea.' " [2]

II. The second, too, is rightly translated. It is literally—" He implored in vain a canonical audience." It was the custom uniformly to require the reading of the canons on all occasions of trial before a council. The sentence occurs in the letter of Brenno to the cardinals, complaining of the conduct of the insolent and plausible Hildebrand to the emperor. One complaint was, that he refused to the emperor a fair trial, or an impartial canonical hearing. In imitation of the practice of the early councils, in which the canons, which were said to be infringed, were produced and read; Henry was desirous that he should be judged by the canons of the church; and not by the arbitrary judgment of the usurping bishop of Rome: who had as much apostolical right to judge him, and no more, as any bishop of one of the imperial cities. This canonical audience, or this appeal to the canons, was refused. Because of the custom, however, " the reading of the canons" and a " canonical audience" may be called convertible terms; and Foxe, in thus translating the sentence, proves, not his ignorance, as Mr. Maitland imagines, but his knowledge of the canonical customs.[3]

III. " In the sharp winter which never was used," is, certainly, a most inelegant translation of " Hiems præter solitum aspera." It merely denotes a sharper winter than usual.

(1) Notes, vol. i. p. 318, n. 131, Valpy's Edit. of Juvenal, ap. Delph. Edit. (2) Ainsworth.
(3) I am saved the trouble of searching for references to prove this point by the admirable reply of Mr. Palmer to Dr. Wiseman, on the Apostolical Jurisdiction and Succession of the Episcopacy in the British Churches, which I have just read, with no less delight than profit—for he has answered the argument in the Dublin Review, which I could not reply to.—See pp. 49, 79, 84, and the whole of the seventh section. Will Mr. Palmer permit me to inform him that he is wrong in affirming that Stigand did not receive the pall. A manuscript in the possession of the dean and chapter of Canterbury will convince him of the contrary.

The letter proceeds to show that the editor has not corrected some misprints. In the note at p. 16 the remark is made, that Foxe is not answerable for some which he has observed.

The following pages, to the end of the letter, refer to the editor and the publishers.

Letter III. consists of eleven pages and a half. All relates to the editor, with these exceptions;—

Foxe says that a rood stood upon a frater-wall, p. 28. Mr. Maitland on this observes—"*Some general readers, I presume, will not understand the 'frater-wall;' at least, I must confess my own ignorance.*"

I admire Mr. Maitland's candour, in acknowledging this ignorance. I should admire it more, if his confession was not obviously intended, to make us infer that John Foxe partook of the same ignorance. This is not the case. Mr. Maitland will be surprised to learn, that the word "frater" is a corruption of "fratry," which is a corruption of refectorium, or refectory. If he ever visits Carlisle cathedral, he may still be directed to the fratry; or, if he will consult Davies's Rites and Customs of the Cathedral Church of Durham,[1] he will read of the wall of the frater-house; or, if he will even turn from his older folios to a beautiful gem of a modern octavo volume, Parker's Glossary of Architecture,[2] he will there find an explanation of the word, and pleasantly and profitably banish this point of his ignorance.

On the frater-wall stood a crucifix, or rood. Johannes Brompton[3] says that an inscription was placed over its head. It was the more usual custom to place the inscription under the feet. Foxe, I know not from what authority, affirms that this was done here. *Mr. Maitland quotes Brompton to prove that Foxe was wrong.* I cannot discover the evidence to rebut the accusation.

In a note, page 29, it is suggested, but not affirmed, that *Foxe was ignorant of the meaning of a simple Latin phrase.* Strype and Fuller eulogize his scholarship. Parsons and Maitland deny him as much knowledge as a boy in the lower classes of a good grammar-school.

The expression, that the provincial of Innocent III. *should inquire about all usurers being alive*, is ridiculed. It is certainly very inelegant. Yet Foxe's meaning is obvious: he meant—all living usurers.

In page 31, Foxe is supposed to have been *unable to translate the names of places.* Mr. Maitland has confessed that he was guilty of the same incompetency. I am sure I have been most sadly and painfully harassed, by endeavouring to trace on modern maps, the places intended by the ancient names.

The remainder of the letter relates to the publishers.

Letter IV. occupies twelve pages and a half. It begins with observations, on which I have previously expressed my uniform concurrence,

(1) 8vo. 1671. (2) Oxford, p. 96.
(3) Both Mr. Maitland and John Foxe are wrong in calling this writer Jornalensis. He ought to be called Jorvalensis. He was of Jorvaulx abbey. His words are—in cujus rei memoriam in capite refectorii (fratry) ejusdem monasterii supra caput crucifixi. Decem Scriptores, p. 870.

that no fear of unpopularity, or of lowering the character of an eminent historian, ought to prevent the most searching inquiry; and the overthrow of the "never mind principle." I need not repeat what I have said. I can but say, that I consider the strength of Foxe's book consists in its enduring this searching inquiry. None of his important *facts* are denied. None of his greater *principles* are refuted. We only require a church historian, such as Mr. Maitland has described, to edit the work, in conjunction with the materials collected by Baronius, the centuriators, and their papal and antipapal followers. The fittest person now known to the public, from his power of rectifying minute errors, is Mr. Maitland himself.

In the note, or appendix to this letter, an allusion is made to the declaration of the publishers respecting myself, that I should perform my vindication of John Foxe "with a force and spirit which no one could exceed." I was sorry to read this sentence, which Mr. Maitland quotes. If the gentlemen who published this sentence respecting my labours had said, that Mr. Townsend would endeavour to perform the service he had promised to undertake, with the love of truth, which alone prompted all his attempts to promote the sacred cause of Christ's holy catholic church; I should have been more pleased, and the subscribers would have had more reason to be satisfied.

Letter V. is contained in twelve pages. It commences with much contempt of Foxe's knowledge of geography. *The world,* says Foxe, *being commonly divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass.*

Upon this Mr. Maitland remarks: Whether we ought to understand from this, that Foxe had not heard of America, I do not know—and one would think that the news of the discovery of America by Columbus must by that time have reached him—but some of Foxe's geography might almost lead us to doubt it.

Is Mr. Maitland indeed ignorant of the common fact, that America was considered for much more than a century after its discovery, a part of Cathay, or of Asia;[1] and that we are no more justified therefore in expecting that the martyrologist could anticipate the more accurate knowledge of a subsequent age, than that he should work a miracle, or prophecy? Such a remark renders me almost diffident of my opinion, that Mr. Maitland would prove the best editor. How strangely the knowledge of the most deeply learned is blended with profound ignorance! Light and darkness seem to contend in this our fallen state, for mastery in the intellect; as wisdom and error in the reason, or vice and virtue in the heart. We may all thank God for the hope of a better state, where ideas, conclusions, and principles, will be such as the intellect, the reason, and the affections will rejoice in; and where, therefore, there will be no controversies, no wrong prejudices, to divide us from God, or from each other.

(1) See Mercedes of Castile.

In page 52, *Foxe is accused in direct terms of sheer ignorance*, for not knowing the names of the Rialto, and the Louvre.

He had called them by the names given to them by his authorities. The ignorance, therefore, was not so great as that of a critic, "puffed by every quill,"[1] not knowing that "fratry" was a corruption of refectorium; and believing, therefore, that the word was an invention of the criticised. Foxe did not make his own reading, or his own ignorance, the criterion of the knowledge of another.

Foxe, we are told in the same page, *had no very clear idea of the places of which he was writing*. Probably not. The knowledge of their geography was not very great at that time, or he would not have written as Mr. Maitland so philosophically reproaches him for doing—Insulam for Lisle—Betony for Bethune, or committed many other indefensible errors of the same nature, upon which Mr. Maitland enlarges, with much tranquil satisfaction. Foxe was the original, the first, English historiographer, compiling (all history is compilation) from various sources, in an uncritical age, of scanty and imperfect materials. Mr. Maitland is astonished at his ignorance. I, in common with the church of my fathers, at his knowledge.

Mr. Maitland, page 57, derides him for *calling the celebrated antagonist of the Turks sometimes Huniades, John Huniades, Vaivoda, or Huniades surnamed Vaivoda, prince of Transylvania*. He calls this an odd way of confounding names, and an ignorance of what were names, and what were titles.—If Mr. Maitland's good nature had been equal to his learning and knowledge, he would have collected these instances of Foxe's imperfection, and kindly sent them to the editor as errata, and begged him, as a friend, to be more careful. I shall but weary the reader if I go on to comment on the contents of this letter, and consider at greater and unnecessary length, whether Foxe was copying from Fabian (page 54) when he speaks of the abbeys built by the conqueror, or the mistakes about the earl of Palatine (page 55),—a most unaccountable and intolerable error,—or whether Foxe knew that Thomas Aquinas was Thomas earl of Actran (page 56), or whether Foxe mistook the word Syria, for the title of a nobleman, as we sometimes say Northumberland, or Devonshire, for the dukes bearing those titles. I pass on to page 59, where I meet with the assertion of five erroneous translations from the Latin. As these are more tangible accusations, they may be considered, in spite of our weariness.

1. Thomas Comes Atteranensis, suus in omnibus fidelis ac devotus, salutem, *et de hostibus triumphare*.

Foxe is accused of laxity in the translation, because, after he had promised to translate the sentence *word for word*[2] (page 59), he omits

(1) "Proud as Apollo on his forked hill
Sate full-blown Bufo, puffed by every quill."—*Pope*.

(2) When a controversialist says that he translates a document "*word for word*," he means that he so translates the especial passages which refer to the matter under discussion; not that he is to be precluded from the more free translation in other passages.

the expression altogether, and renders the Latin thus:—Thomas earl of Actran, his faithful and trusty subject in all things, humble salutation.

I answer, that the words "*and success*," or some such equivalent phrase, might have been added to the words "humble salutation;" but that the courtesy of wishing success over his enemies, expressed in the words *et de hostibus triumphare*, may not be unfairly implied in the preceding expressions.

2. Foxe is charged with being totally ignorant how to translate the words "*de thesauris apostolicis*," from the apostolical treasures. So am I, so is Mr. Maitland; so, at least, is every one of the learned friends whom I have consulted.

The Latin is—Johannes præfatus, de regno Francorum, et aliis conterminis regionibus, militiam contrahens non modicam; sub spe imperii, si vos posset subigere, *de thesauris apostolicis*, suis militibus stipendia ministrat.

Foxe thus translates:—"The aforesaid John Brennus, gathering out of France and other provinces near adjoining, a great army, giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together (*by what means I cannot tell*), great wages, in hope to recover from you the empire."

Foxe, that is, affirms that he could not translate the expression "*apostolicis thesauris;*" and I ask, what the apostolical treasures were? Had Brennus robbed churches? Had he plundered the treasuries of cathedrals, bishops, or clergy? Had he employed the priesthood to promise absolution for money, that the proceeds might be given to him? Mr. Maitland is right in his conjecture, that Foxe meant to say he could not translate the expression. His critic, it is observable however, does not translate it himself, but passes on, with the remark, that on this translation it is not worth while to comment.

3. "Foxe," says Mr. Maitland, "I believe, did not know how to translate the following sentence."

"Nulli sexui parcunt, *nec cuiquam extra ecclesiam vel cœmeterium deferunt:* vicos et castella capiunt." "Neither spare (is Foxe's translation) they, man, woman, nor child, but take and keep your towns and castles." He omits the translation of the words in Italics.

The churches and churchyards had the privilege of sanctuary. Foxe omits to say that those who took sanctuary were spared. He ought to have added the sentence. He took for granted that his reader would not suppose that those who took refuge in those sanctuaries were killed, unless he had said so. A justifiable omission, is not ignorance.

4. The words, *Mirantur amici vestri—et præcipue clerus*—quâ consideratione et conscientiâ facere potest pontifex Romanus, etc. etc., are translated by Foxe,—"*Your friends, and also the clergy themselves*, do marvel with what conscience, or what consideration, the bishop of Rome can do such things," etc. etc.

Mr. Maitland observes that the rendering the words "præcipue clerus," by "the clergy themselves," is an effect of that bitter hatred of the Romish clergy, which is so glaring a feature in Foxe's work.

"Hatred of the Romish clergy!" Does not Mr. Maitland see, in common with John Foxe, and with every other Anglican episcopalian, whether he adopt or abhor, the names of protestant and ultra-protestant, that the war is not with the Romish laity, but wholly and solely with the Romish clergy; that the laity of Rome will not even believe in the existence of the canon laws of their own church, which still sanction, when power is given to enforce them, the punishments of the body of one, for the good of the soul of another? *If the Romish clergy will permit*, peace would return to the earth. But let this pass. There is no mistranslation; the word "præcipue" means "chiefly." The clergy might have been expected to have approved of the conduct of the pontiff; no, says Foxe, the clergy themselves, of whom this might have been expected,—they also disapprove. Foxe's translation is misrepresented by Mr. Maitland; Foxe says, "The clergy themselves also." Mr. Maitland (page 60) says, that Foxe gives us to understand that "*even* the clergy disapproved." This is not Foxe's expression, but his critic's gloss—a slight error, resulting from his "personal dislike."

5. "Provideatis, nunc obsecro, imperator potentissime, securitati vestræ, et honori super præmissis: quia inimicus vester supra dictus, Johannes," etc. is *translated by Foxe*—

"Wherefore, most mighty and renowned emperor, I beseech your highness to consider your own safety,—for that the said John," etc.

Foxe omits, after the word "safety," "your honour," etc. and "your enemy." The sense is not injured by the omission. The sentence only is shortened, and it is probable that it was on this account only that the omission was made.

This Letter concludes with the reprint of the reply of the publishers to the Editor of the British Magazine to certain of Mr. Maitland's remarks. It is unanswerable. I select but one sentence. It is this—"If Mr. Maitland had applied the same critical acumen, sharpened by the same personal dislike, to any other work of a similar class, he would have been equally successful in detecting faults of that description which he has discovered."

The Editor of the Magazine replies to this observation, that more faults could have been discovered, and that Mr. Maitland had no personal motives. One remark in this reply I beg Mr. Maitland to apply to himself, in his estimating my own observations on his criticisms.

"If those who detect ignorance and errors in a writer are to be accused of prejudice and dislike to him, it is time for all persons to give up reading, writing, or reasoning."

Letter VI., and I rejoice to say, the last, consists of nearly twelve pages, and will require but few remarks.

It commences by repeating the object which Mr. Maitland professed to have in view, but which he never has effected, to consider the value of Foxe's authorities—his mode of using them—and the justice done to Foxe by the new edition (p. 62). Mr. Maitland observes (p. 63), that

the desultory remarks he was about, in his several Letters, to offer, involved all those points, and would be rendered more intelligible by addressing himself in the first instance to the third; for this was the point he felt himself at most liberty to discuss,—and he considers the volumes which he criticizes to be a fair specimen of the work.

Mr. Maitland knows that the real value of Foxe consists in his testimonies to the wretched results of that infamous claim to the power of persecution, which his work has been the slow, gradual, and chief means of abolishing. *Foxe's work has acted on the mind of England like the leaven of the gospel on the mind of the Roman empire; till our rulers boast of toleration,* however that word may have been abused, as Constantine boasted of his Christianity, though many Christians were unworthy of approbation. This great, inestimable, result of Foxe's noble work is not even alluded to, in all the criticisms of this learned person.

In pp. 63, 64, we meet some general disparaging remarks on the work of Foxe, without any particular allusion to his *principles* or *facts*, which are continued till I am myself alluded to, as being pledged to preface the present edition, with a *full vindication* of the pious martyrologist from those various attacks. "That duty," says Mr. Maitland, "has been undertaken by the Rev. George Townsend, M.A., Prebendary of Durham, and Vicar of Northallerton, Yorkshire. As to the direct discussion, therefore, of the question respecting Fox's veracity and correctness, (for from some reference to it I could not easily keep clear,) I willingly wait with curiosity."

I must notice these remarks more especially.

I promised in a letter to my friend to write a preface to Foxe. The circumstances which resulted from that promise are related in my introductory letter. *I was pledged to the public to write a full vindication!* Ay! but of what, and against whom? I do, I have vindicated Foxe's *principles* of hatred to the assumptions of unchangeableness and of authority by those, whose own errors are greater, than the errors they punish. I vindicate the *facts* recorded by Foxe; and no man, either dead or living, ever has, can, or dare deny that the bodies of men were sometimes burnt in the fire, to warn others against holding their opinions. I vindicate the *authorities* of Foxe, to that very extent only to which Mr. Maitland himself would vindicate them; and I shall ever be ready, to the last hour of my life, to vindicate Foxe against *his assailants* also. But does not Mr. Maitland know, that when I made my promise to write this preface, he had not written a line; and that my engagement to vindicate the martyrologist referred, therefore, to the papal enemy, and not to the protestant traitor? If a soldier volunteers in the hour of battle to defend an important post, the meaning of this promise to do so, must refer to the armed, and threatening, and avowed enemy without; and not to the renegade, and the spy within. He stands upon his watch-tower, or he mingles, as the danger may demand, in the rude contest which may be proceeding; but does he pause for a moment to

consider the possibility, of his being required to defend the walls of the fortress against his fellow-soldiers? Can he endure, in the moment when the pressing danger calls forth all his energies, to be summoned from the post of attack, to discuss with those soldiers the buttons of his uniform, or the spots on the armour of his own best warriors? I promised in this, the hour of danger to the Anglican church, to defend one post assailed by the enemy entrenched against our battlements. I am required to turn away from the open foe, to exhaust my energies against one of my own fellow-soldiers, wearing the same uniform, engaged in the same cause, enlisted under the same banners, acknowledging the same general, and desiring the same success. The first lance, when I had taken my place on the tower I had engaged to defend, was hurled by my own comrade. I am even now compelled to extricate that lance from my shield, and to throw it back against a brother, while the "Gaul is at the gates;" and the shouts of his triumph wax louder and louder, against our weakened, because divided garrison. Mr. Maitland waits with curiosity! to see my vindication. Is his curiosity satisfied? He has no soul to feel the crisis at which we have arrived. He cannot comprehend the manner in which the assumer of infallibility,—the maintainer of unscriptural error,—the hitherto unchangeable assertor of the right, power, and privilege of the church to punish the body for the good of the soul;—now hopes to conquer by smiles instead of frowns; by secret treachery instead of open enmity; by resolutely persevering in upholding every error which our fathers and our church condemned; and then courteously inviting US, US, the sons of the reformers and the martyrs, to abate our zeal, and prove our gentlemanliness and our christianity, by ceasing to hate falsehood, till we endure, pity, and embrace the monster.

All this Mr. Maitland does not, or cannot, or will not understand. If he did understand it, I am convinced that no human consideration whatever, would induce him to consent to incur, as he has done, in spite of many eulogies, the contempt of the papist for his treason, and of the protestant, for his unreasonable folly.

I have already remarked in my notes on the first letter, the subject of Foxe's bitter invective against the church of Rome. *Till Rome changes, that invective will be deserved.*

In page 66, and again in page 74, Mr. Maitland alludes to the *style, spirit, aspect,* and *tendency* of Foxe's work, as it respects the church of England.

The *style* of Foxe, as it regards the church of England, contains no abuse of that church. In the *spirit* of his work there is no hatred. In its *aspect*,—I do not understand the expression. In its *tendency*, it does not oppose it. Mr. Maitland's object is to render his brother churchmen as great enemies to the martyrologist as himself. He affirms these things to be sufficient to justify his "*personal dislike*" of the work; and his book ends with this very expression—"*personal dislike.*"

In pages 67, 68, 69, remarks are continued on the publishers, which appear to me to require no notice.

In the note to page 70, a translation by Foxe of a Latin quotation is given, in which it appears that *the martyrologist did not know the difference between "vestrum" and "nostrum."* Mr. Maitland tells us, that the Latin is to be found in Raynaldus. I believe that Foxe must have been translating from a manuscript, in which the reading differed from that which was subsequently printed by Raynaldus.

The four remaining pages of the book point out many misprints, and affirm many errors on the part of Foxe arising from ignorance of foreign persons and places, and misconceptions of Latin documents. From these errors which are thus known, Mr. Maitland would have us deduce two inferences,—one, that the other parts of his work, which he has not noticed, respecting the history, preceding the reformation, are equally incorrect,—the other, that his accounts "of the more recent matters, which are peculiarly interesting to English protestants, are not to be trusted." The church of Rome will rejoice at this latter inference, which Mr. Maitland must know to be a most unfounded insinuation, as Foxe derived his narratives of the martyrdoms from the most authentic sources; but with respect to this, and to his other insinuation, that the whole of the more ancient part of his history abounds with errors, I have but one remark to make, with which I shall conclude my observations on Mr. Maitland. I would speak to him, not as if he was at a distance, but as if he was sitting near me. I would conclude our conversation, by turning to him, and saying—

"*Do, my friend, do,—edit the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe yourself.* Your church sanctioned it; your patron approves it; the people love it. Justify the convocation which commanded it to be placed in the churches, when the same convocation confirmed the articles of faith, in which you profess to believe, and which you so constantly teach. You are not wholly without error, it is true, even in the criticisms you have already given on the work; but you are learned, patient, laborious, fond of truth, and bold even to apparent presumption, in defending the propositions you consider to be true. You are fit, therefore, to be the editor. Your minuteness of research, will produce confidence in your verification of authorities. Your admirable description of a true church historian will be the guarantee to the anxious public, that you will endeavour to be, yourself, the very original you have drawn. Edit the work. Convince the puritan, by your notes, that some of the sentiments of Foxe are wrong. Satisfy the papist, that in many of his denunciations against Rome, Foxe is wrong. Produce to the Anglican Church, in an amended form, your arguments to prove that Foxe is sometimes right. Edit the work. Your time will be more usefully employed than in writing insulting remarks on the good, the venerable, the useful, and honoured Mr. Faber. Edit the work. Combine, in one magnificent and desirable labour, the materials of Baronius, the Centu-

riators, their papal and anti-papal followers, and the collections of John Foxe; and give to the church and to the country, a work worthy of them to receive, and worthy of you to give. Edit the work. The public will welcome it. The booksellers will patronise it. Edit the work. Place my name among your list of subscribers, as a contributor of fifty guineas to your expenses. I shall rejoice to see the present edition altogether superseded by one which you may yourself deem not unmeriting the common favour. I shall be delighted to witness the publication of Maitland's edition of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe."

V. WILLIAM EUSEBIUS ANDREWS.

From the living, I turn to the dead—to the assailants who have gone to their account before the Judge of all. I select from among their number those only who are considered the most formidable, either from their inveteracy, their learning, or their sincerity. From the day of the publication of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, the attacks upon its veracity and fidelity have been incessant; while the attachment to its invaluable pages has been no less marked and continued. *Respect or contempt for the labours of John Foxe may be called one criterion* of respect or hatred, for that *principle*, which all his *facts* were adduced to defend, and prove—that *principle* indeed which his blessed Master and ours, anticipating in the aphorism, the results of the experience of all history, and going as much beyond his own age in His political wisdom as in His holy nature—the *principle*, that the best way to eradicate the tares, which the enemy of souls has scattered in the garden of God, the field of the church, is, to cultivate the wheat till there be but little room for the tares; to let both grow together, until the great harvest; and never to gather the tares together, to bind them in bundles to burn them, till the Most High send forth his angels, to execute the solemn office, at his own appointed time.

Eusebius Andrews, the last of the assailants of John Foxe, was a London bookseller: of whom I have learned nothing which need be here repeated.

In the years 1823, 1824, and 1825, very great efforts were made by the adherents of the church of Rome, to change the general opinions, which had been entertained of that church; and to induce the legislature to repeal the enactments, which excluded the Romanists from both houses of parliament. The greater part of the former laws against them, which had been generally borrowed from the severe canon laws of their own church, and which were originally enacted, not from caprice, or

cruelty, as it is now the fashion to represent the case, but from the sad and painful experience of our wise ancestors, had been gradually repealed. They had been enacted at the first because *our fathers believed that the possession of political power in this protestant country, by the members of the church of Rome*, had been, and would be, injurious to the common good, unless the laws of Rome itself were first changed. They had been repealed, because the members of that church solemnly swore, and professed, that their loyalty, and patriotism, would always prevent the possibility of injury to the commonwealth. These professions were believed: and the laws in question were repealed without any change whatever in the laws, doctrines, canons, or enactments of the church of Rome. No papal authority rescinded—no general council expunged from the code of Romanistic law, any one of the canons, which sanctioned persecution, and which are still included, and upheld by the last article of the creed of the council of Trent; the creed, which that council commissioned pope Pius to frame, as the belief of the church. It was forgotten, or it was not believed, in spite of the remonstrances of those, who were only called brutes and bigots for their pains, that if laws which are confessed to be obsolete, are not rescinded, upon the expostulation of those who complain of their continuance, there must be some unworthy cause for that continuance; and there is reason to believe that though they may slumber with the weakness, they will awaken with the strength, of the power, which retains them. They were repealed. The laws of England were changed. The laws of Rome were not changed.

Rome conquers, or it has hitherto conquered, by its indomitable perseverance. The laws which excluded the Romanists from the parliament were still unrepealed. The success of the applications for the repeal of the several portions of our laws, against its ascendency, without any rescinding of the canon or persecuting laws, of the church of Rome, by the authority of the bishop of Rome, or of a council of the church universal; emboldened the friends of Rome to persevere, till the senate of a protestant sovereign should be composed of a mixed multitude of its enemies and friends. May God in his mercy grant, that the anticipations of evil, so commonly uttered by the opponents of that measure, of which I shall not here speak, be proved by time, and by the public happiness, to be false and unfounded! To effect their great object, it became necessary for the Romanists to adopt one of two great plans of action. To confess, though late, that their canon laws had been established upon erroneous principles, and to alter them by authority: or still (and they have preferred this alternative) to remain unchanged, to rescind no law, to alter no one of their ancient enactments, but to persevere in the attempt to prove the Anglican church to be in error, and the protestants, generally, in the wrong. They still resolved to palliate the atrocities of the past, to apologize for the cruelties of the former ages, by proving, that if our papal forefathers had persecuted, our earliest reforming and protestant forefathers had persecuted also—to infer equality

of guilt from an apparent equality of crime—to condemn every antagonist of Rome, (however unchanged its own creeds, discipline, and laws might still remain,) as a bigot, a persecutor, or a fool. They resolved, therefore, as one part of this plan, to depreciate, degrade, and overthrow, if possible, the authority of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. This work was being continually republished in various forms, in small editions, large editions, in extracts, in abridgments, in tracts, in pocket volumes. By societies, by individuals, in every mode in which a book could be given to the public, the labours of John Foxe were freely and unlimitedly circulated. The book was still esteemed to be one of the substantial pillars of the church, the bulwark to withstand the tide of popery, and a Pharos lighted up to every age, as a warning to all posterity. One of the chief sources of attraction among many of the numerous readers of the martyrologist was the several engravings of the martyrdoms. As images and pictures were defended in the ages when there was less reading than at present—as the Bible of the vulgar—so the engravings of martyrdoms were the graphic substitutes for long perusals of the work itself. Bishop Milner[1] makes especial complaint of this conduct. "For the same uncharitable purpose," he says, (that of inflaming the minds of Englishmen against the religion of our ancestors and its professors,) "we find the lying Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, with large wooden prints of men and women, encompassed with faggots and flames, in every leaf of them, chained to the desks of many country churches; while abridgments of this inflammatory work are annually issued from the London presses, under the title of "the Book of Martyrs." Bishop Milner, who died in 1826, was at this time a very influential upholder of the claims and demands of his brethren. Whether he was the originator of the measures to which I am now to refer, I cannot tell; but at this time two principal writers were employed to depreciate, in the most unsparing language, the reformation and the revolution, and to spare no pains in abusing, with the same severity, the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe; and the resolution seems also to have been taken, to endeavour to effect a change in the public mind by the use of engravings, in imitation of that means of influence which had so long been used by Foxe and by his innumerable editors.

The two writers in question were men whose previous studies and pursuits are said to have been utterly alien from the parts assigned to them. They possessed no knowledge of ecclesiastical history. They were both uneducated, but active, enterprizing, unscrupulous in language, unsparing in invective, bold in their ignorance, because the deficiency of learning was supplied by the zeal of the political partisan. Neither before nor after the publication of the two works which they gave at this peculiar season to the world were they ever known to give other proofs that the history of the religious controversies of the past had been made their especial study; and the supposition was, therefore, very general, that

(1) Letters to a Prebendary, p. 62.

they were prompted to write by others, who supplied them with materials for their pages, and money for their expenses. I cannot say how the truth may be. The two men, however, exercised their mental powers with great and decided effect, and, whether they had been bribed to the task, or whether they undertook their labour from principle, or from love to the cause they espoused; it is certain that no two persons ever exercised a greater influence over the minds of the classes to whom they addressed themselves. They prevented the unanimity—they destroyed the union, of the lower classes of the middle ranks of society; and they produced, for the moment, the desired impression—that Foxe was a liar (the name so freely given to him by his assailants)—that our papal and protestant fathers were all equally wrong, and equally right—that persecution was their common crime—that the reformation was a curse—the revolution a crime against man, and, in common with some of our preachers at Oxford, (alas! that I should have lived to read such a sentiment from that venerable place,) was a sin also against God; and that the time had arrived when Rome should remain unchanged, while England should confess its best men to have been wrong. These two men were as influential among the lower classes as some of our most admired, though erring, statesmen among the higher orders; and they contributed as effectually, in their inferior department, to the success of the bad cause they espoused. They were Eusebius Andrews, and William Cobbett. With their general labours I have nothing to do. Their attacks on the fidelity and veracity of Foxe I shall consider it to be my duty to notice, though as briefly as possible. Andrews's work is entitled the Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Cobbett's book is entitled the History of the Protestant Reformation.

I begin with the latter work, though in England it is nearly forgotten; and I only notice it, because I am informed that it has been translated into French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, and that it is the book from which the foreign members of the church of Rome principally derive their notions of that great change, which gave back the primitive Christianity to this country. It reviles in the most abusive language all our sovereigns, and all their statesmen, who were interested in the emancipation of England from the foreign yoke. It consists of Sixteen Letters, in the course of which John Foxe is mentioned eight or nine times, and uniformly with some epithets of contempt or scorn. The sixteen letters are written on the hypothesis that all before the Reformation was holiness, peace, plenty, and happiness, among the people; and all after that period has been wickedness, woe, famine, and misery. In Letter I. he laughs at Elizabeth, and he assures us that the four Evangelists are given to us by a pope and a council of the catholic church, that is, of the church of Rome; and that the affirming the blessings of the Reformation is "a great protestant lie." The order of his peculiar vituperation, though the style is so singularly his own, and the manner in which certain circumstances are mentioned or alluded to, con-

vince me, that the same secret influence prompted both Cobbett and Andrews. In the second letter, our blessed Saviour, St. Peter, the popes, Augustine the monk, and Cranmer, are blended in the most indescribable manner; and Foxe is mentioned in this letter for the first time. A man who took his oath to swear falsely, and make his oath the apology for his perjury, is said to have imbibed his principles from Cranmer, "the very archbishop," says our amusing historiographer, "who occupies the highest place in lying Foxe's lying book of protestant martyrs."

This is a specimen of the manner in which our martyrologist is alluded to throughout. I proceed, therefore, with patience through the work, that I may ascertain the specific lies which may be alleged against "the lying historian of this lying book." For this reason only I read it. *If any falsehoods are told by Foxe, which his enemies have not hitherto discovered, they will certainly be enumerated by Andrews and Cobbett.*

In the next four letters Foxe is not mentioned. They are filled with abuse of Henry VIII. and Luther—with eulogies on monasteries, (which were undoubtedly of infinite use and value in their time, and might be safely revived now, among protestants, provided no vows are taken,) and with round, keen, abuse of the despoilers of the monasteries, whose eyes are said "to have vied in brightness with the diamonds they stole, when the royal Peachum commissioned them to plunder."

In the sixth letter Foxe is ridiculed for speaking eulogistically of Cromwell. Neither his fidelity nor his accuracy are impeached, and I have not promised to defend his opinions, his doctrines, nor his estimate of historical characters.

The seventh letter abuses our Prayer-Book, and speaks of Foxe as "the author of the lying Book of Martyrs," whom Mr. Cobbett promises to criticize as he proceeds.

The eighth letter refers to the reign of Mary, when the characteristic eloquence of Cobbett might be expected to be more abundant. Neither will the reader be disappointed. He speaks of the mild and benevolent character of queen Mary—he boasts of the reconciliation of the nation with Rome (*and when Rome changes, I hope it will be reconciled again*)—he praises the queen's great generosity and piety—he breaks forth into admiration, as Andrews also does, on the quantity of gold and silver brought by Philip of Spain into London, on his marriage; declares that he hates cruelty, but that circumstances justified Mary in burning, much more than they justified Elizabeth in her infliction of other severities; and that "the persecutions of Mary are but as a grain of wheat to a bushel, when compared with those of protestant persecutors." "Neither," says Mr. Cobbett, "are the burnings of the archbishop and his compeers to be attributed to the principles of the Roman catholic faith." We are assured, respecting Foxe, that the dreadful punishments inflicted by Mary upon heretics, "though monstrously exaggerated by the lying Foxe, though a mere nothing compared with those inflicted

afterwards on catholics by Elizabeth, and though hardly to be called cruel, when set in comparison with the rivers of catholic blood that have flowed in Ireland, were nevertheless deplored by every one, and by none more than the catholics themselves." I quote this passage with delight, and *I could* with the same delight *quote the same disavowals of the effect of papal principles, by numerous bishops, clergy, and laity of the church of Rome, in this age; because I receive these as the proof, pledge, and earnest, of an eventual change in the canons and in the laws of the church of Rome itself*, to which the homage of these disavowers of persecution is still tendered. It is in this letter that we meet with the first more express allegation of specific charge of falsehood. It is that one, same, constantly-adduced accusation, brought forward alike by Parsons, Andrews, Milner, Wood, Haydock, and by nearly every other writer who assails Foxe—the charge always placed in the van of the more general denunciations against his work—that a person named Grimwood had been "struck dead," whereas he was alive at the time, and brought an action of defamation against the preacher who affirmed this, on the authority of Foxe—Grimwood himself being in the church at the time when his own death was spoken of as a punishment from God. I shall consider the circumstance in the more extended account given by Andrews. Cobbett repeats the story of Foxe's mistake about Grimwood, and exclaims, in his own happy manner,—"What a hypocrite must he be who pretends to believe in Foxe!" He calls his work "this infamous book;" the martyrs whom Foxe has catalogued are said to be "thieves, felons, murderers, a set of wicked wretches, apostates, perjurers, and plunderers." Cranmer is called "Tom," with other epithets more descriptive of his harassed life, his short weakness, and his painful death. Hooper, Latimer, and Ridley, are called a pretty trio, worthy of St. Martin, that is, of Luther, and of the devil. Froude and his brethren have not quoted this work of Cobbett; though, in many respects, he so entirely agrees with them. *These men* are contented to speak of our martyrs for the better Christianity than that of Rome, in more measured language than that of Cobbett; but *they would do well* to see in this man the wretched coadjutors with whom they are allied; and *to shrink back in time from the disgust and contempt which they are exciting* in the hearts of the faithful upholders of the spiritual episcopacy of England, when they symbolize with the friends of Rome. I shall be rendering another undoubted service to the church, if I can warn some of our Oxford brethren against the allies with whom they will shudder to be associated, when with Cobbett and Andrews, they deem Foxe a liar, the reformation a deception, and the revolution a sin.

The ninth letter declares that the massacre of St. Bartholomew is "a mere nothing," when compared with the cruelties and butcheries of Elizabeth, who in the tenth letter is called a tigress, and reproached, with justice, for permitting the torture of the prisoners by the instrument called the scavenger's daughter. The eleventh letter continues the

abuse of Elizabeth. The twelfth to the fifteenth contains a medley of remarks on the plots in the reigns of Charles I. and his sons;—on the abuse of toleration, the American revolution, the Dutchman, and bishop Burnet, who is courteously called "a political church parson, a monstrously lying historian," and "a Scotchman." Cobbett omits entirely the one incessant conspiracy against both the reformation and the revolution: and would have us believe that the severity of the penal code was enacted for the amusement of our rulers. In his last letter he calls Foxe "the martyrman;" and assures us that the reformation has diminished our population, destroyed our wealth, ruined our power, lessened our freedom, and diminished alike the plenty, ease, and happiness of the people. "The force of folly can no further go." Progression, not retrogradation, is the lot of mankind: and there is no pattern age, and no pattern church. Instruction may be derived from the worst ages, both of states and churches; and we shall be wise to learn both from the worst, and from the best times. *The reformation and the revolution are but two stages in the course of improvement.* They are but two steps towards a state of things which shall embody all that was valuable, both in them and in the periods before them, whether of the primitive and purer Christianity, or of the darkest hours, in the darkest times. But we must go forward; and in the course of our improvement, Rome itself must change, or be deserted alike by the religious, and even the civilized portion of mankind.[1]

Cobbett has discovered, or, at least, mentioned, only two instances of inaccuracy on the part of Foxe, notwithstanding his general abuse of the martyrologist—the affair of Grimwood, and the death of Gardiner. The history of Grimwood I shall consider below. The account of the death of Gardiner is variously related by different writers. Foxe has given that which appeared to him to be most probable.[2] With William Eusebius Andrews, the case is very different. The objects of his work, like those of Cobbett, are—abuse of the reformers, of the reformation, and of the revolution; incessant depreciation of Foxe; and the endeavour to produce the impression, that the guilt of persecution rests alike on the papist and the protestant. He infers, therefore, that the controversy should cease, and Rome, without changing, be considered innocent and worthy of confidence, without either jealousy of its principles, suspicion of the results of its renewed prosperity, or any anxious vigilance over its general conduct, or particular actions. The book was published in numbers, of one sheet at a time, between the years 1823 and 1826. It is said to have had a very extensive sale. Its principal attraction consisted in the engravings which were prefixed to each number. The book is entitled,

(1) On the effects of the reformation on civil society, both in Europe and in England, I refer the reader to the admirable essay of Mr. Mackray of Stirling, 8vo. 1829, and to Mills's translation of Viller's Essay on the same subject, which obtained the prize from the National Institute of France, or to Marsh's Abridgment, 1838.

(2) He opened the session of parliament in October 1555, and died soon after. His reflections on his death-bed are said to have been most painful. It is reported that his dying words were—"I have sinned with Peter; but with Peter I have not repented." Others affirm that his expressions were—"I have sinned with Peter; I hope that with Peter I have repented."

"Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs," and the engravings are designed to counteract the impression produced on the public mind by the engravings in the numerous editions of Foxe. This work of Andrews is extended through three large and closely-printed octavo volumes,[1] containing nearly fifteen hundred pages. The substance of the work is confessedly extracted from Parsons and Harpsfield. The author, like Mr. Maitland, appears to have been actuated by "*personal dislike*" to the work; and he freely indulges in such expressions as—"Oh! bless the cant![2]"—"wilful lie"[3]—"unverified statements"[4]—"a romance writer"[5]—"who will believe Foxe?"[6]—"the lies and errors of John Foxe"[7]—and many others. The martyrs who were burnt are stigmatized with every opprobrious epithet which can disgrace human nature; while the magistrates, the ecclesiastics, and the laws, which sentenced them to their horrid vivicomburation, are palliated, eulogized, or defended. The extent of this work renders it impossible, or rather unadvisable, to proceed through it, as I am ready to do, page by page, and point by point. If, however, I make a selection from its wretched abuse, I shall be accused of unfairness. It cannot be necessary that I, or the reader, should devour the whole haunch of tainted venison to convince ourselves that it is unfit for food; yet more than one mouthful may be required to satisfy ourselves of the certainty of its utter unwholesomeness. I will, therefore, adopt a brief, yet, I trust, a satisfactory, mode of proving the fairness with which I am anxious to examine this review of the labours of John Foxe, and I think the following plan will be deemed as brief and as unobjectionable as the subject will permit. *I will give the readers a list of the engravings. I will then analyze the two first, and every tenth sheet, or number. I will consider the more specific accusations of falsehood urged by all the assailants of the martyrologist to which I have already referred—as the cases of Grimwood and Marbeck; and enumerate the testimonies of various persons, in reply to the charge, that Foxe falsified or destroyed the documents he consulted for his work* that his alleged fraudulent affirmations might not be discovered. This arrangement of this mass of abuse of the martyrologist will enable me to prove to the reader, that the most inveterate assailants of the veracity and fidelity of Foxe have not been able to demonstrate that the convocation of the church of England decided wrongly when they commended the Acts and Monuments to the favour of the members of the episcopal church of England.

I begin with the enumeration of the plates and engravings in the book. The engravings in the Acts and Monuments, as bishop Milner and others complain, represent, generally, persons in the flames, surrounded by faggots; insulted or pitied by the spectators. Labels proceed out of their mouths, with the pious expressions they uttered; and every

(1) The first volume contains 412 pages, the second 430, the third 532—each page contains, on the average, fifty lines—or 1,474 pages, and 73,700 closely packed lines of a nominal review of the Acts and Monuments.

(2) Vol. i. p. 410. (3) Ibid. p. 12. (4) Ibid. p. 27. (5) Ibid. p. 30.
(6) Vol. i. p. 21. (7) Ibid. p. 37.

engraving is an integral portion, because it is an accurate description of the contents, of some portion of the book. Just so it is, also, with the work of Eusebius Andrews. The book is entitled, a Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs. *The numerous engravings, therefore, give an accurate notion of the book.* They contain the pictured substance of its pages. They give, therefore, to the reader a notion of the manner in which the reviewer adheres to the subject—the survey of the labours of Foxe—and prove to him whether that proposed subject is lost sight of, or carefully kept in view. Let it be remembered, that *we are contemplating the most careful*, the *most laboured*, the *most extensive*, examination of the work of Foxe, which angry political feelings, intense hatred, and reckless boldness of accusation, could adduce against the martyrologist.

In Plate the First, the Devil, in the form of a black man with a long beard, earnest look, pointed ears, cow-like horns, very large goose-like wings, a curved and tapering tail, pointed like an arrow, with the legs of a goat, and arms ending in claws; with one claw resting on the back of a chair of modern and fashionable shape, with the other claw extended over the shoulder of John Foxe, and pointing to a sheet of paper, is seen whispering in the ear of the martyrologist. A printing-press chained, is at the back of his unholiness. Foxe is clothed in a surplice-like dressing-gown, with a strangely-formed cap on his head, turning round with much complacency to his unearthly adviser; and so holding a pen, as if he was taking down the words of the Satanic dictation. *I give the whole description*, as I might give two more of the same nature, one where the Devil is represented as appearing to a protestant clergyman, in the more rampant form of a black Satyr; another in which he is painted as quietly seated at supper with Luther and his wife—*that I may shame the miserable partizanship*, which condescends to such unworthy warfare. The engravings of the Book of Martyrs are representations of facts alone, intended to describe the consequences of one false principle of jurisprudence—the wickedness of burning the body of one, for the good of the soul of another. The engravings in this book, we shall find to be the pictures, of the wretched feelings of the mind of the writer, and a medley of atrocious and indefensible actions. The whole controversy is hateful, but they afford another proof, that *there can be no peace till Rome changes*. The charge that Rome and England are equally guilty at this moment, of cruelty and persecution, because both can recriminate past injustice on each other; while the laws of England respecting persecution have changed, and the laws of Lateran and Trent are not changed; is as absurd, as to affirm that America and England are equally guilty, at this moment, of the horrors of the scandalous slave-trade; while England has abolished slavery, and America retains it still. The plague spot *was* upon both. The guilt *was* equal. The guilt is removed when the law is changed. The guilt of slavery is removed from England, not from America. The guilt of persecution is removed from the code of the law

of England. *It is removed from the professions of the Romanists; but not from the canons and laws of Rome.*

The second engraving—but I shall merely number them, and mention their subjects without describing them—is a picture of the fire of London, —which took place about eighty years after the death of John Foxe, and has quite as much to do with the review of the Acts and Monuments as the accusations of Parsons and Harpsfield, and their zealous and unscrupulous follower, Eusebius Andrews.

Plate 3. The Roman rack.—The author discusses, in this third number, the contrast between pagan and protestant torturings: and calls the victims of both by the name "Catholics." He will not, or cannot see, that the Christianity common to the present Anglican, and to the early primitive churches preceded, as well as followed the peculiar corruptions of which we complain.

4. The miracle of the thundering legion.—The rain is falling from heaven. The number discusses the persecutions by the pagans in France. Foxe's name is introduced into every page with some prefixed epithet of abuse. It occurs one hundred times in the first sixty pages.

5. Martyrs thrown to the wild beasts.

6. The conversion of Constantine.

7. Mrs. Clitheroe pressed to death at York, 25th March, 1586.—This cruel torture, which we have now abolished, is engraven, to produce the impression of equal persecution and equal guilt, on the part of all. I rejoice to read in these pages the general denunciations of punishment for opinion, when unaccompanied with crime. A great good has been effected already by the labours of Foxe in being one principal means of producing this now universal feeling. Let a general council make that to be law, which is still among the members of the church of Rome, opinion, and feeling, and the world will be more satisfied. The whole number treats not of John Foxe, but of the evils of protestant ascendancy.

8. The Labarum of Constantine.

9. Queen Elizabeth, of whom there is much scandal in the number, seeing her own spectre in torment.

10. Defeat of Julian's attempt to build the temple.—The pagans are compared to protestants, and the papists to catholics.

11. Hunnericus cutting out the tongue of the deacon Reparatus.—The parallel between the pagans and the protestants is continued.

12. Pope Martin led to execution.—All these things have little relation to Foxe. The number treats on the resemblance between the earliest and the latest members of the church of Rome; and endeavours to prove the identity of their common faith throughout.

13. Darnley's house, at the kirk-a-field, blown up.—The number treats of the cathedral of Derry, and the persecutions of the eleventh, to the sixteenth century.

14. The Waldenses are abused. The engraving represents the murder of the pope's legate, Peter of Castelnau, by a servant of Raymond.

15. St. Dominic throwing a parchment into the flames, before certain Waldenses.—It remains unconsumed. The miracle is the proof of the truth of his doctrines, and the apology for the institution of the Inquisition.

16. The destruction of images at the Reformation.—In this number, the statements of Foxe, on the subject of the Waldensian history, are affirmed in general language to be "lies." No reference is given to prove him to be inaccurate; and this is the common language throughout the review: while no quotations are adduced in proof of the assertion.

17. The number discusses the Inquisition. A picture of the flogging of a priest in Ireland in 1790 by the Orangemen, illustrates the remarks of the editor, and the pages of John Foxe. Protestant England is affirmed in this number, on the authority of Mr. Cobbett, a competent judge on the question, to be "the greatest of all the nations of the earth for lying." And this is a review of Foxe ! ! !

18. A horrid engraving of a most atrocious and wicked deed, done in Ireland in 1798: the setting fire to the hair of a poor peasant after gunpowder had been rubbed into the roots.—The number compares the conduct of the protestant-ascendancy men in Ireland, with the proceedings of the Inquisition.

19. The number treats, not of John Foxe, but of the penal laws; and the engraving represents a Huguenot general commanding his Romanist prisoners to leap from a fortress upon the pikes of his soldiers.

20. The murder of the duke of Guise.

21. Forty Jesuit priests cast into the sea by Sorius, the admiral of the queen of Navarre, from a captured vessel.

22. The number treats of the history of Huss, by Earbery, and Reeve, who wrote against the narrative of Foxe. The engraving is the hanging of a priest by Gaspar de Coligni—the soldiers shouting, "Live the gospel !"—Well may the infidel despise Christianity, if these actions are the results of belief in its truths, whether among protestants or papists ! The divine origin of religion is proved by the progress of its better influences in spite of all this horrid record both of crimes, cruelties, and mutual recriminations.

23. The wretched recrimination continues. The engraving represents a priest, after nails have been driven into his feet by the Huguenots, dragged to a tree, bound, and shot dead.—This horrid relation, and such as this, marks the real difference between the cruelties of Rome and the cruelties of its opponents. The former burnt men by the canon law. The latter, exasperated by the martyrdoms for opinions, instead of leaving revenge to God, and submitting to the unjust law, as our bishops and laity did in the reign of Mary; sometimes committed most unjusti-

fiable and most intolerable excesses. But there were no laws, solemnly deliberated upon previously, and executed formally, and uniformly, commanding nails to be driven into the feet, and then shooting the victim. There were laws for the burnings; there were none for the tumultuary, savage, cruel, assassinations.

24. The same recrimination proceeds. Two priests are seen suspended by the feet in the shambles like sheep for sale, while the abbe Simon Sciot is represented as having his throat cut, and his tongue drawn out beneath his chin.—No apology, no defence, can be made for these crimes. May God grant we all learn from them to change, reform, and remove all that can cause the sad feelings which originated them! The only source of jealousy at present, is the assumption of unchangeableness, and the consequent impossibility of future reformation, because of the alleged impossibility of any past error.

25. A priest wounded with daggers by the Huguenots, fastened to a cross, and shot dead.—The number treats, not of the errors of John Foxe, but of the persecutions in Japan—Lord Bexley—the London Missionary Society—the edict of Nantes—and William the Third; and this strange sort of medley characterises nearly every number.

The twenty-sixth number forms, I suppose, a part of the twenty-fifth. There is no twenty-sixth engraving. It consists of twenty-eight, and not of sixteen pages.

The frontispiece to the second volume is the same as that to the first—a woman, dressed in some manner like the fabled Minerva, holds a shield on her left hand, on which is the word Truth. The right holds a pen, and points to a press. Happy days! when our controversies are decided by the pen and the press, and not by civil commotions and arrayed armies, as in earlier periods. Let us but thus wage the war, placing Truth on our shield to protect us, and appealing by the pen to the press; and the providence of God will overrule our very follies and controversies to the extension of the truth of his gospel, to the reformation of the church of Rome, and the establishment of the true catholic church of Christ. I accept the omen, that even in this sickening collection of absurdity, which I deem it my duty to consider, I meet with a testimony that we shall never appeal for the future to the fire, the sword, and the scaffold; but peacefully and calmly discuss our differences, till Rome change.

No. 27. Augustine preaching.—The number treats of the identity between the doctrines taught by Augustine, and those of the Roman church at present.

No. 28. St. Cuthbert appearing to king Alfred.

No. 29. Lord Cobham on the scaffold, addressing the people.

No. 30. Queen Catharine before her judges.—She does not here look as the Siddons represented her.

No. 31. Henry VIII. married to Anne Boleyn.

This number ends with an engraving of the church of St. Peter's at

Rome, on the top of a desolate rock, in the midst of a storm of thunder and lightning from heaven, the waves of the ocean dashing around its base, and the word "Catholic" stamped on the front. No pope, bishop, priest, or layman is seen as a worshipper in the church, or in the open space before it. At the foot of the engraving is the quotation from St. Matthew xvi. 18, "Upon this rock I will build my church;" and the words "The Church" are printed in large letters over the engraving. The editor undoubtedly intends us to understand that the church of St. Peter is the one church of Christ. He has been unfortunate in his representation. The engraving appears to me to be a most prophetic emblem of what the church of Rome will and must eventually become, unless it change its discipline, and creeds, and laws. It will become a splendid monument of an external, visible church, in whose courts no spiritual worshippers shall be found. The rock on which it stands shall be desolate—the tree of life shall not grow there—no leaves shall be there for the healing of the nations[1]—no fruit shall grow on it, from henceforward, even for ever.[2] The heavens shall frown upon it, and the fury of the waves, which is but the madness of the people, shall be uncalmed and unremoved by the stability of its valueless, though splendid domes and towers.—The man has misunderstood the subject. The rock on which the church is built is the hidden Corner Stone, the buried foundation, the secret support of the building of the Lord's house, in which his spiritual worshippers assemble, whether in the holy of holies, the court of the priests, or the court of the Gentiles. It is not a desolate rock, surmounted by an empty building, unmeaning, fine, and useless. Or if the rock on which the church is built appear at all, it is that great rock which rises in the barren wilderness of the world, where the lambs of the fold take shelter from the noon-day heat; beneath which they find their green pastures, and follow their holy Shepherd, for they hear and obey his voice.

No. 32. Bishop Fisher praying on the scaffold.

No. 33. Dr. Forest hanged for denying the king's supremacy.

No. 34. Cranmer, with his mitre on, exhorting Edward VI. to burn Joan Boucher.

No. 35. The countess of Salisbury pursued round the scaffold by the executioner.

No. 36. Cranmer's wife, in a box, landed at Greenwich. Why should I stop to refute the fable?

No. 37. A jesuit priest racked in the Tower.

No. 38. The queen of Scots executed.

No. 39. Pillage of the monasteries under Henry VIII.

No. 40. Romanists chained together and sent to prison. The counterpart of a similar engraving in Foxe.

41. Body of a gentleman starved to death in prison, and falling to pieces when touched by the gaoler.

(1) Rev. xxii. 2. (2) Matt. xxi. 19.

42. Ludovicus Fagard, a priest, immersed by the Huguenots in boiling oil.

43. Huguenot soldiers, playing at bowls with the heads of Romanists.

44. Oh, horror, if the story be true! How certainly is the human being, unless the divine power of God change him, what bishop Hall calls him—"half a beast, and half a devil!" This engraving represents John Hieronymus tortured by mice, under a brazen vessel, placed on his stomach, with fire kindled upon it to make them eat into the body of their victim.—The book is published to palliate the cruelties of Rome, by exhibiting such fearful atrocities as these. One crime never palliates or excuses another among Christians, whose very revenge should be left to God; but I do most sincerely pray that these loathsome representations may conduce to the one desired effect of making Rome change its canon law, that there may be no longer any possibility of mutual exasperations, and mutual cruelties.

45. Huguenots plundering monasteries and killing the monks.

All these things have nothing to do with Foxe's Book of Martyrs, of which the book professes to be a review.

46. The archbishop of Cashel, father O'Hurle, tortured by sir William Drury in Ireland, by fire applied to his feet.

47. A monk in the pillory.

48. Earl Percy murdered in prison.

49. The ears of a monk perforated by red-hot irons.

50. A victim in the iron hoop, called the scavenger's daughter.

51. Anne Boleyn striking the head of bishop Fisher; a base scandal and falsehood, with which Foxe has nothing to do.

52. Garnet drawn on a hurdle to execution.

We are now brought to the third volume, which was published some time after the other, and which is professedly written to contrast the characters of the saints of the church of Rome with those of the reputed saints of John Foxe. All the former are eminent for great virtues, holiness of life, and gift of miracles.[1] All the latter are thieves, murderers, traitors, rebels, apostates, and worse than these. I shall not discuss the question, whether such men as Becket, once so highly honoured, and whose conscientiously traitorous conduct to his temporal sovereign has been lately palliated and excused by protestant Anglican theologians, were rightly called martyrs. Neither shall I attempt to prove that every man or woman who was burnt in favour of, or against, any doctrine of the church of Rome, was a holy and righteous person. It is a common mistake, both among the writers of the lives of the saints in the church of Rome, the writers of the lives in the Nonconformists' Memorial, and of the deaths of good men and women in such publications as the Evangelical and Gospel Magazines, to represent the subjects of their biography as blameless, faultless, holy persons. I believe none of such things. The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately

(1) Vol. iii. p. 1.

wicked, in the best person, from the cradle to the grave; and though the grace of God makes those who cultivate that grace to differ from others, yet none, none, are perfect. Christ alone can be described rightly in the language of eulogy which papists, puritans, and members of the Anglican church, too often apply to their own preachers, adherents, and friends, whose general good conduct they admire, whose motives they venerate, and whose opinions they approve. I do not think it necessary to the vindication of John Foxe, that I should endeavour to prove all his martyrs faultless. *The chief question is, whether he speaks the truth, when he affirms that they were burnt merely for holding opinions* which the authorities of the Anglican church did condemn in a former period, and which the authorities of the church of Rome do condemn at present; and which they would most undoubtedly endeavour to eradicate by the enforcement of their unchanged canon law, if unlimited power in their hands enabled them to do so. The question is not whether they were all free from imputed blame, but whether that imputed blame was the cause of their cremation. Hutton, the quaker, was hanged for forgery. If he had not been hanged, but if he had been burnt for his quakerism, even if the crime of forgery had been subsequently proved against him, he would still have been a martyr. A martyr is a witness, who proves his conviction of the truth of a disputed proposition by his sufferings or death: but because in this sense of the word a man may be a martyr, whatever be his moral character; we generally, as we honour the sincerity of many whose opinions we cannot approve, though we may respect their patience, their fortitude, or their zeal, add the idea of goodness, holiness, and approbation of their opinions, to our definition of a martyr. In this sense Garnet is a traitor with a protestant: he is a martyr with a papist. Cranmer is a traitor with a papist, and a martyr with a protestant. The witnesses to the truths or propositions which the church of Rome condemned, are called martyrs by Foxe; and they are *generally* called godly martyrs, for they were so. They were moral in conduct, holy in life, sincere in motive. But to affirm that all were free from every possible censure,—that all were deserving of unlimited praise for faultless holiness of life, or faultless freedom from every error,—were as absurd as the conduct of the papists, who acquit Becket of treason; or of the puritans, who acquitted Cromwell of ambition.[1] The arguments, however, of Eusebius Andrews are best described by the Quarterly Reviewer:—"They bear the same relation to sound logical reason, as the scrawlings of a lunatic to the diagrams of the mathematician."[2] Still his book is entitled a Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs; and I shall therefore proceed to consider it. It is coarser, but not duller, than Maitland.

Thirty-four engravings adorn, or disgrace, the third volume. The first is the Devil appearing to Thomas Whittle. His unholiness is

(1) See this accusation against Foxe, that some of his martyrs were unworthy of praise, in Fidde's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, p. 38.
(2) Quarterly Review, vol. xxxiii. p. 8, No. 65.

represented in the usual form, but is decorated with a white sheet over his shoulder. I continue to mention these follies, to *make the Protestant assailants of John Foxe ashamed of their Romanist fellow-soldier.*

No. 2. Green and Roe, two priests, at the scaffold.

3. The followers of Zisca breaking into the palace of Wenceslaus.

4. The Devil at supper with Luther and his wife, who, in plate

5, are represented as asleep in bed, while Devils, smaller in figure, but equally fascinating in diabolical form, proceed from his mouth, or sportively play around him.

6. Mr. Sherwood on the rack.

7. Mary Queen of Scots beheaded; a former plate repeated.

8. Ann Line, a Romanist, in prison, reading a book of devotion from which a light, or glory, proceeds.

9. Tompkins, a weaver, reading his book near his loom.

The style of reasoning in this book may be here illustrated by the following extract.

" Tompkins was a weaver of Shoreditch, who would never take a web to weave, but would first begin with prayer, according to the testimony of John Foxe. Foxe allows, that, on being taken before Bonner, the bishop did all he could to recal him from his wild notions, in which kind office he was assisted by Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London. So anxious were these divines to bring the weaver to a sense of his error, that his sentence was deferred from September to March; but he was obstinately bent on his notions. Foxe tells a story, and had a representation of the circumstance in his original work, that Bonner caused him to put his hand in a candle, to give him a sense of burning before he went to the stake; and the martyrologist makes a great many exclamations of cruelty thereat. 'But,' says father Parsons, 'if the bishop had done it to the end that by scorching his hand he might have saved his whole body and soul, who would deny but that it would have been charity and no cruelty?'" Foxe is not answered—and the persecutor is defended.

10. Cranmer's wife in a box. The former plate.

11. Cranmer writing his retractation.

12. A primitive martyr thrown to the beasts. The former plate.

13. Mrs. Clitheroe, &c. The former plate.

14. A priest wounded at the altar by one of Foxe's martyrs.—The inference to be drawn from the engraving is, that all Foxe's martyrs were men of the same character, and therefore deserved to be burnt.

15. Mr. Rawlins embowelled.

16. Three martyrs stealing a silver crucifix.

17. Garnet whispering through the chink in the wall to Oldcorne.

18. A priest apprehended, and dragged through a window.

19. A victim, and the scavenger's daughter. The former plate.

20. Alexander, governor of Seleucia, condemning a lady and her son.

21. Foxe relates that two martyrs, Testwood and Filmer, on their

way to the stake, asked for some drink. They are here represented as going to the stake drunk and staggering.

22. Julius Palmer cursed by his mother for heresy.

23. Archbishop Plunket before his judges.

24. Nichols and Yearsly, two priests, hung up by their hands.

25. Ronsham in the prison called Little Ease.

26. Execution of Green, a priest, at Dorchester.

27. Felton stopping his ears at a protestant sermon.

28. Mrs. Ward escaping by a rope from prison.

29. Collins, a martyr, holding up a dog, in imitation of the holding up of the wafer.

30. Shrine of Edward the Confessor.

31. Bullaker on a hurdle.—The same plate as that of Garnet on a hurdle. Why not? Each is worthy of the author of the odious book before me; and it is the same to the reader, whether the poor sufferer on the hurdle, is Bullaker or Garnet.

32. St. Edmund shot to death by arrows.

33. Maine, a priest, seized.

34. Cranmer appealing to Edward the Sixth against Joan Boucher.

35. The executioner, with the heart of a victim, Mr. Gening, in his hand.

36. Percy, earl of Northumberland, murdered in the Tower. A former plate.

Such are the engravings which characterize the nature of this Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs. They will sufficiently and amply explain the object and plan of the author, and his manner of executing his design. I would not have noticed the unworthy publication, if it had not been praised by such an estimable person as even Mr. Butler, and if it had not been supposed to have been dictated by certain influential ecclesiastics of his church. The strange miscellany of which his long work of fifteen hundred pages consists, and which the engravings fully delineate, is but a cloak for the author's indescribable ignorance, and a diversion from the professed object of his book—the overthrow of the statements of John Foxe. They are, in fact, a proof of this, and of his employer's utter inability to attack the martyrologist with success. Well might the Quarterly Reviewer exclaim against the scholar and the gentleman, (such Mr. Butler was,) who could eulogize Eusebius Andrews! Well might he ask—"Can he write seriously in commendation of that man's learning, the extent of which is a tolerable acquaintance with the works of father Parsons, and some of the older martyrologists of his own church; but who, when he commenced his publication, was so profoundly ignorant of English protestant literature as actually to mistake Burnet's History of His Own Times, for his History of the Reformation!"[1] The reviewer is right. I shall, as briefly as possible, prove him to be so, by now analyzing the first two, and every tenth sheet, of

(1) Quarterly Rev. vol. xxxiii. p. 8.

the Review of Foxe by Andrews, so far as they refer to the veracity and fidelity of the martyrologist.

When the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe was first published, the impossibility of denying the truth of the facts he related was so keenly felt, that the adherents to the cause he had assailed gave up at once any attempt to reply in detail, excepting in the instances of Grimwood and Marbeck, which I shall soon consider. They contented themselves with the general abuse of the book, as a collection of lies. "If a lie," says Foxe, in his reply to Harpsfield, when alluding to this accusation, "be a wilful intention to deceive, then I protest to you, and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my book. I have always abhorred wittingly to deceive any man or child, much less the church of God, whom I, with all my heart, do reverence, and with fear obey:[1] and, again, whereas you charge my history to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and feigned fables, I answer you in one word—would to God, that in all the whole book of Acts and Monuments were never a true story, but that all were false, all were lies, all were fables; although I deny not but that, in such a diversity of matter, something might overscape, yet I have bestowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men; to hurt none."[2]—Such was the moderate reply of Foxe to the charges of his papal antagonist, which are now revived, and which will be now disbelieved by his impartial countrymen, as they have ever been. It may be true, that the Quarterly Reviewer is right when he says, "that he is not always a safe guide in the ecclesiastical antiquities of the primitive church;"[3] for, when Foxe wrote, this department of theology had not been so critically studied as to separate the pristine observances from the papal corruptions; and the sufferings produced, both to the soul that began to reason, and to the body which was seized as the victim, were so intolerable, that the very name of church authority had become odious, because of its perversion: as it would again be, if our ecclesiastics were to attempt to govern the hearts and souls of men by authority, independently of evidence to convince and persuade them. The strength of the church of England consists in the liberty of its people, as well as in the power of its priests. *The love of the people, founded upon the conviction that the episcopal church deserves their homage, is the peculiar foundation of the submission of the consciences of that people, to the exercise of our episcopal discipline.* Foxe did not understand this. He did not perceive that ecclesiastical authority might enforce truth, as well as error, and maintain discipline without persecution. The consequence has been, that, while his work animates the piety, and preserves the protestantism, of the country,[4] he is not the best guide to the student who desires to understand the government of the early churches, and to deduce from the study of tra-

(1) Defence of lord Cobham against Alanus Copus, edition of 1684, vol. i. p. 664, col. 2. new edit. vol. iii. p. 393.
(2) Vol. i. p. 660, col. 1. new edit. vol. iii. p. 383.
(3) Quarterly Review, vol. xxxiii. p. 8.
(4) Quarterly Review, vol. xxxvii. p. 84.

dition and antiquity those useful inferences which destroy alike the usurpations of Rome, as well as the indefinitenesses of puritanism; and which extract from the miscellaneous materials of the past, the certainty, that one system of useful discipline, and one brief summary of doctrinal conclusions, may always be affirmed to be the code and creed of the christian church; and that the modern episcopal churches maintain both. Foxe did not sufficiently perceive this truth. *His not perceiving it, is the only real defect of his work.* Yet he never wilfully deceives. He may be always depended upon as an historian who was anxious to speak and to write the truth; and his book was so freely called a lying book, and himself was so freely called a liar, because he wrote the facts and inferences of history, without adopting the colouring which had been given to that history by the adherents of the church of Rome. He did not look at the facts of history with the same blue or green spectacles which the church of Rome had fastened on the noses, and placed before the eyes of his opponents; and they cried out, therefore, that he could not distinguish colours. What he called the blood-red of cruelty they called the tender green of mercy, or the deep blue of heavenly authority. Without taking off their spectacles, they reasoned from their own mistakes, and called the martyrologist, who spoke of colours by their right names, an impostor, a deceiver, and a liar.

The work of Eusebius Andrews, which is a reprint and a collection of the old diatribes of Harpsfield, Parsons, and their contemporaries, and which must therefore be considered, not for its own merits, but as the Encyclopædia Anti-Foxia, is the best illustration of these remarks. I shall proceed, therefore, on the plan I have mentioned, as I cannot consider the whole fifteen hundred pages, to analyze the first, and second—and after them every tenth number,—and then to examine the more specific charges of falsehood in the cases of Grimwood and Marbeck, which have been so freely urged against Foxe by all the servile copyists of his first opponents. I shall principally endeavour to find out the specific falsehoods, and to reply to them, and to pass by the more unmeaning, because general, abuse.

"The childhood," says Milton, "shows the man, as morning shows the day." The first few lines of an epic poem comprise in a short compass the subject of the work which follows it. The first sentence of Eusebius Andrews is, in like manner, the germ, or substance, of the upas tree which he has planted. *The first sheet begins thus:—*

"In undertaking to refute and expose the greatest mass of falsehood and calumny ever issued against the social and religious principles of our catholic fellow-men, we may be condemned for our temerity, but we think we shall stand excused, when the active endeavours of bigotry, to give circulation to what is called *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, are taken into consideration." He then proceeds to detail the reasons for the undertaking; and, in the first eight pages, to say much which every believer in revelation will agree to, excepting the proposition which is taken

for granted, that all catholics are Romanists, and the Romanists the only catholics,—and that the catholic church is the church of Rome, and the church of Rome the only catholic church. With this exception, the protestant will agree with this writer in many things which relate to the necessity of a revelation, page 2; the conduct of Christ and his apostles, page 3; that the early Christians would have been exposed by the heathen, if they had committed a fraud, page 4; that the council of Jerusalem, and the general councils, were summoned to decide controversies, pp. 5, 6.[1]

In page 7 we pass on at once to the reign of Henry VIII., when, we are informed, a new creed, contrary to that of the general councils, was introduced. He does not seem to know that the church of England adopts the conclusions of the first four councils. The page is then filled with much about the origin of printing—Luther—the English New Testament of Tindall—the Common Prayer Book—Henry VIII. (page 8)—and Elizabeth. In page 9, the publishers of a former edition of Foxe are abused for the engravings; and queen Elizabeth is again very politely mentioned. In page 10 Foxe is abused, and father Parsons eulogized as his unconquerable assailant. And now we arrive at the first direct accusation, quoted from Anthony Wood, of falsehood—that Foxe affirmed the death of a person named Grimwood; and that a clergyman, on the authority of Foxe, affirmed that Grimwood died in such a manner as to warrant the inference that his death was the just judgment of God upon him; that Grimwood was in the church at the time, and brought an action against the clergyman for defamation. This is Andrews's narrative. *It is the one reputed falsehood*, as I have said, most commonly alleged by every papal assailant against the veracity of Foxe; and I shall therefore consider it, when I have completed my survey of that portion of the work of Andrews which I propose to analyze.

The page proceeds with an extract from Parsons, who declares the Acts and Monuments to be—"the greatest volume in the English language, and the falsest in substance, ever published." Another extract (p. 11) is made from the conference between Du Perron and Mornay du Plessis, in which the former is made to say, that there is scarcely one whole story in that large volume which is not falsified.—*The bishop, however, makes no allusion to any one* of these numerous alleged falsehoods, *but the statement respecting Grimwood.*

The 11th page gives us another extract from Parsons, to which I beg the reader's particular attention, as its boldness may excite surprise; and if not fairly met, might produce the conviction that Parsons spoke the truth. The 19th chapter of the examination of the second part of Foxe's calendar, says Andrews, is entitled, "*A note of more than a hundred and twenty lies, uttered by John Foxe, in less than three leaves of his Acts and Monuments.*"—Now, I exclaimed, I shall be at length presented

(1) In page 6, the date of every one of the four general councils is given wrongly.

with the unanswerable proofs of Foxe's falsehood. This direct and solemn asseveration, I said, cannot be unfounded.—I found it, however, impossible to meet the charge. We are informed—"that there are many sorts of lying in Foxe, but that the two most notorious are—the historical and dogmatical." The historical lie is the affirmation of a fact which never took place. Of this kind one instance only is given, or rather alluded to, to which I shall refer, after I have considered the case of Grimwood. The dogmatical lie is said to be setting down a controverted point guilefully. The lies, therefore, alleged by Parsons are, one historical lie or falsehood; the remainder of the hundred and twenty are dogmatical lies —that is, the statements of controverted doctrines in such a manner as the Romanists do not approve.

As this affirmation, however, of one hundred and twenty lies was thus positively made, I turned with some curiosity to the chapter in Parsons,[1] to which Eusebius Andrews referred. I there find the lies alleged against Foxe to be classed thus,—"four lyes about justification;[2] one about the conditions of salvation, which might be made ten; one about distrust of salvation; five about hope and charity; two about God's law; a heape of lyes about good works, such as fasting, prayer, preaching, etc.; ten about good works by the pope's law, and pardons; and about the opus operatum; three about free will; twelve lyes about outward and inward actions;"[3] and so he goes on till he makes up the number of more than six score lies, "which," says this candid and impartial critic,[4] "is more than I promised."

In the next chapter, Parsons proceeds still further. Foxe had defined a Christian, according to the description which he supposes the church of Rome would give of that rare character. This definition gives greater offence still to Parsons, who affirms, says Andrews,[5] that it *contains as many lies as lines.* On referring, however, to Parsons himself,[6] I find that there must be many more: for the number of lines written by Foxe is finite; whereas Parsons assures us in the margin, that "the lies of Foxe in this definition are infinite."—Then my labour, I exclaimed, is hopeless and endless. I cannot cope with the infinite. I can reply to a hundred and twenty alleged lies, if they were of the historical kind; but I should feel much difficulty in refuting the same amount of lies of the dogmatical kind: my definitions, corollaries, distinctions, premises, conclusions, and discussions, would probably become wearisome before I had confuted half the number: but to go on to the infinite was an impossibility. Nemo tenetur ad impossibile; and I felt exonerated from the necessity of proceeding any further in refuting the accusation of the infinite number of Foxe's dogmatical lies. The charges of Parsons, like the weird sisters in Macbeth, make themselves thin air, and so they vanish. Yet this—this, is the antagonist

(1) My edition of Parsons's work is that in five volumes, small 8vo. 1603, 4.
(2) I am referring to vol. iv. p. 415. Andrews does not give any specific reference.
(3) Page 448. (4) Page 451. (5) Vol. i. p. 12. (6) Vol. iv. p. 456.

who, with Harpsfield, began and continued the charge of lying, so freely, so constantly urged against Foxe. Nothing in all the history of criticism is so common as the charge founded upon the work of Parsons, that Foxe has wilfully lied. No charge is more false, unsupported, and atrocious. *I blush for the protestant members of the Anglican church, who have been misled by the deceiving Jesuit whom they have trusted;* and have joined the papal enemy of their church in depreciating the labours and writings of Foxe.

The actual review of the Acts and Monuments commences in page 13. After some remarks on engravings representing the cruelties of the Inquisition, and being assured that the martyrs under the primitive persecutions were such catholics as are the adherents of the church of Rome, since the council of Trent, page 14, we are told, page 15, that St. Stephen was not a protestant, and therefore he ought not to be in Foxe's list of martyrs. Though Foxe's name occurs very frequently in these pages, still no falsehood is laid to his charge. He is derided for not perceiving that the primitive Christians were Romanists, and the author asks a question to which the protestant Anglicans may reply in the affirmative, "whether we ever dedicate churches to saints?" In page 16, we are assured that St. Andrew was no protestant martyr, because he celebrated mass, and here the first sheet ends; and Foxe hitherto escapes the charge of any specified lie.

The second sheet or number begins with an account of St. Peter. *Here, in page* 17, *we meet three direct charges of error in Foxe.* One, that Foxe affirms that the body of St. Peter was *embalmed.* The word is printed in italics, to draw attention to it more fully.—That he affirms Cornelius to have been the twentieth bishop of Rome.—And that the body of St. Peter was buried in the Vatican.

Much contempt is expressed for Foxe: his story is called a mere fiction,[1] and protestants are requested to examine history more carefully. As to the embalming, it is said to be quite out of the question. No man of common sense[2] can believe the story; and Foxe was "a romance-writer, and not a recorder of truth."—To these alleged errors, I answer, that Foxe is confirmed in his statements by early ecclesiastical traditions.

First, that Peter's body was embalmed, is affirmed by an author to whom every Romanist will defer: though I believe with Eusebius Andrews, and not with Foxe, that the body of St. Peter was not embalmed, but was buried. I quote the author in question, merely because it proves that Foxe, who quotes no authority, did not write from his own invention. That author is Baronius, who wrote after Foxe. He affirms expressly that the body of St. Peter was embalmed. Cum in cruce sic affixus martyrium consummasset, Marcello presbytero ejus corpus curatum aromatibusque conditum, magnificen-

(1) Page 19. (2) Page 20.

tissime more regis, nedum Judaico, traditur sepulturæ.[1] Andrews wishes us to believe in the traditions related by Mr. Butler from St. Gregory, that the bodies of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, were buried in the "catacombs, two miles out of Rome. The most ancient Roman Calendar, published by Bucherius, marks their festival at the catacombs on the 29th June. An ancient history, read in the Gallican church in the eighth century, says, their bodies only remained there eighteen months. From those catacombs, where now stands the church of St. Sebastian, the body of St. Paul was carried a little farther from Rome on the Ostian road; and that of St. Peter to the Vatican hill, probably by Jewish converts who lived in that quarter. At present, Mr. Butler continues, the heads of the two apostles are kept in silver bustos in the church of St. John Lateran. But one half of the body of each apostle is deposited together in a rich vault in the great church of St. Paul on the Ostian road; the other half of both bodies in a more stately vault in the Vatican church, which sacred place is called from primitive antiquity, 'The Confession of St. Peter and Limina Apostolorum,' and is resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of christendom."[2]

2. That Cornelius was the twentieth, or twenty-third, or twenty-fourth bishop of Rome, depends on the list of bishops adopted by the student. The lists vary.

3. That St. Peter was buried in the Vatican is also affirmed by Baronius,[3] whom I deem, though he supports the account of Foxe, to be an authority preferable to Eusebius Andrews.

In page 21 we read another assertion of a falsehood by Foxe:—"*We must now notice another fiction John Foxe has introduced for the purpose of deception.*"

This other fiction of John Foxe is, that Peter's wife suffered martyrdom.

Upon this Mr. Andrews breaks out into a long harangue against the marriage of priests, and accuses Foxe of inventing the story to justify the monstrous crime of clerical matrimony. He then quotes Echard's Ecclesiastical History, who tells us that we have no certainty that Peter's wife suffered martyrdom, and exults in the remembrance that Echard was a protestant. "*Who, after this,*" he exclaims, "*will believe Foxe?*"

My answer is—I will believe him. Clement of Alexandria is the author who declares that Peter's wife suffered martyrdom, and that St. Peter himself encouraged her, bidding her to remember her Lord.[4]

In page 22 we read, that Foxe did not understand that Barnabas and Barsabas were the same person.

In page 23 we pass from Nero "fiddling while Rome was burning,"[5]

(1) Baronius, in ann. 69. (2) Butler, vol. vi. p. 408. June 29.
(3) Sepultum fuisse Petrum in Vaticano, non tantum citata a nobis superius testimonia, sed et Prudentius monstrat, &c. &c.
(4) Butler's Lives of the Saints, art. Petronilla, May 31.
(5) The reader will remember the quotation.

to the fire of London, which was also burnt.—There was a river in Macedon and a river in Monmouth, and salmon in both: and this book is called a Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs!

We are brought to page 26. The martyrdoms of Erastus, Aristarchus, Trophimus, and Ananias, are related by Foxe, who is abused for omitting his authorities, and which I shall not seek for, as I think the above specimens of his veracity, or, more properly, of his having written from other sources than his own invention, will justify me in sometimes taking for granted, that he has been equally cautious in such instances as these. The Greeks place Ananias of Damascus among their saints and martyrs. The Roman Calendar omits him. Foxe is, therefore, declared to have been wrong. A tradition prevails among the Greeks that a church, afterwards converted into a mosque, was built on the place where he was buried. This story is derided. Provided only that the name of Foxe be mentioned with contempt, the editor is quite satisfied. Eusebius Andrews and Mr. Churton—(such names blended!!!)—both speak of Foxe as if he did, indeed, write a caricature of history, and imagine that by so doing the peculiar class of readers for whom they write, will be gratified by their misrepresentation. All such efforts will but reflect shame upon their authors.

Foxe is derided in page 27 for *affirming that little mention is made* by ecclesiastical historians of Barsabas, or Barnabas. Sigisbert, Eusebius, and Jerome, with others, are said to have spoken of him. They mention him, but they say little respecting him. Foxe's account is true to the letter.

In page 28 he is derided for omitting an authority for the declaration that Domitian ordered the lineage of David to be extirpated.—Andrews then demands why Domitian should have greater antipathy to the Christians than the protestant-ascendancy men to Romanists, or, as Andrews calls them, to catholics; and then follows a long declamation against Charles the second, the protector Somerset, and others, till we are brought to page 30.

Foxe relates the traditions of the travels of Dionysius. He is again derided, because the same travels are not related by Mr. Butler, who is Mr. Andrews's principal authority, and who wisely omits from his pages many of the more romantic legends of his saints and martyrs.

In page 31 Foxe is ridiculed for mentioning two primitive martyrs, and saying too little respecting them. The page ends with a criticism on Foxe using the word "clubs" instead of "sticks." Timothy is said to have been murdered by clubs. Andrews says he was murdered by sticks; and adds, "such is the way Foxe tells his tales; and yet the most unbounded credit has been given to him by the people of this country."

I feel how dull all this must be, but it is absolutely necessary to the vindication of John Foxe from his assailants, that I should thus march into his enemies' country, and there attack and disperse the forces which

have been so long threatening the impregnable fortress of the veracity and fidelity of the martyrologist.

In the 32d page we read of the cruelty of Domitian. Foxe's name is not mentioned.—So ends the second sheet. I pass on to the tenth, as I purposed. To go through every page of the whole fifteen hundred would be, indeed, too much for the most enduring reader.

The tenth sheet treats upon the persecutions of the Christians under Julian the apostate. Foxe is declared—I am astonished to see—to be correct in his statements respecting this man, for whom Gibbon and Milman[1] are the apologists. My task on this sheet, therefore, is abridged; for I need not discuss the parallel[2] drawn by Andrews between Julian the apostate and queen Elizabeth.

In page 151 in this tenth number I come to the ominous words—"But to return to Foxe." This our amiable author does; but after telling us that he begins his account of the sufferings of the Christians under Julian with the martyrdom of Basil, Mr. Andrews proceeds to compare the case of Basil, under Julian, with that of Campion under Elizabeth; to contrast the sufferings of the Christians under Julian with those of his brethren under the same queen.—All this has nothing to do with Foxe. Andrews then goes on with many useful remarks on the attempts of Julian to rebuild the temple, and on the infidelity of Gibbon. And he even gives a quotation from John Foxe, as if the martyrologist himself were sometimes an authority,[3] and thus we are brought to the end of the tenth sheet. *Nothing is said against Foxe in this sheet*, but that he omitted the account of the attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple.

On continuing to read the observations on Gibbon, which proceed from the tenth to the eleventh sheet,[4] I find that as Mr. Andrews has not made any severe remarks on Foxe in the former, he has compensated for the omission by a more unjustifiable attack than usual in the latter. Whether the forbearance of going through sixteen pages without abusing the martyrologist had rendered him astonished at his own moderation, or he feared that his readers might demand the stimulus he was so freely dispensing, I cannot tell; but so it is, that he actually quotes an authority which confirms a statement of Foxe to the very letter, to refute that statement. He relies on the ignorance or the indolence of his reader, whom he must have believed to have been unable or unwilling to consult his references.

Foxe tells us that Athanaric, king of the Goths, began a persecution against the orthodox Christians in 370, but that Sabas was the first who was put to death in that persecution in the year 372.

Andrews observes upon this statement, "Are we to suppose that there was not a Christian martyred during two long years of persecution?

(1) Mr. Milman, the Bampton Lecturer, the profound scholar, the elegant poet! I remember well to have wept like a child over his Fazio, and to have been enraptured both with his Fall of Jerusalem and Anne Boleyn; but "he is a leper." He is the only clergyman, I believe, known to the public, who has bemired his English surplice with the mud of the German Neology.

(2) Pp. 146, 147. (3) Page 158. (4) Page 161.

From the authentic acts of this martyr's life, in Alban Butler's Lives, Mr. Butler states the usual method of the persecutors to burn the Christians, with the children, etc. and, consequently, Sabas could not be the first to suffer, as John Foxe asserts and afterwards contradicts."

Whether he was the first or last is a matter of no moment; but let us consult Mr. Butler, Mr. Andrews's own reference.[1] "Athanaric, in the year 370, raised a violent persecution, which was renewed with greater fury before Easter in 372. On the 12th of April in that year, Sabas suffered martyrdom."—He was the first to suffer under the revival of the persecution. The persecution was in general tumultuary.

In the twentieth sheet, pp. 305—320, we come to an attack upon the character and conduct of the French Huguenots, whom Foxe (p. 306) is condemned for eulogizing. The St. Bartholomew massacre—Admiral Coligni—the account by Foxe (the truth of which is not contradicted) of the siege of Rochelle, and the massacre at Vassy, fill up the whole of this sheet of the review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

The thirtieth sheet, or number,[2] commences with abuse of the Wycliffites, who certainly held many strange and unjustifiable opinions. Because of these opinions, Mr. Andrews approves the passing of the act for burning them as heretics. Lingard affirms that the Commons passed the act with pleasure. Foxe, that they passed it with reluctance. For the honour of human nature, which, however fallen it may be, seldom, unless it is perverted by false zeal, delights in needless cruelty, we know the latter account is correct. The common law of the land had hitherto protected the property of the country, which the clergy now said was in danger from the new sect. The clergy, says Lingard, "presented the petition to the king in parliament;" the act, that is, was passed at their request, and under their influence. It was passed to prevent heresy, under the pretence of protecting property. It was borrowed from the canon law, which punished heresy with death, as the common law punished with death, treason, robbery, or murder. The account of Foxe that it was passed by the commons with reluctance is confirmed by the impartial Rapin; and the meaning of Dr. Lingard's expression "that the act was passed (at the request of the clergy) for the protection of the church," was shown by the immediate burning of Sautre, not as a robber, not as a traitor, but as a heretic: of whom Andrews relates only, with no expression of horror for this inhuman death, that "he had the satisfaction to fall a victim to his own folly." Finding Sawtre obstinate, he says again,[3] "they had nothing left but to pronounce him a relapsed heretic, and then the state punished him. The clergy acted with forbearance, charity, and mildness!!!"—I am sure that the great majority of our protestant community could not believe that such expressions had been used in our own age to justify the burning of heretics!—Andrews then goes on to the laws against the Romanists by Elizabeth. He tells us, that he agrees with Lingard,

(1) Vol. iv. p. 123. Edinb. 1793. (2) Vol. ii p. 49. (3) Page 52.

that Sawtre ought rather to have been considered, and treated as a lunatic; and he again abuses Foxe, without alleging any inaccuracy whatever in the details of the martyrdom.

We are next brought to the martyrdom of Badby. On this I have already spoken. Mr. Tyler will be pained by the recollection that William Eusebius Andrews is his coadjutor in vainly endeavouring to prove Foxe to have been wrong in his relation of this matter; yet even here we see the difference between the scholar-like gentleman and the ignorant partizan. Mr. Tyler, as an English clergyman, does not tell us, that it is "*cant and hypocrisy*," to insinuate that a tailor, who must of necessity have been ignorant, could not hold the true faith, in opposition to the belief of the whole nation for eight hundred years.—He would not say with his fellow-labourer, in this sad depreciation of Foxe, "Such rant is fit only for bedlamites."[1] Neither will Mr. Tyler agree with Eusebius Andrews, that "because the learned fathers of the church, who derived their faith from the apostles, believed differently from Badby, that therefore the tailor must have been necessarily and unavoidably wrong."

We are now brought to a charge against John Foxe, to which he shall himself reply.—Harpsfield, Parsons, and after them their copyist Andrews, condemn the martyrologist for prefixing to his book a calendar of the days and months of the year, in which he expunged the names of those whom the catholic church accounted saints, and inserted others. The charge was first brought against him by Harpsfield, to whom the martyrologist wrote an answer. In his defence of this calendar Foxe says, "He" (Alan Cope) "seemeth to be highly grieved with me for a 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 which calendar, I have sufficiently and expressly declared before so much, as might quickly satisfy the scruple of *M. Cope*, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had 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*, &c. In which words, preventing before, the cavilling objection of the adversary, I forewarned the reader aforehand, touching the calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed, for no other purpose, but to serve the use only of the reader, instead of a table, showing the year and month of every martyr, what time he suffered, &c.[2] "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?"[3]

(1) Page 56. (2) Vol. iii. p. 385, new edit. Vol. i. p. 661, ed. 1684.

(3) Audio enim et hic mihi obstrepere non tacitas modo sententias sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus inique a me factum videbitur, quod antiquitatis atque ex calendario explosis veteris ecclesiæ divis, martyribus, confessoribus, virginibusque, novos eorum loco martyres ac confessores infulciam. Primum, nulli ego veterum divorum hoc facto prejudicatum velim. Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit *Gregorius Nonus*. AD LECTOREM.

So far from making a new calendar, he says, "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."

Also, "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. 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,)" &c.[1]

Andrews objects to Foxe, that in this calendar of reputed saints he has inserted the names of Claydon, Murle, sir Roger Acton, Mandeville, Russell, and lord Cobham.—One party calls them traitors, another heretics. The two crimes were identified as the same offence by the priests of the day, and by the act of parliament passed at Leicester, after the first attempts of lord Cobham. A man in those miserable days, when the laws of the land forbade any person "from presuming to preach, teach, or write any thing whatever, contrary to the determination of the church, on pain of being burnt before the people in a high place,"[2]—might be a traitor without being a heretic; but he could not be a heretic without being a traitor. Herein consisted the cruelty which maddened the men whom Foxe calls martyrs, because they died protesting both against such iniquitous laws, and against the priesthood also which proposed and upheld them. Whether Foxe was justified in placing them all among saints as well as martyrs, I shall not presume to say. But martyrs, or witnesses against Rome, they certainly were. Traitors they were not, in the sense of rebels against kingly government, conspiring to overthrow monarchy, or to attempt the life of the king. But falsehood is not alleged against the details of the narratives of their conduct, and I shall not attempt to reply to such flowers of eloquence as—"such desperate villains," (p. 56,) and "barefaced hypocrites, introduced by Foxe into his famous or infamous Book of Martyrs." "Claydon (p. 57) was an old Lollard, an illiterate, graceless, base, currier." "Murle was one of the same wicked gang," etc.—Neither shall I write a long inquiry into the character, conduct, or death of the duchess of Gloucester, of whom Foxe gives an account which has never been proved to be false. If Foxe has made her a saint, Andrews has made her a sorceress, and I am sure she could more easily have been the former than the latter. Yet

(1) Vol. iii. pp. 391, 392. See the whole defence of the calendar, vol. iii. pp. 383—392.
(2) These are the very words of the bloody statute, 2 Hen. IV.

Foxe is accused by Andrews of "shameless mendacity,"[1] for thus calling her a saint. Of what crime the latter is guilty, I cannot stop to consider.

The fortieth number[2] treats of the sad history of the reign of Henry VIII. when protestants and papists were sent to the same fires. The only allegation against Foxe in this number refers to the case of Marbeck, which, with that of Grimwood, is the principal foundation of the charge of falsehood alleged against him so freely, and which I shall consider, when I have completed my analysis of every tenth number of this book. Barnes, one of the three protestants, who was sent to execution on the same hurdle with the three adherents of Rome, by Henry VIII., is ridiculed by Andrews, for a beautiful declaration respecting the prayers of the saints. "If they do pray for us, Mr. Sheriff," said the victim, "then, Mr. Sheriff, I hope to pray for you within this half hour." This is called presumption by Mr. Andrews. To me it appears to be the humble hope of a Christian. Pearson, Testwood, and Filmer, are called "guzzling saints," because a young man, an acquaintance of Filmer, brought them wine at the stake. The wretched author who writes thus would have been grievously offended with the protestant writer who had given this same epithet to James Ducket, who is represented in Challoner's account of the missionary priests to have been refreshed with a pint of wine, presented to him in the street by his wife when he was in the cart on his way to the scaffold.[3]—The story of Anne Askew too, as given by Foxe, is ridiculed, but not denied. She is said to have been an enthusiast like Johanna Southcott. The poor fellow who thus describes her does not add, that *if the church of Rome had acted towards such enthusiasts, as the church of England acted towards Johanna Southcott*, there would have been no scandalous burnings for opinions, whether true or false. The church of England obeyed the command of Christ, and let the tares grow with the wheat. What is the consequence? The Southcottian tares have nearly disappeared. The wheat flourishes and spreads daily over the field, in the space which those tares had occupied. *If Johanna Southcott had been persecuted, she would have been canonized.* If Irving had been burnt, he too would have been canonized, and his followers, instead of being absorbed among the population, and sinking into obscurity, would have become a sect, abounding with saints and martyrs.

Much is said in this sheet about Catharine Parr, Henry VIII., and others, but Foxe is not mentioned.

The fiftieth number charges two falsehoods against Foxe, though the martyrologist is quoted as an authority in the beginning of the sheet, on the subject of queen Mary's speech to the citizens on the rebellion of Wyatt. The first is—Foxe is said "to lie" in saying that Mary "wreaked her vengeance on *all* Wyatt's followers, because only three

(1) Vol. ii. p. 64. (2) Vol. ii. p. 299.
(3) See the account in Challoner's British Martyrology, part ii. Keating, Booker, etc.

were executed." [1] I answer that Dr. Lingard himself apologizes for the execution of sixty, by informing us that Elizabeth demanded hundreds of victims after a less formidable rebellion.

The second falsehood alleged against Foxe in this number is, the account he gives of the removal of Elizabeth from Ashridge.—This has been considered. Mr. Tytler (with Mr. Tyler, Mr. Churton, and Mr. Maitland) will blush to find, that his unrequired, unnecessary, useless, and vain attacks on the veracity and fidelity of the martyrologist have led him into this strange society.

A singular remark occurs in page 379. Andrews is describing the amount of gold brought into the country by Philip of Spain. "We might have supposed," says Andrews, "that this immense wealth would have softened down the antipathy of catholicism." Poor fool! The religion which overcame the violence of fire could defy the love of gold, and despise alike the sneers, the frowns, and the contempt of its possessors.

In page 380 we have a long account of the reconciling of England to Rome—how the motion for the reunion was carried in the lords by acclamation, and in the commons by an ultimately unanimous vote. He describes the repentance of the two houses—the absolution pronounced by the cardinal in the name of the pope—and the rescinding of his displeasure for the national heresy. The narrative is given at great length. Foxe is not impugned through the long narrative.—I shall but add, therefore, *may God, in his good time, bring back the hour when the church of Rome may be again in communion with the church of England, and with all other episcopal churches!* but let it be recollected that, since that day when even this hollow momentary truce took place in the reign of Mary, Rome has strengthened and heightened the wall of partition between the two churches, which its own hands must throw down again before there can be the hope of reunion. It has decreed the truth of Trent. It has re-sanctioned, by its most solemn laws, every error, every pretension, every usurpation, against which our fathers protested. *Can we be united again till Rome changes?*—Another council must reconsider the decrees of Trent, the claims of the papacy, the spirituality of the universal episcopacy, the creeds and the discipline of the one holy catholic church. Then may there be the hope of reunion, when churches, princes, and people, demand peace, and truth, and the cessation of the bitter and ruinous controversies, which destroy the harmony of nations, and degrade our common Christianity.

We are brought to the third volume, and to the sixtieth number.

To counteract the effect of Foxe's Calendar of Martyrs for Unpapal Christianity, or to hold that calendar up to ridicule, Parsons published a double calendar, one of the martyrs and saints whom the church of Rome (and, he might have added, whom the church of England, in many instances) admired and celebrated; and the other the reprint of the

(1) Vol. ii. p. 373.

calendar of John Foxe. He contrasted throughout, the one with the other. The torments of the two classes of martyrs were equal; but the former only were designated as holy, virtuous, wise, or catholic. The latter are uniformly stigmatized by some odious epithet—they are "old dotards, wilful heretics, poor artificers, weak, simple, presumptuous, for opposing the church, ignorant smiths, tailors, weavers, husbandmen, apostates, married priests."—No pity is expressed for their sufferings, but much for their obstinacy and error. "To see these weavers and fullers," he says, "go desperately to death, rather than relent in any one of their opinions, (for which they had no further than their own particular apprehensions,) sheweth well the spirit of heresie, how dangerous and desperate a phrenzy it is, when yt taketh deep roote; especially in ignorant people, who commonly are more incurable than others."[1] This kind of language abounds in every page. Foxe's narrative, excepting in the cases of Grimwood and Marbeck, is not contradicted. He is never proved to have been false. Parsons only adopts the language of the vituperation of Harpsfield.[2] He also calls the martyrs names in the same manner. He calls them "infernal martyrs"—"the most abandoned heretics, thieves, homicides, and traitors, both to God and man."—I protest, on looking over the pages of Parsons, Harpsfield, and these of Andrews, that this is the common mode in which they all assail the accuracy and fidelity of Foxe. I am unable to find specific charges. *All is vague generality and unmeaning abuse.* In imitation, however, of this plan of Parsons, Andrews has compiled his third volume on the plan of a double calendar also. He summarily gives us the list of martyrs and saints, some of whose names are venerated, though he does not dwell on this, by the church of England, and all of whom are venerated by the church of Rome; but he has compiled principally from Dodd, and from bishop Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests, a calendar of the names of those who suffered in England under the penal laws of Elizabeth and her Stuart successors, for the cause of the church of Rome. The difference between the martyrs of Foxe, and of Challoner or Andrews, consists in this. *The protestant or unpapal martyrs* were men who hazarded their lives unto the death, and suffered in the prison and the flames, as individuals committing their souls to God, *in obedience to no command or law whatever, but to their own consciences.* The *papal martyrs* were men who hazarded their lives unto the death, and suffered in the prison and on the rack, as individuals committing their souls to God, *in obedience to the command and law of human superiors—the Roman bishop, the foreign jesuit, the domestic traitor;* none of whom were empowered to direct the consciences or the souls of the poor sufferers, who became the sincere and conscientious victims of

(1) Parsons's Third Part of the Treatise of the Three Conversions, containing the Examen of the Calendar of Foxe's Protestant Saints.

(2) Thus, in the Sixth Dialogue, (p. 746, Antwerp, 4to. 1566,) "Foxus nihil hic, atque adeo in tota hac sacra infernorum martyrum historia suo nomini, quod apud nos vulpem significare non ignoras, dissimile facit. Qui nobis non modo teterrimos hæreticos, sed et fures, homicidas, atque etiam," &c.

such irresponsible usurpation.—All this is carefully kept out of sight, both by Andrews and Challoner. The sufferings were equal; the sincerity of the victims was equal. The designed conclusion, therefore, is, that the cause was not only equally good,—but that the instructions of the church of Rome, being supported by authority, and not by the individual and undirected reasonings of the martyr only, is more likely to be the best.—Such was the argument; and the engravings, in the works of Challoner and Andrews, with the contrast between the sufferings of the opposing martyrs, have not been without their effect.

The first number of this third volume of Andrews details this argument at some length. He relates the causes for the veneration, in the primitive church, of saints and martyrs. He goes on to compare the characters of the lists of Foxe and of the early church: and, having the appearance of sound reasoning in this portion of his labours, he actually argues as if all the statements of Foxe were to be relied on. He does not even call him by his usual epithet, "the lying Foxe," but takes for granted that his narratives are true. "We shall give," he says,[1] "the calendar of Foxe, which he prefixed to his original work; and instead of the calendar of saints used by the catholic church, we shall place parallel with Foxe's list, a catalogue of the catholic martyrs, bishops, priests, religious nobility, gentry, and commonalty, who suffered for the old religion, from the suppression of the spiritual supremacy of the pope by Henry VIII. to the end of the reign of Charles II. Attached to the calendar we shall, under each month, give a biographical and critical sketch of the respective sufferers, whereby the reader will be able to discover the real merits of the parties, and learn to whom respect and veneration is due. It is not, nor was it, ever our intention to justify the many executions that occurred in the reign of queen Mary; but the circumstances under which they took place, and those which led to the punishments inflicted on the catholics, are so very dissimilar, that we should not do justice to the cause of truth were we to omit pointing them out to the reader."

He then proceeds to comment on the law of Henry IV. for burning the Wycliffites, and to assert its wisdom, justice, and mercy; and he adds, with candour, equal to his good reasoning: "Such was the law under which Foxe's martyrs suffered, who were, for the most part, apostate monks, friars, and priests, shoemakers, sawyers, weavers, smiths, curriers," etc. He might have added, some were archbishops, and bishops, noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies. The same God who drew the witnesses to his truth in the former ages from all ranks in society, called forth also from every rank his witnesses against Rome. He who made Isaiah the courtier a prophet, as well as Amos the herdsman; he who made the kinsman of the high priest a disciple, as well as Peter the fisherman; who made Anianus the shoemaker the successor of St. Mark in the government of the church of Alexandria, and the saints

(1) Vol. iii. p. 5.

of Cæsar's household to testify to the faith of the church of Rome itself, when that faith was uncorrupted by the novelties of later days—called forth his witnesses to protest against those novelties, from every rank in England; that England, from the prince to the peasant, should ever value the testimony of their protestant forefathers; and never, never again submit to the church which sent its victims to suffer for the supremacy of a foreign bishop, over the laws, religion, and liberties of England.

The examination, then, of Foxe's martyrs against Rome is continued through the volume; and they are contrasted throughout with the sufferers in favour of Rome under the protestant laws.

The sixtieth number begins with an account of Barkworth, a native of Lincolnshire, educated at Douay by a Flemish jesuit, and ordained a priest in Spain, in the English college of Valladolid. *In the insolent language still repeated by* the priests who adhere to the church of Rome, and live in England, *he was sent on the English mission*—he was sent, that is, by the foreign enemy, who had just before commissioned against the church and crown of England, the most formidable armament which had ever since the Norman conquest threatened England with invasion and ruin—he was sent to preach against the prayer-book, the discipline, and the laws, both of the church and state, in obedience to the bishop of Rome; when that bishop of Rome, in the discharge of his duty to God, was conscientiously seeking the ruin of the native land of his victim. Barkworth died with joy, for the cause he had espoused. When the sentence of death was pronounced, he fell on his knees, raised his eyes to heaven, and thanked God. He exhorted the people, when at the scaffold, not to fear what the world could do against them; for there was no greater happiness than to shed one's blood for Him who died for us. "I am a soldier of Christ, and I die for his faith. I forgive the queen with all my heart, and wish to be with her, and with all who have been accessory to my death, in eternal glory." So he died; and died with joy of mind, and painful sufferings of body.[1] And in the same manner his brethren died, so many of whom are enumerated in the volumes of Challoner and Andrews. Thus these men died. The puritan was preaching at the same time against the English prayer-book, the episcopacy, the discipline, and orders of the church of England. The papist and the puritan were united in this one unholy object; yet the puritan hated the papist with a more intense hatred than he abhorred the churchman. The papist had taught the people[2] to dislike the prayer-book. The puritan despised it as a beggarly element. Both desired to destroy the ecclesiastical polity of the church; but, both so intensely hated each other, that the church was strengthened by this mutual hatred; till it was enabled to overcome a puritan rebellion, as it had already conquered the popish enemy.—The time has now arrived when the English prayer-

(1) Andrews, vol. iii. p. 114.
(2) See the account of Heath the jesuit, father Comyn, and others, in the Foxes and Firebrands of Foulis, etc. etc. etc.

book is so universally beloved by the educated and thoughtful among us, that the puritan hatred to its holy devotions may be said to have generally ceased. The hatred of Rome continues, but its more deadly inveteracy has professedly diminished; and all these fearful histories of mutual martyrdoms and cruel executions blend in forming one lesson only—that peace will be restored to the world when the English mission from Rome shall follow the example of its puritan coadjutor still more, and change its former hatred of our services, our episcopacy, and our orders, into the approbation which they deserve, from every catholic Christian.

We are now presented in this number with Foxe's whole calendar of names of martyrs, for the month of March. I shall select this whole list to illustrate and confirm my assertion, *that vague generality and unmeaning abuse, and no discovery of any material inaccuracy in the narratives of the martyrdoms of John Foxe*, characterize this professed review and examination of his labours. I will prove the fairness with which I am most anxious to proceed in this dull matter, by briefly noticing Andrews's account of each of the Foxian martyrs for this one month. I do this, because I consider that I am reviewing the labours of Harpsfield and Parsons as to this list, at the same time.

The calendar of Foxe's protestant martyrs for the month of March, then, is as follows:—

Year.	Day.	MARCH.
1422	1	William Taylor, Martyr.
1479	2	John Veselianus, Dr. M.
1490	3	Dr. Veselus, alias Basilius, Conf.
1524	4	Henry Sutphen, Mar.
1526	5	John Hugleyne, M.
1528	6	Peter Flessidius, M.
—	7	Adolphus Clabachus, M.
—	8	Patrick Hamilton, M.
1530	9	Thomas Hilton, M.
1531	10	*Thomas Bilney, M.*
—	11	Daniel Forster, M.
—	12	Edward Freesse, Confessor.
—	13	Valentine Freesse, and his Wife, Mart.
—	14	Father Batt, C.
1555	15	Rawlins White, Gent. M.
—	16	Thomas Tompkins, M.
—	17	Thomas Higbed, Gent. M.
—	18	T. Causton, Gent. M.
—	19	William Hunter, M.
—	20	William Piggot, M.
—	21	Stephen Knight, M.
—	22	John Lawrence, Minister, M.
1556	23	Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, M.
—	24	John Spicer, M.
—	25	*Annunciation of our Lady.*
—	26	William Cotesley, or Coberley, Martyr.
—	27	John Maundrell, M.
1557	28	Richard Crashfield, M.
1558	29	Cuthbert Simpson, M.
—	30	Hugh Fox, M.
—	31	John Devenish, M.

1. William Taylor. Foxe is said to be "wrong in calling him a *protestant saint*, because he was condemned, in the second year of Henry the Sixth, on some notion about prayers to the saints, in which, while he differed from Rome, he no less differed from the protestants."

My answer is—that Foxe does not call his calendar a calendar of *protestant saints* at all. He expressly affirms, that he makes only a table of those whom he believed to be good and godly men that suffered for the truth.[1]

March 2. John Veselianus was a Dutch priest, who had abjured, before the bishop of Mentz, some of his opinions in 1470. Andrews imagines that he has obtained a triumph over Foxe in his account of this martyr. The martyrologist, when speaking of the recantation of Veselianus, observes—"Although this aged and feeble old man by weakness was constrained to give over unto the Roman 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 had not otherwise enforced him to say than he did think." To which Mr. Andrews replies—"Bravo, John Foxe! Now, what is this but justifying the practice of *mental reservation*, against which so much is said by the enemies of catholicism? So, then, a man may say one thing and mean another, and yet be a true protestant martyr. Oh! John Foxe, the foundation on which you have built your church is of so sandy a soil, that it is no wonder you are put to your shifts, and are under the necessity of making so many doublings to get out of the mess; yet your cunning only carries you deeper into difficulties. When a martyrologist is compelled to take apostates for saints, we may be sure he is hard pushed to make up his list."

This is but a common specimen of the manner in which the whole book is written. I answer to all such declamation in the language of the amiable Fuller: "Oh!" he says, "there is more goes to make a brave man, than calling another coward." Foxe does not defend mental reservations. He mentions the conduct of Veselianus as a weakness.—Should I not be justly deemed, by every member of the church of Rome, to be guilty of great injustice, if I alleged, that, when pope Liberius was intimidated into signing a confession of faith, in which the word "consubstantial" was omitted, I therefore believed he was, in heart, an Arian? No! I pity the weakness of the bishop of Rome; and cannot declaim against him, as many of my own brethren have done.—Or shall I believe that the president of the council of Nice, Hosius, the bishop of Corduba, when, after the age of ninety years, he was half maddened, half terrified, into a signature of an anti-nicene character, was therefore in heart and soul an apostate. No! I pity his weakness, and pray to God that neither I, nor mine, may be required to glorify God in these fires, lest we should in such time of temptation fall away. I only claim from the Romanists, who to this very hour deride the sufferings,

(1) Vol. i. Edit. 1684. p. 662. Vol. iii. p. 391, new edit.

the character, and the weakness of our own martyred Cranmer, the same indulgence that I claim for Liberius, and Hosius. I do not defend the weakness of either. They all ought to have resisted, from the first, unto blood, striving against the sin of their momentary apostasy: but I will not imply my own bravery by calling such men cowards.

"When a martyrologist is compelled to take apostates for saints, we may be sure he is hard pushed to make up his list;" says the candid Andrews.—Every convert, I answer, from Judaism, or from heathenism, to Christianity, was an apostate in the opinion of those whom he deserted. St. Paul was an apostate, and Constantine an apostate; every protestant who becomes a papist, or every papist who becomes a protestant, is an apostate; and they become converts or apostates, because they think so deeply on religion, that they change their opinions, as the light breaks in upon them.—Yet this is the reasoning which is to induce us to think our fathers fools in approving the labours of John Foxe. It will be seen that every action of the zealous, holy, and blameless men who were burned, is stigmatized with some epithet of reproach which does but confirm the truth of Foxe's narrative, when it appears to refute it.

March 3. "Veselus," says Andrews, "was a libertine priest." He was married; and is therefore called a libertine.—"He is made a saint," says Andrews, "for want of a better."

4. Henry Sutphen.—"He was," says Andrews, "an apostate monk, burned for disorders; he took a mate."

He had been a monk. His preaching excited great attention, and gave deep offence; he was married.

5. John Hugleyne "an apostate priest; burned for sedition and apostasy."

He gave offence by his boldness, as every zealous preacher did in those calamitous times; but there is not an atom of evidence to justify the charge of sedition. It is a gratuitous falsehood on the part of Andrews.

6, 7. Germans, burned at Cologne, 1528, for some propositions not recorded.

8. Patrick Hamilton. "Preferred the licentious living of the reformers to the rigid rule of a monastery."

He was most exemplary in his life. His theological labours, called "Patrick's Places," or common-places, as we should now name them, are still read in Scotland with pleasure. He is justly called by Foxe, a true saint of God, if zeal, holiness, and love of truth, constitute a saint.

9. Thomas Hilton—"a smuggler of books."

He was tortured in prison, and burned by bishop Fisher. Foxe is contemptuously described as "making a particular pageant of this martyr."—He was burnt for no crime, but for protesting against the errors of Rome; yet he must be abused, and therefore he is called a smuggler of books. Religious books were prohibited, and he probably endeavoured to distribute them.

10. Thomas Bilney.—What weight, says Andrews, can be given to "this proved lying martyrology," which makes Bilney a martyr, whereas he was a catholic; for out of thirty-four questions, he answered thirty as a catholic would have done!"—Poor Bilney! The fear of flames made him recant. His inward misery made him recant his recantation. He was torn by remorse. He retained much of the creed of the Romanists, but not all. The narrative of his death is one of the most affecting in the martyrology. Bishop Latimer called him "that blessed saint." Yet Foxe is abused by Andrews for calling him a martyr. If he was not, why was he burnt? No crime is alleged against him, even by Andrews. Why do these vipers bite the file? Why will some protestants deem it to be unphilosophical, or ungentlemanly, to love the religion and the firmness, which thus enabled their fathers to build up, and to cement every stone of their episcopal church, with the blood of the martyrs?

11. David Foster—"a poor artificer, who suffered for disturbing his neighbourhood with his dangerous doctrines."

We may thank God, that if our "poor artificers" now preach, we do not burn them. We do not approve of them; we do not encourage them. *The church of England holds on its glorious way*, and it does not, and it ought not to interfere by law, to prevent the attempts of John Nokes, to inform John Styles, that the soul is immortal, and that the gospel of God is true. The sun in the heavens ought not to condescend to burn up the cloud which conceals his brightness but for a moment. Let the church go on, fulfilling its high destiny of extending the wheat over the field of the world; and though the tares may seem for a while to grow, they will slowly and gradually lessen in number and in power.

12. Edward Freese—"a painter, and a monk, who apostatized, married, became mad in prison, where he died, and is canonized by Foxe."—Such is the account of Andrews.

The narrative of the sufferings of this poor man, and his wife, might have elicited one word of sympathy, if such men had hearts to mourn. But Foxe's narrative is not impeached; and we must be contented. Let it however be remembered, that we are considering a review of his Book of Martyrs.

13. Valentine Freese, and his wife.—"They were burnt," says Andrews, "for publishing seditious opinions;" that is, for opinions which excited attention.

14. Father Batt, "was an old dotard; and was imprisoned for preaching."

15. Rawlins White, a fisherman. "His son read the Bible to him; the ignorant fisherman expounded it. When apprehended for his fantastical opinions, he disputed with the bishop of Llandaff, and was condemned and burnt."

This is the account of Andrews. It is not false; but he omits the fact, that the poor fisherman did not presume to speak in the name of the

church. He exhorted and admonished the people among whom he lived, to repentance and to abandonment of their Romish errors; and though no Christian is justified in the administering the sacraments, or in preaching the gospel, in a well-ordered christian church, unless that church gives him authority to do so; yet Christians are expressly commanded to "exhort one another daily." This the church of Rome, and all who would prevent that christian liberty which is perfectly reconcileable with christian discipline, are unable to understand; yet *the laws of the church, if rightly received, are the protectors, and not the annihilators, of this very freedom.*

16. Thomas Tompkins, a weaver of Shoreditch, whose hand was burnt by bishop Bonner, "to give him," says Andrews, "a sense of burning before he went to the stake." "If the bishop," says father Parsons, "burnt his hand to save his soul, who can deny that it was charity, and not cruelty?" Unable to deny the truth of the narrative, it is, however, insinuated that it might be false; "for Foxe," says Parsons, "alleges no record but his own words, which deserve but little credit."

The candid reviewers forgot, that Foxe mentions the names of persons who were alive when his book was published, and who could have contradicted him if he had been mistaken, as they did in the cases of Grimwood and Marbeck.

17. Thomas Higbed,

18. Thomas Causton, two gentlemen, who were burnt for the usual offence. They read the Scriptures, and were convinced of the errors of Rome. They alleged this to be the reason of their non-agreement with the doctors of the church. What is the observation of Parsons, quoted by Andrews? "A goodly ground these wise gentlemen bring forth! They depend only on their own reading of the Scripture!"—Ay, my friend! and these Scriptures make the poor peasant wise unto salvation, where the entrammelled doctor, who seeks only to know what other doctors have said, will often err.—I love, with my whole soul, I love the learned: and envy, admire, and venerate them. Yet I never can forget, that the most learned are often like lamps, put out by too much oil, while the well-trimmed lamp of the ignorant is sometimes sufficiently lighted, till the bridegroom cometh. I commend the observation of William Eusebius Andrews to the church, and to the churchmen of any portion of Christ's holy catholic church, whether in Rome itself, or in the pseudo-Rome—the secret chambers of Oxford, where protestantism has been betrayed, and the freedom of appeals to Scripture alone, by the church of England, have been undervalued and assailed. *William Eusebius Andrews agrees with the men to whom I refer.*—He is the strenuous, the worthy upholder of *their* conclusions. He is speaking of men who read the Scriptures, and *because* they read them opposed Rome. "To suppose," he says, (p. 121,) "that these men were more learned than all the world beside, that they knew the sense of Scripture better than all the clergy, from the time of St. Augustine, who converted the nation to catholicism,

to cardinal Pole, who then filled the see of Canterbury, must be preposterous folly, and none but men infatuated with error and delusion could entertain the notion that individuals differing in essential points of doctrine, could *all* be *true* doctors of theology; yet did these men hold this gross absurdity, and are accounted fit martyrs for Foxe's church, though hardly a remove from bedlamites."—Certainly, my friend, these men must be wrong! Call them therefore fools, and then burn them! !

19. Foxe is ridiculed, but not refuted, for his account of the conduct and death of William Hunter, a young weaver.—I pass by the cold-hearted observations of his reviewer.

20. William Pigot,

21. Stephen Knight, were two artificers, and dared to form their own opinions.—John Foxe has the folly to think that artificers, having souls committed to their trust, may possibly have consciences, and judgment, by which to guide those souls, under solemn prayer, and devotional study of the revelation of God to the world. Andrews and Parsons do not think that artificers have any right to possess the privilege of directing their own consciences, and therefore these two artificers were justly burnt. There is thus a difference in opinion; but Foxe is not impugned—the narrative of Foxe is not contradicted.

22. John Lawrence, a dominican friar, a priest, married, and was burnt at Colchester.—Foxe relates the prayer of the young children who witnessed his martyrdom. Parsons ridicules the account, but he does not deny it. In common with his brethren who advocate the non-marriage of the clergy, he confounds two things which are sometimes not found to exist together, namely, celibacy and chastity. He has used, therefore, language not repeatable, concerning John Lawrence; who elicits no compassion from the reviewers of Foxe, though he lost the use of his limbs during his imprisonment, and was taken to the stake in a chair.

23. "We have now," says William Eusebius Andrews, the chief reviewer with Mr. Maitland, of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe,—"we have now to treat of the chief captain of the reformation, next to his ——— and merciless master, Henry VIII."—And who is this master in Israel, to whom this base fellow, this coadjutor of so many renegade Anglican protestants, can refer? May the conduct of such men be—

"Shunn'd like infection, loath'd like infamy."[1]

He refers to the St. Peter-like archbishop—the learned, zealous, wavering, calumniated Cranmer. Seventeen pages are crowded with the repetition of the most vile abuse, which Sanders, Lingard, Milner, Butler, Harpsfield, Parsons, and Andrews, have heaped upon him. *The name of Foxe occurs but seven times throughout the whole invective; and then only when an opinion is objected to, not when a fact is denied.* The diatribe against Cranmer is summed up by a gentleman,

(1) Oldham.

a scholar, a good writer, from whom better things might have been expected,[1] in language which is more elegant in its construction, but not more true, than the coarser paragraphs of Andrews. In the desire to cover Cranmer with odium, the narrative of Foxe is almost forgotten. The martyrologist is but alluded to. I find in the summary with which Andrews concludes his attack on the archbishop, the very words of Foxe are quoted, yet he is not contradicted; and I meet with no accusations against Foxe, which impeach, even in this part of his book, either his "accuracy or his fidelity." He, and his antagonists, relate precisely the same facts, as the two parties of ministerial or antiministerial editors in our own day relate the political events of the hour. The facts are the same. The praise or the blame, the elegance or the inelegance of the language, the insinuation of wrong, the allegation of right, vary in each, according to the temper, the education, the knowledge, the refinement, the zeal, or the judgment of the writer. I refer for the defence of Cranmer against the more scandalous charges of Sanders, or the polished accusations of Lingard, to the unanswered and unanswerable work of the venerable archdeacon of Cleveland.[2] I shall only say, that the great question we are discussing does not depend for its right answer on the character of any man. It is the same to us, whether Henry VIII. was a Nero, or an Alfred; or whether Cranmer was as conscientiously disloyal as his predecessor Becket, or as conscientiously loyal as his successor Howley. The question is, whether Rome shall govern England, and teach error; enforce that error by the authority of antiquity, tradition, and the church; and then compel its reception by the power which emanates from that authority. *The question is, shall the Scriptures or the church be supreme, as the director of the conscience of an immortal.* Every other topic is a matter of indifference. "The reformation," says one of the descendants of the martyrs,[3] "is built on a rock, removing the hay and stubble, the perishing materials heaped on it by popes, to secure our church a firmer establishment on Christ the foundation. Cranmer we look upon but as an instrument raised by God to clear away the rubbish; and whatever his personal frailties or infirmities may have been, (for Christ has appointed men, not angels, for the work of his ministry here,) the doctrines of the gospel by him restored are not the less pure, nor the corruptions he pointed out less abominable; and the better use we make of that blessing which he, by his labour among us, procured for us, *we shall esteem him the more highly in love for his*

(1) Dr. Fletcher, in his work on the comparative view of the grounds of the catholic and protestant religion, the beginning of which gives a good survey of the evidences of the common faith. He proceeds to the usual error of mistaking the church of Rome for the catholic church of Christ. He talks of transubstantiation as others have lately done at Oxford, as if he wished to explain it away, and still to retain it, like a man accommodating a heavy burthen to his back, till he imagines it to be easy. He abuses Cranmer in language which may please his superiors, without increasing his reputation in the world. I notice the book, because it is addressed to a noble lord, whose brother was an English clergyman, but who is now a priest of the church of Rome. It is said, that Dr. Fletcher endeavoured to persuade earl Spencer to follow Mr. George Spencer's example.

(2) Mr. Todd, the editor of Spenser, Milton, and Johnson's Dictionary, 2d edit. 1826. Dr. Lingard, unable to reply to the defence, has merely observed, "that the attempts of Mr. Todd, to place in a more favourable light the labours of Cranmer, have not been successful." He disproves no affirmation of Mr. Todd. Preface to the 9th vol. of History of England.

(3) Ridley's Life of Cardinal Pole, p. 287.—Todd. Preface.

work's sake, whatever his faults were in other respects." To which I shall only add, in the often-repeated words of my late venerable friend and patron, Shute Barrington, bishop of Durham,—"*If this reformation was worth establishing, it is worth defending.*"—And we WILL be free—we will defend it, till its work is done—that is—*till the influence of England, in religious matters, has so leavened the civilized portion of mankind,* that the laws of Rome, as well as the language and professions of the Romanists, shall eventually, and most happily, be changed.

That the reader, who is so fortunate as not to have read any part of this work of William Eusebius Andrews, may learn what evil he has escaped, I close this survey of the sixtieth number with the language of the reviewer of Foxe's Book of Martyrs respecting the sorrowful scenes which took place at Oxford, after Cranmer had listened to that insulting harangue of Dr. Cole, which was called "Cranmer's funeral sermon." The venerable archbishop retracted his recantation, which, as Liberius of Rome and Hosius of Corduba, he had signed in fear of that most awful death—the burning alive. He was reminded, when he had done so, of his handwriting, and accused of falsehood and dissimulation. Here it is that Andrews, quoting from Foxe, but without refuting him, resumes his narration, which he had interrupted by a quotation from Cole's sermon.—In reply to the accusation of falsehood and dissimulation—"Ah! my masters," exclaimed Cranmer, as Foxe relates the story, "do not say so. Always since I have lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity; and never before this time have I dissembled: and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes."—To this our candid reviewer replies—"Poor Tom, he was sadly mollified!—but after the facts so clearly proved by innumerable witnesses, that Cranmer's life was one continued scene of duplicity and hypocrisy, it will be admitted, that Foxe and our modern editors must possess no small share of hardihood and impudence, to make their grand martyr lie so stoutly, and profess himself so great an advocate and example of probity. But how could these writers tell the quantity of tears in Cranmer's body, and that the whole appeared in his eyes? This, to use a common expression, is certainly—'All my eye.' Surely such stupid nonsense, such canting balderdash, was never tolerated in any other country, nor under any other system than protestantism, as we have from the pen of Foxe and the modern editors concerning Cranmer, of whom they have endeavoured to make a *saint*, though he was clearly one of the basest villains that ever disgraced the human form"—!!!

Such is the review of the death of Cranmer by the impugner of John Foxe. "These be thy gods, oh Israel!" exclaimed the indignant leader of the Hebrews, when they forsook the worship of Jehovah for the golden calf in Horeb!!! These be thy literary coadjutors—Churton, Tyler, Tytler, Maitland—and all other of the protestancy of England, who depreciate the labours, and impugn the value, of John Foxe!

March 24. John Spicer,

26. William Coberley, and

27. John Maundrel, other of the Foxian martyrs, are derided—the first "as a mason," the second "as a tailor," the last "as a cowherd"—and all as "ignorant fanatics." Foxe's narrative of their conduct, which was certainly disrespectful to their more polished, gentlemanly, and courteous judges, is not denied. He relates the faults as well as the sufferings of his martyrs. Neither is he charged with inaccuracy in his narration of their deaths, with all their sad and pitiable circumstances.

28. Richard Crashfield was—"a simple young artificer, whose head was crammed with texts of Scripture, and his mind as restless as fanaticism could make it."—Foxe is ridiculed for making the young artificer confute the old divine. But if the gravest, and most learned, and most old divine, affirms that two added to two are equal to five, cannot a child confute him? So it is also in the doctrine of the corporeal presence. To hear it, is to disbelieve it; to deny it, is to refute it; for it is an appeal to the senses, at the moment when the evidence to which the appeal is made is declared incompetent to decide on its truth. Andrews calls theology "the most difficult of all studies." It is, and it is not. *Theology bears the same analogy to Deity which astronomy bears to the heavens.* It is exhaustless in its discoveries of the wonders of the Almighty. But the peasant walks by the light of Scripture, without understanding the depths of theology; as the same peasant walks by the light of the sun and moon, without understanding astronomy.

March 29. Cuthbert Simpson.

30. Hugh Fox.

31. John Devenish. The same plan is adopted. The narratives of the martyrologist are ridiculed by Parsons, who is quoted by Andrews, but not one word of his accounts are said to be inaccurate or false; and so, I rejoice to say, we are brought to the end of this specimen of the review of the Calendar, for one month, of John Foxe, by Eusebius Andrews.

The eightieth number of Andrews's review!!! of Foxe's book! contains an account of the executions of ten persons, generally priests, under the penal laws. Nothing is said about Foxe, and I therefore pass them by. It then proceeds to the examination of the Foxian Calendar for July. In the former part of the number, among the missionary priests who were executed, is the name of Thomas Garnet, the nephew of Henry Garnet, and Southwood, of whom a most interesting account is given.[1] The account of Southwood's death is, perhaps, the most impressive proof on record among all these melancholy narratives, that every individual Christian, however humble, ignorant, or untalented,

(1) From Dodd, and Challoner. Prynne, in his work called the Royal Popish Favourite, abuses Southwood, as a dangerous seducer of protestants to popery, and calls him Southwell. This Southwood, or Southwell, must, however, not be confounded with the other Southwell, who wrote "Poems on the Mysteries of *Christ's Life.*"—See Dodd's Church History. Brussels, 1739. vol. xi. p. 148. A new edition of this last named work is now being published.

must consider his soul as committed to his own trust, and deem himself to be responsible to God for its care and government; whatever be the teaching and instructions of the priesthood. It is the most impressive instance also of the great danger arising from the unwise use of the argument, urged by many of the priesthood, that their words are to be received as the laws of God, solely because of their authority, as a part of the apostolical succession. Southwood[1] declared on the scaffold, that he was a catholic priest, commissioned to preach by those who were the undoubted successors of the apostles. There is no doubt he was so. The bishops and the clergy of the Anglican protestant episcopal church were also the successors of the apostles. Of what value, then, was the succession as an arbitrary authority, where successor opposed successor; if the reason and the consciences of the individuals to whom the clergy of the twofold succession appealed, were not only free, but were not also solemnly and imperiously required to decide which of the two apostolical successors was entitled, not only to preach their peculiar system, but to guide their own humble devotions? To deny the apostolical succession, is to deny the best recorded fact in all history; but to submit to the teaching of any priesthood, because of this apostolical succession alone, is as absurd, as for an adult and well-educated son, in his mature age, to submit implicitly to the instructions of his beloved and venerable parent, when that parent may possibly teach him the errors of his own early youth, or the dreamings of his own later dotage. The authority in both cases is divine. The command to honour and to obey the parent and the priest is of equal force. The son and the Christian is to welcome and observe the command; but the most obedient son, and the most devout Christian, must examine the laws of his father, and the laws of his church, by the common revelation of the God of his father, the only Lord and Head of the church, and the Saviour and the Judge of his own spirit; *and that alone is sound theology which reconciles the freedom of the responsible soul, with the authority of the apostolical succession.* He is the best theologian who reconciles apparently antagonistical truths, instead of repelling the inquirer, by making these truths oppose each other. Ecclesiastical history, is christian philosophy teaching by examples. Let the clergyman of our own church, who requires the deference of the people to his instructions, because of his succession from the apostles, beware that the "light which is in him be not darkness." Let him read the words of Southwood, the apostolical successor, who died in conscientious enmity to the liturgy and church of England, and let him learn that it is not his authority, but the right use of that authority, of which the people, whose souls he would benefit, must judge, that can entitle him to respect and honour. "I was sent," said the dying Romanist,[2] "to England by my lawful superiors, to teach Christ's faith. Christ sent his apostles; his apostles their successors; and their successors me. I did what I was commanded by them who had power to command me, being

(1) Dodd, ut sup. p. 303.

(2) Andrews, vol. iii. p. 277.

ever taught that I ought to obey them in ecclesiastical matters, and my temporal governors in business only temporal. I never acted nor thought any hurt against the present protector. I had only a care to my own obligation, and to discharge my own duty in saving my own and other men's souls. This, and only this, according to my poor abilities, I laboured to perform. I had commission to do it from him, to whom our Saviour, in his predecessor St. Peter, gave power to send others to propagate his faith. This is that for which I die, O holy cause! and not for any treason against the laws. My faith and obedience to my superiors, is all the treason charged against me: nay, I die for Christ's law, which no human law, by whomsoever made, ought to withstand or contradict. This law of Christ commanded me to obey these superiors, and this church, saying, whoever hears them, hears himself. This church, these superiors of it, I obeyed, and for obeying die. I was brought up in the truly ancient Roman-catholic apostolic religion, which taught me, that the sum of the only true christian profession is to die."

In the review of the martyrs placed by Foxe in his calendar for July, we meet with the other accusation, which I shall consider below; that Foxe has given a false account of the martyrdom of a man named Marbeck. He did so. This instance, not that of Grimwood, proves the martyrologist to have been misinformed; but no one circumstance whatever, more undeniably demonstrates the accuracy, fidelity, truth, and candour of Foxe, than this remarkable mistake. His book was published, and went through several editions, while the friends, kindred, enemies, and persecutors, who pitied or approved the martyrdoms of his recorded victims to popery, were still alive. They impugned his pages, as full of lies. *The keenest and most vigilant research was made by his contemporaries, for specific falsehoods.* Two errors only have been discovered, to which this word can be applied. These we shall consider, and show their origin. When we have done so, we shall demand in return, that the martyrologist be no more stigmatized as a liar, even by the renegade protestants, who desire to be thought gentlemanly and liberal, by smiling with approbation at his accusers; and we demand, also, that our ancestors who admired their "*good old father Foxe,*" as Elizabeth called him, be esteemed at least as wise as ourselves, their sons.

The martyrdom of Bradford is ridiculed in this number; but no error is alleged to be found in the narrative by Foxe. The religious letters of this martyr have been much admired for their eloquent simplicity and piety. Many of them are given by Foxe. They have, I am told, been lately republished. Mr. Andrews calls them "cant, sectarian cant." The word is a favourite both with him and with Mr. Maitland.

The ninetieth number of this abusive review of Foxe, the last which I shall notice, commences with wretched, cold-hearted ridicule of one of the most mournful and most pathetic of the sad narratives of Foxe—the death of Cicely Ormes, the poor woman who kissed the stake when she

arrived at it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ!" and who, when the fire was being kindled, exclaimed, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour!" The base advocate is worthy of his base cause. What a heart must I have, if I could ridicule the sufferings, the dying exclamations, and the religious hope, of the pious Romanist missionary priests, who hazarded their lives to the death, in sincere, though mistaken zeal, for their ambitious and traitorous superiors! I pity them from my soul! I abhor the foreign influence to which they submitted. I loath the falsehood which they believed to be a truth—that the blood of Christ was not shed for the churches or the persons who refused submission to the supremacy of Rome; neither do I venture to pronounce the future damnation of their treasonable superiors themselves, who, safe on the continent, sent their victims to England. But I cannot use, I could not use, I have not used one insulting expression of mockery at their dying words, and painful deaths. The soldier who died against England at Vittoria or Waterloo might as well be reproached with the crimes of the French revolution, or with the ambition of Napoleon; as the poor sufferers who were taught to hate our church and Prayer Book be reproached with the crimes of their superiors, or the ambition of Rome.

The remainder of this number speaks in the same insulting manner of eleven persons enumerated by Foxe among the witnesses or protesters against Rome. It proceeds with the relation of the sufferings and deaths of other Romanists under the penal laws, and concludes with the commencement of the tenth month of the calendar of Foxe. Among the martyrs of this month is the apostle of England, William Tindall, the translator of the New Testament, the learned, holy, pious benefactor of the church and people of England. Andrews never mentions his name but with contempt, and calls him[1] "a false-hearted translator."

The reader may easily imagine the hateful abuse and scorn with which this man again assails the memory of Ridley, Latimer, and many others, who seem to be the objects of his, or of his employers', especial hatred. His more malignant and coarse expressions seem to have been taken from Parsons. Thus he quotes from Foxe[2] the words—"that the hearers of certain examinations of heresy confessed that their hair stood upright on their heads." Upon which Parsons observes, and Andrews repeats the courteous and elegant words—"Perhaps their heads, being newly polled, their hair might stand upright without a miracle." Latimer[3] is called a "vulgar buffoon." Of both Ridley and Latimer it is remarked, with more truth than kindness, "that the old martyrs did not use gunpowder to put them out of their pain." The history of Hunn, and the remnant of the calendared list of Foxe, is considered, and the whole book is terminated with the narrative of the disgraceful decapitation of lord Stafford, "on the feast," says Andrews, "of St. Thomas of Canterbury." (!!) Some concluding remarks are appended, as a summary of the

(1) Page 449. (2) Page 423. (3) Page 424.

whole fifteen hundred pages, in which all the vague charges against Foxe are briefly summed up. He is again said to have "made unauthorized statements"—to which I answer, as I have done, that they were uncontradicted by the contemporary friends or enemies of the martyrs, though the book was placed in the very churches, that all might read it. The case of Grimwood is again quoted, to illustrate the truth of the affirmation, and then—the general abuse of the characters of the Foxian martyrs—the contrast of these with the martyrs for the church of Rome—the defence of the law which condemned the heretic to the stake—the repetition of the abuse of Elizabeth and her favourite, Leicester—with "further persecutions of the catholics of England by protestants"—and a list of protestants who were punished for heresy under Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth—as if the editor was unwilling to leave his task, ends the review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs by William Eusebius Andrews!!! So intent, indeed, is he on the general abuse of the protestants, that he seems to forget even Foxe himself, as he approaches to his last, and, therefore, to his most pleasant page. We have no winding up of the evidence—no general conclusions against the martyrologist. We emerge from the fogs and mists which overhang the muddy marshes of his writing, with a reference to the persecutions by the Stuarts against the sectaries that differed from them, into Neal's History of the Puritans. So do extremes meet. The "coarse and dishonest" Neal[1] is referred to, by the still more coarse, and still more dishonest, Andrews. Both, with equal intensity, hated the church of England. The papist, the reformed church of England, the puritan in the reign of Charles and Cromwell, may all recriminate on each other that they were in the same condemnation. The church of England has long been delivered from the crime. The puritan has repented, and is rapidly blending with the church. The papist alone has rescinded no decree of his church, which governs conscience by authority, and demands the power to rule in the name of the church. *When Rome repents, and changes also,* brotherhood will return to mankind, and the catholic church of Christ may be united, by the renunciation of mutual error, in peace and truth. And thus I end my notice of the most laboured, severe, and bitter attempt, which has ever been made, to impugn the veracity, destroy the reputation, and lessen, among our religious and antipapal countrymen, the value and estimation of the labours, of our unanswered and unanswerable martyrologist.

I am now, before I proceed to the consideration of the other assailants of John Foxe, to make some remarks upon those cases, which have been always placed by his opponents in the van of their forces—*the cases so often alluded to, of Grimwood and Marbeck.* The manner in which Foxe was betrayed into error respecting either of these persons must be regarded as a demonstration of the severe criticism to which his book was subjected, and the extreme fewness of the mistakes, inadvertencies,

(1) These are the epithets given him by the Quarterly Reviewer.

and inaccuracies, so freely, but so falsely alleged against him. When we consider the extent of his work, the disadvantages under which he laboured, and the vigilant inspection which it has undergone, we may be justly astonished that so few charges can be adduced against him. Neither can we be surprised that the deficiency of matter for any just impeachment of his veracity, and fidelity, should be compensated, by the general, though unproved accusation, of universal falsehood, and by unsparing, and rancorous abuse.

The cases of Grimwood and Marbeck are those alone, in relating which Foxe is charged with wilful falsehood, in his statements of facts.

The accusation respecting his account of Grimwood is—that in the last volume of his Acts and Monuments, in that section,[1] where he relates the strange deaths of certain persecutors, and calls them, I must say, with very questionable propriety, examples of God's judgment; he has included among those persecutors a person named Grimwood; and affirmed respecting him—that in the harvest following his having given false witness against a religious antipapalist of the name of Cooper, as he was stacking corn, in full health, fearing no peril, he suddenly fell down, and immediately most miserably died. In consequence of the publication of this story, a clergyman believed it; and quoted the death of Grimwood, in a sermon, as an illustration of his argument, and as an instance of the judgment of God against all persecutors. So far, however, was the story from being true, that Grimwood was at that very moment one of the congregation; and being indignant at the charge he brought an action of defamation against the clergyman, which is alluded to in Croke's reports.[2] The verdict was given for the defendant; because no malice could be proved on the part of the clergyman. Anthony Wood charges Foxe with committing, in this instance, *a most egregious falsity:* and nearly every writer who hates the martyrologist, has rung the changes on this story; as if it was an undeniable, and wilful untruth.

The reply to this accusation shall be taken from Strype's Annals of the Reformation.[3] The martyrologist was informed of his supposed mistake. He inquired personally into the matter; and retained the narrative in the last edition of his work, published under his own superintendence. He must therefore be as his enemies represent him, a wilful deceiver, or the story he relates is true.

(1) New edit. vol. viii. pp. 630, 631.

(2) *From 2d Croke's Reports, (temp. James) p.* 91. *In a case of slander (Brooke v. Montague.)*

"Coke [meaning sir Edward Coke, afterwards lord chief justice] in argument 'cited a case 27th Eliz., where parson Prit, in a sermon recited a story *out of Fox's Martyrology*, that one Greenwood [so written instead of Grimwood] being a perjured person, and a great persecutor, had great plagues inflicted upon him, and was killed by the hand of God; whereas in truth, he was never so plagued, and was himself present at that sermon, and he thereupon brought his action on the case, for calling him a perjured person, and the defendant pleaded not guilty;' and this matter being disclosed upon the evidence, Wray, chief justice, delivered his opinion to the jury that it being delivered only as a story and not with a malicious intention, the defendant was not guilty, and so he was found.[a] Popham, chief justice in the main case, now reporting, affirmed this to be good law, and the decision of the court was governed by it accordingly."

(3) Vol. i. pp. 377—380.

(a) This citation of sir Edward Coke, alludes, as further law authorities, to 14 Hen. VI. 14, and 20 Hen. VI. 34, but no book of reports is specified as containing these decisions.

Let us first examine his own account. It is contained in seven short paragraphs.[1] I will proceed through each.

The *first* gives an account of Cooper. The *second*, that a man named Fenning wished to purchase from him two oxen: but Cooper refused to sell them. Upon this refusal, Fenning (in the *third paragraph*) charges Cooper before sir Henry Doyle with high treason. Cooper was carried before the magistrate by two persons, one named Timperley—the other *Grimwood of Lawshall*, a constable.

We read in the *fourth paragraph* that Cooper was indicted at Bury for the alleged treason: and found guilty, and executed. The accusation against him was supported by Fenning himself, and by two other witnesses, both of whom were suborned and perjured, whose names were Richard White, and another *Grimwood—Grimwood of Hitcham*, in the county of Suffolk.

In the *fifth paragraph* is the assertion that this last named Grimwood died suddenly, and miserably.

The *sixth paragraph* appeals to Fenning as being still alive, when the account of Grimwood's death was published: an appeal, which is certainly no proof of falsehood; more especially as both in the *sixth* and *seventh paragraphs*, this very Fenning is described as a wicked man, for whose repentance, Foxe offers up a prayer.

It must be observed, that all these circumstances are omitted by the uncandid authors, who are anxious to condemn the martyrologist, and who only mention the contradiction to his narrative.

Let us now consider the observations of the impartial and accurate Strype. In narrating all those circumstances, of which John Foxe could not be an eye-witness, he was unavoidably compelled, as we all are, to rely on the authority of the reports of others. John Foxe was not an eye-witness to the death of Grimwood. The only question, therefore, is, did he invent the story? or had he authority for this narrative? and was that authority worthy of belief?

The relation respecting Grimwood, says Strype, as Foxe inserts it in his history, is this—"Be it true or false, he had it from William Punt, who, under queen Mary, had been a diligent inquirer into the sufferings of the professors; and taking the same in writing, had procured the printing of them beyond sea, and then vended the books here in England. The same Punt was informed against, by Tye, bishop Bonner's commissary in the parts about Colchester, as a leading heretic. This is the character of the man. But to pursue this matter further, and to search whence this Punt had his information; he had it from credible witnesses, who gave in this account before him and Sutton, a minister of Ipswich, and one Foxe, brother to our martyrologist. After the martyrology was printed, William Rushbrook, minister of Byldeston, a neighbouring parish to Ipswich, reading the aforesaid relation of Cooper, in the said book, and knowing something of the business, perceived several errors

(1) Vol. viii. new edition. pp. 630, 631.

therein. Therefore, out of care of consulting for the credit of the author and book, he wrote hereupon to Mr. Walker, an eminent minister in Ipswich, showing wherein Punt's information failed, and wishing it had not been put into Mr. Foxe's book, and desiring him to inform the said author thereof. Cooper's punishment, as he asserted, having been justly inflicted, not so much for religion, as treasonous words against the queen. The sum of his letter was, 'That he had talked with those which he judged could best certify the truth of the matter which was reported of Cooper. That if every man indeed might be a martyr which was then punished for rebellious words, we should have many martyrs indeed. That Will. Punt was much to blame, because that he, Rushbrook, told him, more than two years past, that his paper that contained that report was untrue, which, as he had then writ it, was now put into print. That in this report he committed these faults, viz.—that Cooper was no such man that ought in commendation to be named in that book: that whereas Whyte was named to be a false witness, he witnessed truly: that Grimwood was unjustly reported to be a witness, much more a false witness: that what was said to come upon the said Grimwood, was as true as the rest: that Cooper was valued more than he was worth, as to his goods, which were seized by the sheriff; a true account whereof in kine, horses, and other cattle, and household stuff, came but to 61*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*'

"*When all this was understood by Mr. Foxe, he came himself to Ipswich to inform himself truly about it.* Punt also went to Mr. Sutton beforesaid, who remembered it very well, every part thereof as it was then imprinted. Notwithstanding, these two, with another honest man, went to the party that had related it, and read the story unto them, who boldly affirmed the same to be true, and would so confess before any man, as they said. There were two that attested this, being one and twenty years of age apiece. He also procured Mr. Candish, a justice of peace, as it seems, and the wife of Cooper, to meet at Ipswich; whom, with the children, they minded to bring before Candish and others, and so to make a true certificate thereof with their hands, as witnesses of their words, and then would send it up with speed; as Punt wrote up to London, to Foxe's brother, living at the duke of Norfolk's house, by Aldgate. He wrote, also, that Mr. Sutton had and would take great pains therein. And so I leave the matter undecided to the reader's judgment and discretion. *I have set down all this at this length, to show what diligence and care was used that no falsehood might be obtruded upon the readers, and Foxe and his friends' readiness to correct any mistakes that might happen.*"[1] Such are the precise words of Strype. I give them at length, that the reader may be assured I have no wish to allege anything of my own, in favour of the accused martyrologist. He will see that Foxe used every precaution in his power to obtain a true

(1) Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 378—380. Strype spells the name differently from Foxe,—Grimward for Grimwood.

narrative; and after he had done so, he retained the account in his book. There were two persons of the name of Grimwood. One died, as Foxe related; the other was present at the sermon. The clergyman was not accurate in his specification, and was wrongly supposed by this hearer to be guilty of a libel. This solution of the difficulty is confirmed by another declaration of Strype, who positively affirms[1] that he had received an assurance that the relation by Foxe of the judgment upon Grimwood was true, from a very careful inquirer, whose name he mentions. "This inquirer into the truth of the matter told me," says Strype, "that he had read it in a very authentic paper, carrying so much evidence with it, that he did not in the least misdoubt it; the judgment, indeed, not falling upon that Grimwood who sued the minister, but upon another of the same name, both christian and surname, as was well known afterwards."[2] Such is the remaining evidence that Foxe did not invent the story; but that he had such authority for his narrative, as he was justified in crediting. If this authority is not deemed to be sufficient, I refer the reader to the original letters from which Strype borrowed his account. They are preserved in the British Museum.[3] The accuracy, the fidelity, and the veracity of John Foxe, remain, therefore, unimpeachable in that very narrative for which, more than for any others, he has been stigmatized as a false, unsafe, and unworthy historian.

We are now brought to the case of Marbeck, the second instance in which the calumniated martyrologist is accused of wilful falsehood.

When Foxe was accused of inaccuracy in relating the incident which he deemed to be the judgment of God against Grimwood, he went down to Ipswich to make inquiries whether he had been deceived or not. He retained, after such inquiry, the narrative in his book. In the present instance he was informed that he had been deceived. He made inquiry; and having done so, he expunged his account. How was it possible that he could have given to his readers a more perfect proof of his desire to speak the truth alone? Yet he is still denominated, in the coarse language of his unsparing opponents, "the lying Foxe," both for retaining the story of Grimwood, and for having once received, though he afterwards omitted, into his martyrology the story of the martyrdom of Marbeck.

The case is briefly this. Four persons of the names of Testwood, Person, Filmer or Finmore, and Marbeck, were condemned to be burnt at Windsor, under the act of the Six Articles. One of the four was pardoned: it was Finmore. Foxe was not present at the cruelty. The sources of information upon which Foxe relied told him that Marbeck was burnt; his authorities had deceived him; Marbeck was pardoned, and Finmore was burnt. This is the whole error he committed. When the first edition of his book was published, *the scrutinizing eyes of his papal*

(1) Life of Elizabeth, cap. xxi. note, new edit. vol. viii. p. 631.
(2) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 377, 378.
(3) Harl. MSS. No. 416, art. 108, p. 174, and Ash 73, p. 122. The first reference is to Rushbrooke's letter; the second to Punt's letter.

critics immediately detected the error, as they would have done any other, if he had committed any: and they loudly triumphed. Harpsfield, the contemporary of Foxe, is quite sportive on the subject. Leaving his more lugubrious, though not inelegant language, he becomes humorous over this mistake of Foxe. He had been deriding the manner in which the pseudo-martyrs, as he calls the victims of the intolerant ecclesiastics of the day, endured the violence of the fire, and declared their freedom from pain. They did that only which many of the missionary priests after them, and which sufferers for their opinions, whether those opinions be right or wrong, have always done,—they so endured the flame, that the phenomenon of mental power to conquer bodily agony was but more plainly exhibited. "Do not think," says this beginner of the attacks upon the martyrologist, "that I am unjust towards the pseudo-martyrs, and that I wish to lessen or extenuate these their miraculous endurings; for I certainly cannot doubt their truth, if that indeed be true which Foxe relates, that we have lately had another Polycarp among us in England; upon whom either the fire had no power, or who, his whole body having been reduced to ashes, sprung to life again, more wonderfully than Lazarus. For behold you have John Marbeck, the organist at Windsor, in the year 1543, and 28th July, 'undergoing martyrdom at the fire with cheerful constancy,' (I quote the words of Foxe.) But he is yet living, and chaunts as beautifully, and plays the organ as skilfully, at Windsor, as he was wont to do.' Critobulus answers, 'I am altogether astonished at this account. And now you have, according to your own confession, at least one miracle of our martyrs, which may vie with the most celebrated of those either of Christ or of his disciples.' Irenæus[1] answers,—'This I would most readily concede to you, if he had ever been burnt; but he was neither burnt nor brought to the fire.'"[2]

When the error in his narrative was thus certainly, though uncourteously, pointed out, Foxe immediately adopted the only remedy in his power: he acknowledged and corrected the error. The correction did not satisfy his assailants. He expostulates with them on this treatment;—"Be it known to all the depravers of my book," he says,[3] "that I repeat that Marbeck was condemned, but not burned; yet, even if I had not corrected the mistake, what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph over and insult me; seeing the judicial acts, records, and registers, the bishops' certificates, and the very writ of execution remaining, did lead me to give the account in my book. He who

(1) Harpsfield's work is in dialogues.

(2) "Id certe diffiteri non possum, si verum sit, quod Foxus scribit, novum nobis nuper Polycarpum inter istos pseudo-martyres in Anglia emersisse; in quem aut ignis nihil potuit, aut qui, toto corpore in cineres redacto, admirabilius, quàm Lazarus revixerit. En tibi enim Joannem Marbecum psaltem Vindilesoriæ anno Domini 1543, et 28 Julii, 'martyrium in igne, alacri' (ut Foxi verbis utar), 'chauntis constantia subeuntem.' At ille adhuc vivit et Vindilesoriæ eleganter, ut solet, psallit, et organa pulsat. Crit.—'Totus ad hanc narrationem obstupesco. Et jam habes, vel te ipso judice, saltem unum martyrum nostrorum miraculum, quod cum præstantissimo, quod unquam vel a Christo, vel ab apostolis editum est, contendat.' Irenæus,—'Hoc ego tibi non invitus concederem, si modo exustus fuisset; sed neque exustus, neque igni unquam admotus fuit.'"—Edition 1566, pp. 962, 963.

(3) New edit. vol. v. p. 496, 497, and notes. Edit. 1684, vol. ii. p. 169. col. 1.

writes histories, and who cannot be in all places to see all things, must follow the records and registers he consults. *But now, even now, that I correct the error of which complaint is made, I am still condemned;* I correct myself, but I am still corrected by others; I warn the reader of the truth, still I am called a liar. Though I use my utmost diligence to prevent occasion of cavilling, I may not be indulged with the privilege which is granted to every author, to plead my own errata. If such men could be satisfied, I have said enough; if they cannot, nothing I can add will satisfy them. May God himself amend them!"

Yes, venerable martyrologist! so it has been, and so it will be, as long as any men are to be found who hate the pourtrayer of the effects of this one false principle—that the punishment of the body is required, to prevent the free formation of blameless opinion. So it has been, from Alan Cope[1] to Eusebius Andrews, and his living imitators. Wood,[2] Milner,[3] Parsons,[4] Andrews,[5] and every assailant of Foxe, prove and demonstrate the general truth, accuracy, and fidelity of his martyrology, by exhausting their energies in declamations of triumph over the mistakes of the historian, in the cases of Grimwood and Marbeck. They are not able, or are not willing, to see, that *precisely the same vigilance, enmity, scrutiny, and intense anxiety to discover faults, were exercised towards the other portions of his work by his contemporary foes,* who lived among the relations and friends of the martyrs, and they were all exercised in vain. No book of such magnitude ever underwent such ordeals as Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Many, very many, are the defects which the accumulated knowledge and the severer criticism of our own age can now discover; but there are preserved in Foxe's martyrology alone the authenticated materials which must ever be invaluable to the student of history. If the book had never been published, the solid foundation for a better ecclesiastical history of the catholic church, and of its best portion, the English church, had not perhaps even yet been laid.[6] I cannot defend the coarsenesses which justly shock our modern refinement. I read many sentences which I utterly condemn; but if this book had never been published, I verily believe that the heart of England had never been so permanently animated with that utter abhorrence of persecution which has been the foundation both of our political liberty and national influence among mankind; and which has certainly given to the people, a church which the christian community may love. Let us not talk of the abuse of toleration, and of the extremes to which the friends of the freedom of the human race have sometimes most unjustifiably proceeded. *All the evils which afflict nations arise from the perversion of some great blessing.* Civil government is a blessing—it has been perverted to despotism. Ecclesiastical authority is a blessing:

(1) Harpsfield's book was printed under this feigned name.
(2) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 94. (3) Hist. of Winchester, vol. i. pp. 357, 358, and notes.
(4) Vol. iii. pp. 61—63. (5) Vol. iii. p. 288.
(6) I deem Collier, Fuller, and Mosheim, to be inferior to him. We require, as I have repeatedly said, an edition of Foxe which shall be incorporated with Baronius, Alford, the Centuriators, Fleury, and others.

it bears the same analogy to piety and the love of truth which military discipline bears to courage, and the ardour of honourable military ambition: yet it has been perverted to popery. Freedom of inquiry is derided, because of the caprices to which it has conducted many; though it is the next blessing to the truth which it endeavours to secure. Toleration is a blessing, though it is abused till the word becomes hateful. And these blessings can only be eventually united, and the perversions in which they have ended can only be avoided, by our maintaining that very hatred to unnecessary and unreasonable punishment for blameless opinions, which the labours of John Foxe have recorded. His volumes have been the leaven of the nation, in the hours when sometimes the papist, sometimes the episcopalian, sometimes the puritan, obtained the ascendancy; and used the power badly, which resulted from their political authority. It is the perpetual commentary dedicated to all ecclesiastical and civil rulers among christian states and christian churches, *for ever;* that they remember the word of Christ their common Lord; and while they exert themselves in the field of the catholic church, to plant and extend the wheat, they remember that their own powers of discernment are so limited that they may themselves mistake the incipient wheat for the tares; and therefore that they leave the tares to grow with the wheat, even till the harvest. Let them but fill the sack with the corn, and there will be no room for the chaff. Such language is now, by God's mercy, merely common-place. It speaks only what is deemed an aphorism. It is an aphorism which the papal states have still to learn—and they must, they will learn it. It is an aphorism in the antipapal countries only; and it originated principally in the results of the labours of John Foxe, as the instructor of the mind of England in all its civil and religious dissensions. *The hatred of persecution which this book inspired in England will never cease, till the whole lump of mankind is leavened by it.* In this sense the work of John Foxe is one of the most invaluable monuments of the past; and its author, in spite of all his faults, deserves to be ranked, where our fathers placed him, among the best friends and benefactors both of the catholic church of his own nation, and of the civilized world.

One more specific charge is repeated by Andrews from Parsons against Foxe, and I mention it in this place as the more proper introduction to a few of the general testimonials in favour of the martyrologist, which will, I think, appear to the reader to be a complete justification of my using such language, as that with which I thus conclude my review of Andrews's most bitter and lengthened attack on the merits and fidelity of John Foxe. I commend the few out of the numerous credentials of the accuracy and value of the Acts and Monuments to the consideration of his living protestant assailants, Churton, Tyler, Tytler, and Maitland: and to those also of his living papal assailants who have been, or who will be, inclined to risk their reputation upon the results of an attack on the Martyrology.

The accusation is this. *Foxe has "defaced the public ecclesiastical records to which he professes to refer:* he has defaced them all, or the most part, to the end we should not be able to refute his lying story. If we might have them whole and uncorrupted, we should no doubt see strange things, and intolerable, false, and deceitful dealing."[1]

Here we have a distinct accusation made against Foxe, that he had mutilated and defaced all or most part of the ecclesiastical records made use of by him in the compilation of his book.

Let us examine the evidence of those who have consulted the same records. *Parsons does not produce one instance of destruction to support his affirmation.* Neither does he account for the carelessness of the keepers of the records in permitting them to be destroyed. Neither does he account for the extreme folly of destroying those very vouchers, on the truth of which the martyrologist could alone have expected his words to receive credit.[2] Such, however, is the charge. It is repeated by Andrews, and those who are like him. Let us see if there is the least foundation whatever for the accusation.

The first testimony against the allegation of Parsons is given me by my brother prebendary at Durham, the editor of the works of Cranmer. I consulted him on the results of his inquiries. He has permitted me to give his reply.

"*College, 29th May*, 1841.

"My dear sir,—In answer to your inquiry, I am able to say that I had occasion, in editing Cranmer's Remains, to compare several of the papers printed by Foxe with the original documents; and that on such comparison I had good reason to be satisfied with the martyrologist's fidelity and accuracy.

"I am, yours sincerely,

"H. JENKYNS."

Burnet, who lived one hundred years after Foxe, says, "Having compared Foxe's Acts and Monuments with the records, I have never been able *to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness.*"[3] Here there is a direct contradiction of Parsons, who says the records were defaced, or the most of them. The bishop declares that he had compared the book with the original records and found them accurate.[4]

Strype[5] also bears witness to the accuracy of Foxe in transcribing, and contradicts the accusation of Parsons. "Foxe," he says, "was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them, many whereof I have seen and do possess. And *it was his interest that they should remain to be seen* by posterity; therefore we frequently find

(1) Parsons, vol. iii. p. 207.
(2) See Mrs. Elstob's Preface to her translation of the Saxon Homilies.
(3) Hist. of the Reformation, Preface.
(4) I must observe, however, that Burnet is of opinion, that as Foxe's work was written in haste, there are so many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a complete history of the times of which Burnet was speaking. History of the Reformation, 8vo. London, 1811. Preface, pp. 10, 11.
(5) Annals, vol. i. p. 376.

references to them in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his books with registers, and council-books, and have always found him faithful."

And again—

"The credit of this book of Mr. Foxe is mightily undermined by the papists, and most professedly and earnestly by Parsons, in his book. I leave it to others to vindicate him; but yet he must not go without the commendation of a *most painful searcher into records, archives, and repositories of original acts*, and letters of state, and a great collector of MSS. And the world is infinitely beholden to him for abundance of extracts thence, communicated to us in his volumes. And as he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. *And this I myself in part have found.*"

And "several passages in his book have been compared with king Edward's council-book, lately discovered, and found to agree well together."[1]

Such are the testimonials of three unimpeachable witnesses to the fidelity of Foxe, in consulting and in preserving the records, which Parsons declared he destroyed. Let us now consider the testimonials to his general value. The list might be much enlarged. It shall be brief. I begin it with the opinions of the present archbishop of Canterbury, of Mr. Todd, the archdeacon of Cleveland, the poet Southey, the late dean Rennell, and Dr. Dibdin: with whom I commence.

"I am now," says Dr. Dibdin, "to touch upon the unexecuted plan of reprinting John Foxe's Book of Martyrs. My proposals for this somewhat stupendous undertaking were before the public early in the year 1827, and the present archbishop of Canterbury, (then bishop of London,) was graciously pleased to accept the dedication of the work to himself. 'I am glad (said his grace) that you have made up your mind to republish the great work of the Martyrs, and most willingly consent to your request of being allowed to dedicate the new edition to myself.' His grace's views upon the entire bearing of the original, appeared to me to be as luminous as just. He desired nothing more than that error might be guarded against, and truth, if possible, still more firmly established. I had previously and deliberately weighed in my own mind, the *pro* and *con* of the whole undertaking. I did not shrink from its magnitude; and to speak the truth from my inmost bosom, I was determined not to set about the task as a partizan on either side of the question. My own opinion of Foxe had been slightly shadowed, rather than positively expressed, in the pages of the Bibliomania; and if that author had many errors to rectify, and many extravagances to qualify, still, in the main, there appeared to be a strong current of truth which pervaded his pages. . . . .

"Among the most cordial, as well as the most forward in the transmission of these strictures, was my old and excellent friend, Mr. Arch-

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 377. In vol. ii. p. 44, Strype calls Foxe a "grave, learned, and painful divine."

deacon Todd. 'I wish much to talk with you, (observed he,) of John Foxe; the life of him you *must* write anew. Many are the slumbering materials respecting him, and a very interesting piece of biography I am sure you can make of him.' Again on the receipt of my prospectus:—'Do not make *needless* concessions in your prospectus; as loud as you can cry, I will (much older though I be,) shout louder for the historian and exclaim, Foxe for ever!' On his first visit to me in London, on coming to take his turn of duty at the Chapel Royal, as one of the king's chaplains, I perfectly remember his gallant effervescence of speech touching my Foxe. 'When I read your prospectus (said he,) methought I rose from my table a foot higher.'

"About a year and a half after the issuing of my prospectus, Mr. Southey, not knowing in what state the work was, observes thus in a letter from Keswick, 'Is your edition of the Acts and Monuments going forward? I have always intended to take advantage of its appearance for writing a life of John Foxe in the Quarterly Review, wherein I might render due honour to a man for whom I have a great veneration.'

"The present venerable and learned dean of Winchester (Dr. Rennell) was thus pleased to cheer me on the publication of the prospectus, and with his entire approbation of the 'end and aim' of the work itself.

"'*Deanery, Feb.* 23, 1827.

"'My dear sir,—I return you my best thanks for your kind communication of your intention of giving a new edition of Foxe's Martyrs. I think it impossible to conceive an undertaking of more importance to the best interests of the protestant cause; and that, in carrying this design into execution, you will have deserved well of your country. To vindicate Foxe's veracity, as would be done in the course of your most laudable undertaking, would be to render an essential service to the church of England. I admire much the tone of your prospectus, which is timely and animated. My approbation of your design is unqualified, and be assured that every assistance within my humble powers and influence shall be exerted. I shall be proud to be among your subscribers, and think I can answer for our chapter also.

"'Yours, &c. "'T. RENNELL.'"[1]

Such are the testimonies to the value of Foxe collected and given us by Dr. Dibdin. I add to these the testimony of professor Smythe.

"The real presence in the eucharist, was the great point on which the lives of men depended. The student should, by all means, turn to Foxe's Book of Martyrs; let him look at the doctrines for the affirmation, or denial of which, men, and even women, were thrown into the flames; particularly, let him look at the disputation held before Henry VIII.; and again by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, at Oxford; he will see, and if he is inexperienced in such subjects, he will see with astonishment, the preposterous manner in which logic and metaphysics

(1) Reminiscences of a Literary Life, by the Rev. Thomas F. Dibdin, D.D. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1836.

were made the ceremonies that preceded the execution and agonies of those eminent martyrs. Let him consider again, what were the reasons for which Cranmer himself had before tied his victims to the stake.

"I do not detail the points upon which the prelate disputed, or the *reasons* for which he put an unhappy woman, and an inoffensive foreigner to death. They are to be found, the first in Foxe, the second in Burnet. I cannot detail to you particulars of this nature."[1]

"Foxe's Book of Martyrs should be looked at. It is indeed in itself a long and dreadful history of the intolerance of the human mind, and at the same time of the astonishing constancy of the human mind; that is, it is at once a monument of its lowest debasement and its highest elevation.

"The volumes of Foxe are also every where descriptive of the manners and opinions of the different ages through which the author proceeds.

"Foxe may always be consulted when the enormities of the papists are to be sought for."[2]

Mr. Soames may be added to the list.

"Of publications tending to wean Englishmen from Romish prejudices, no one probably had a more extensive operation than Foxe's Martyrology. The first portion of this important work, which is principally an historical exposure of the papacy, was originally printed in Latin on the continent, whither the author had fled from the Marian persecution. Having arrived at home soon after Elizabeth's accession, Foxe was encouraged, by various members of the hierarchy, to crown his former labours, by adding to them copious accounts of those who had perished as religious delinquents under the late queen. Every facility was afforded to him for the completion of this task in the most satisfactory manner; and he showed himself fully worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Invariable accuracy is not to be expected in any historical work of such extent; but it may be truly said of England's venerable martyrologist, that his relations are more than ordinarily worthy of reliance. His principal object being, indeed, to leave behind him a vast mass of authentic information relating to those miserable times which it had been his lot to witness, he printed a vast mass of original letters, records of judicial processes, and other documentary evidence. The result of this judicious policy was a work which has highly gratified the friends of protestantism, and successfully defied its enemies. Numerous attacks have been levelled at the honest chronicles of Romish intolerance, but they have ever fallen harmless from the assailant's hand."[3]

Dr. Wordsworth, the master of Trinity College, Cambridge, may be added to the honourable catalogue.

"I am well aware," he says, "that, by the extent to which I have availed myself of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, I fall within the sphere of such censures as that of Dr. John Milner, in which he speaks of 'the frequent publications of John Fox's lying Book of Martyrs, with prints

(1) Lectures on Modern History. Professor Smythe, vol. i. p. 252. London, 1840.
(2) Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, vol. i. p. 263.
(3) Soames's History of the Reformation, vol. iv. pp. 721, 722; London, 1828.

of men, women, and children, expiring in flames; the nonsense, inconsistency, and falsehoods of which (he says) he had in part exposed in his Letters to a Prebendary.' I am not ignorant of what has been said, also, by Dr. J. Milner's predecessors, in the same argument, by Harpsfield, Parsons, and others. But neither his writings nor theirs have proved, and *it never will be proved, that John Foxe is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians.* We know too much of the strength of Foxe's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by Dr. John Milner's censures, than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Foxe's narrative on a rock, which cannot be shaken. And surely we are indebted to the popish ecclesiastics of that day for having thus faithfully recorded the opinions for which they persecuted these '*Brethren in Christ;*' and let it be remembered, that it is from their own registers that Strype, Foxe, and other historians, have drawn the greater part of the particulars they relate. How great, then, is the effrontery of those writers who attempt to persuade us that the accounts given by Foxe are forgeries of his own devising!"[1]

"We heartily wish," says the British Critic, of a former day,[2] "that some English divine of learning, candour, and ability, would republish Foxe, with notes, confirming what is true, and rejecting what could be proved false. The evidence, we believe, against the spirit of popery would be ample, after all the deductions that could be demanded."

"When Foxe's book was first published," says Mr. Lewis, "he was thought to have done very exquisite service to the protestant cause, in showing, from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men, in all ages and countries, against them; and especially under king Henry VIII. and queen Mary here in England, preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions. *It has been found, by those who have searched the records and registers that Foxe used, that he is always faithful.* Nay, this has been owned by Collier, who takes all opportunities to depreciate his character, and undervalue his work."[3]

"Mr. John Foxe, the martyrologist," says Oldmixon, a grave, learned, and painful divine, and an exile for religion, "employed his time abroad in writing the Acts and Monuments of that church, that would hardly receive him into her bosom, and in collecting materials relating to the martyrdom of those that suffered for religion in the reigns of Henry VIII.

(1) Wordsworth's Eccles. Biography, Preface, pp. 21, 22; London, 1818.
(2) The high churchism (a phrase as silly and unmeaning as low churchism) of the British Critic of 1808 would be now called low churchism by the editors of the publication which still bears that name. I refer to vol. xxxi. p. 538, &c.
(3) Lives of Wiclif and Pecock, Preface, p. 13.

and queen Mary: all which he published, first in Latin, for the benefit of foreigners, and then in English, for the service of his own country and the church of England, in the year 1561. *No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this.* It was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set in the churches, where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion that had shed so much innocent blood. The Oxonian (Ant. Wood) is not contented with saying, He was a very bitter enemy in his writings to the Roman catholics, (vol. i. p. 186,) but copies that profligate libeller, Parsons, the jesuit, in abusing him, as false, impertinent, and ignorant; and this learned and good man has met with many an ill word, from some ecclesiastical writers, purely on account of his aversion to certain ceremonies and habits."[1]

"We come now," says Fuller, "to set down those particular martyrs that suffered in this queen's reign (Mary). But this point hath been handled already so curiously and copiously by Mr. Foxe, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as shall succeed him, leaving nothing for their pens and pains to feed upon. *For what can the man do that cometh after the king? Even that which hath been already done*, saith Solomon. And Mr. Foxe, appearing sole emperor in this subject, all posterity may despair to add any remarkable discoveries which have escaped his observation. Wherefore, to handle this subject after him, what is it, but *to light a candle to the sun?* or rather (to borrow a metaphor from his book), *to kindle one single stick to the burning of so many faggots.*"[2]

"I desire my Church History should behave itself to his (John Foxe's) Book of Martyrs as a lieutenant to its captain, only to supply the place in his absence, to be supplemental thereunto, in such matters of moment which have escaped his observation."[3]

The great Camden thus writes of him: "Ex eruditorum numero obiit Joannes Foxus Oxoniensis, qui Ecclesiasticam Angliæ Historiam, sive Martyrologium indefesso veritatis studio primum Latinè, postea Anglicè auctius magna cum laude contexuit."[4]

Archbishop Whitgift styled him "that worthy man, who had so well deserved of this church of England;" and he tells Mr. Cartwright, that "he had read over his Acts and Monuments from one end to the other."

And again: "Mr. Foxe, who hath very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter (of archbishops and metropolitans) and searched out the truth of it, as learnedly as I know any man to have done."[5]

I might select very many more; but *I end the list, as I began it, with the testimony of the ecclesiastical head of the Anglican church.* I began it with the archbishop of Canterbury, who adorns that headship (long may his peaceful virtues be continued to us!) in this our own

(1) Oldmixon, History of the Reformation, pp. 336, 337, folio, London, 1739.
(2) Fuller's Church History, book viii. p. 16. (3) Fuller, p. 231, book v.
(4) Annals of Elizabeth, p. 558, 8vo. ed. (5) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 310; Oxford, 1824.

day; and I conclude it with the testimony of the archbishop of Canterbury, contemporary with the martyrologist himself. These, with the intermediately-quoted authorities, will be deemed amply sufficient for all impartial inquirers into the merits and value of the labours of John Foxe; unless, indeed, these inquirers resemble such men as Eusebius Andrews, or his follower and coadjutor, Mr. Maitland.

VI. JOHN MILNER, OR MILLER,

Is the next assailant on the veracity and fidelity of John Foxe, whom it is necessary to consider.

When the church of England had resolved by its ecclesiastical and temporal rulers to incorporate the holy Scriptures into its services for the benefit of the people, and to make some other changes which it deemed to be useful, it still continued in communion with the church of Rome. Among the changes which it effected, however, one of the chief, was its own self-government, in imitation of the uniform practice of the primitive episcopal churches; and the consequent abolition of the gradually-usurped supremacy of the bishops of Rome over the bishops of England. *Subjection to Rome* was destroyed when the convocation of 1534 submitted to the king: communion with Rome was continued. *Our ecclesiastical and temporal rulers, together with the great majority of the people, did not wish to separate from Rome. They desired only that Rome should change* to such extent, that it would neither enforce its discipline, nor its opinions, upon the church of England. This communion, without subjection, continued, with the short interval of three years in the reign of Mary, about forty years, from the year 1534, in the reign of Henry VIII., to the year 1579, in the reign of Elizabeth. About that time those Christians in England, who had retained their adherence to the opinion that subjection to the bishop of Rome was essential to the favour of God, were commanded by the bishop of Rome to discontinue their attendance at the parish church. They obeyed the command. This order of the foreigner, and this obedience by certain of the English, was the real cause of the total cessation of the communion between England and Rome, which had existed from the earliest times, for centuries before Augustine was commissioned by Gregory. Though the communion between the two churches ceased, the claim of the bishop of Rome to govern the bishops of England did not cease. The apostolical succession of Rome still desired to rule, and still insisted on ruling over the apostolical succession of England; and various ecclesiastics, under various names, were commissioned from that time till the present day to govern those baptized Christians in England, who adhere to the

usurped supremacy of a foreign bishop; and who refuse their obedience to the English bishops in whose dioceses they may happen to reside. John Milner was one of those persons *who thus violated the canons of the ancient church*, and acknowledged the supremacy of a foreign bishop over the bishops of the church of his native country; and he was called by that foreign bishop, and by the persons both on the continent and in England, who believe that such foreign bishop is invested with divine right to rule all churches, "the bishop of Castabala." Not only so—the foreign bishop has presumed to consider England as divided into districts; and he appoints those persons whom he calls bishops, to preside with episcopal authority over the Christians who live in those districts; although the Anglican bishops reside in the same districts, and there exercise that authority which is secured to them by the present laws of the land; and which they derive also, independently of any merely human law, from the commission which Christ has given in the unbroken apostolical succession. John Milner, or Miller,[1] was one of the persons who was thus presumptuously and most uncanonically appointed by the foreigner to preside over a portion of England; *which that usurping and intrusive foreigner* and his friends, abroad and at home, have called the midland district. This district comprises the counties of Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the Isle of Ely. In all these counties John Milner, or Miller, at the command of the bishop of Rome, exercised the episcopal powers of ordaining, confirming, and ruling Christians; and insolently superseded, wherever his influence extended, the canonical, lawful, and divinely-granted authority of the Anglican bishops, of Ely, Lincoln, Oxford, Norwich, and others. The title which the foreign usurper gave to this agent of his usurpation, was vicar-apostolic; and it is believed that this usurpation still continues; and that there are even now in England, and in many parts of the empire, other persons, who still presume, intrusively and uncanonically, to exercise episcopal functions; and who are called by the names both of bishops and of apostolical vicars, as the vicars, or substitutes, or representatives of the foreign ecclesiastical usurper. This John Milner, or Miller, who was thus acknowledged by many to be the bishop of Castabala, and vicar apostolic of the midland district, was one of the chief traducers of John Foxe. The parents of Milner, or Miller, were respectable people in trade. Having received the first rudiments of education at Sedgley Park, near Wolverhampton, and Edgbaston, near Birmingham, he was sent to the English college at Douay, to complete his studies. It is thought probable, that on going abroad he took the name of *Milner*, instead of his father's patronymic, Miller. He was ordained in the church of Rome, priest, in the year 1777, being then twenty-five years of age. He was

(1) That his real name was Miller, appears from the following baptismal register:—Anno Dni 1752, die 14 Octob. Baptizatus fuit Johannes Miller, filius Josephi et Helenæ Miller, conjugum. Patrini fuerunt Jacobus Brown et Anna Marsland. A me Gul. Errington, Miss. Aplico.

sent soon after on what is impertinently called the "mission in England," and was placed in London, whence he was removed to Winchester; a vacancy among the (Roman) catholic priests had taken place there, two having fallen victims to a malignant fever. Dr. Milner was prompted by charitable feelings to render assistance to the unfortunate pastors during their illness, and he was appointed to succeed to the office in October, 1779. Dr. Milner, from the year 1778, when his energies and zeal were first called forth, took an active part in all the controversies relating to the affairs of the Roman communion in England. In 1782, a new oath for the Romanists was proposed by "the committee" appointed "for five years to promote and attend the affairs of the Roman-catholic body in England." This oath was condemned by the four vicars apostolic, who issued an encyclical letter, in which they declared that it could not lawfully be taken. This circumstance gave rise to the publications called the *Blue Books*, which were so denominated from being stitched in blue paper, and having no regular title. In one of these the committee *protested* against the present and all *future* decisions of the bishops, "as encroaching on their natural, civil, and religious liberties." One of the first publications of Dr. Milner's was a "Sermon preached in the Romanist chapel at Winchester, April 23d, 1782." In this he endeavoured to defend the loyalty of the Romanists of England, to prove that the charges of uncharitableness, sedition, and perjury, brought against their religion were unfounded, and that they were capable of being good citizens, and faithful subjects to the protestant government.

He afterwards assisted at the consecration of Dr. William Gibson, an usurping bishop in England, and designated vicar apostolic for the northern district. Dr. John Douglas, at the same time, was appointed to the London district. The ceremony took place at Lulworth Castle, and the officiating Roman prelate was Dr. Walmesley, the author of "Pastorini's History of the Christian Church." These two prelates, before they left Lulworth, agreed to another encyclical letter, condemning the appellation assumed by the before-named Committee, namely, *Protesting* Catholic Dissenters; and they appointed Dr. Milner their agent for the western and northern districts. In consequence of this appointment, he became acquainted with the most celebrated statesmen of the time, and with three of the English bishops. The repose which he was able to secure from the controversies in which he was almost incessantly engaged, was devoted to the study of antiquities, particularly those connected with the church. He was a frequent contributor to the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine. In 1798 he published a "Dissertation on the modern style of altering Cathedrals, as exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury." The occasion of this was the making of certain alterations, which roused the indignation of men of taste, and were severely condemned. Towards the end of the same year he published his chief work, "The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester." However valuable this book might be in an

historical and antiquarian point of view, it partook of the nature of his other productions, and was thickly interspersed with polemical disquisitions. It consequently occasioned much animadversion in the reviews, and gave rise to several controversial tracts. His attack upon bishop Hoadly was answered by Dr. Robert Hoadly Ashe, and Dr. Sturges, prebendary of Winchester, who had the unexpected assistance of the Rev. Joseph Berington, a Roman-catholic priest, who defended his church from being a party to Dr. Milner's intemperate attack. About the end of this year he published "Letters to a Prebendary," which Dr. Sturges did not attempt to answer, believing that the controversy, if extended further, would not bring conviction to the minds of either party.

In the year 1803 Dr. Milner was appointed bishop of Castabala, and vicar apostolic of the midland district. In 1804 he took up his residence at Wolverhampton, where he continued to reside till his death.

His publications were numerous. His expectations, however, of receiving for them the countenance of the pope were disappointed, when (while at Rome, whither he had gone on behalf of the English Romanists) he was told that although he had done his duty, yet he had not been sufficiently considerate, so as not to hurt the feelings of others. To enumerate his works would not be advantageous to this brief notice; which is intended merely to give some information of one who was an objector to John Foxe.

Dr. Milner died April 1826, and was buried at the Roman-catholic chapel, Wolverhampton, April 27th.[1]

I shall briefly review the objections which Milner has collected against the work of Foxe. They are to be found in his "Letters to a Prebendary," his "End of Controversy," and principally in his "History of Winchester."

He introduces his attack on Foxe, by alleging the various excuses or apologies which are urged by the friends of Mary for the burnings of the antipapalists. It is much to be regretted that this very influential writer did not submit to his friends and party, the great truth—that the laws of the church of Rome are all, every one, founded, established, and enforced, upon the theory which ever will, ever did, ever must, end in punishing the body for the good of the soul—the theory, that the church of Rome and the bishop of Rome, have an innate divine authority, confirmed by the general councils, and especially by the council of Trent, to enforce the canons which justify compulsory obedience to the church and bishop of Rome. The whole mass of the bulls of the popes, the whole ecclesiastical code of Rome, are as much founded upon the one principle, that obedience to the church is to be enforced by the church; as the law of England is founded upon the principle that the obedience of the subject, is to be enforced by the state, and by the king. The apologies of Milner prove the truth of this affirmation to

(1) Gentleman's Magazine for 1827; Annual Biography, 1827; Lives of Eminent Englishmen, vol. viii. p. 48, Glasgow, 1837.

the utmost. I insert them, therefore, with a brief notice of the fallacy of each, as the best introduction to his remarks on the martyrologist.

"As the sanguinary persecutions," says Milner, "for which this reign (that of Mary) was, unfortunately, too famous, reached Winchester, it is necessary to say something concerning them; and since the matter has been misrepresented by the generality of writers, for the purpose of keeping up a spirit of unchristian resentment and counter-persecution in the nation, we shall enlarge upon the subject further than would be proper, were a less benevolent object in view than the appeasing of that spirit.

Objection 1. "First, then, it is to be observed, that if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she became so."

Answer 1. The tenets of her religion taught *obedience to the bishop of Rome, at all hazards,* whatever were the conscientious, or rational conclusions of the individual inquirers.

Objection 2. "At her coming to the crown, and for almost two years afterwards, while she declared herself openly in favour of the ancient religion, she as openly disclaimed every degree of force or violence against those who professed and practised any of the late systems."[1]

Answer 2. *She disclaimed force, but she demanded obedience in religion.* The question is, What was to be the result to the subject, if that obedience was not eventually given? She would not punish heretics, unless they were obstinate heretics!

Objection 3. "We have the ordinances and instructions of the pope for bringing back this kingdom to his communion; in these occur many documents and rules of forbearance and conciliation, but not a word that insinuates corporal punishment or persecution of any kind.[2] It is universally admitted that the papal legate, cardinal Pole, uniformly expressed 'a strong aversion to extremity and rigour,'[3] and opposed the practice of them, as far as was in his power. In like manner it is admitted, that the Spanish chaplains of king Philip, and other catholic preachers, publicly condemned, from the pulpit, the persecution which was then carried on; as being opposite to the christian spirit, and detrimental to the interests of religion."[4]

Answer 3. Would not the pope, the cardinal, and the Spanish chaplains, all have agreed that obstinate heretics, continuing to refuse to obey, should be eventually coerced? *Would persevering disobedience to Rome, have been permitted?* This plea of Milner is mere hypocrisy.

Objection 4. "If, after an interval of nearly two years' toleration, the queen engaged the parliament to revive the ancient acts against Lollards,[5]

(1) Heylin, Hist. of Queen Jane, p. 163. Hist. of Mary, p. 25.
(2) Dodd, vol. i. p. 545, etc.
(3) Collier, p. 377. Echard, Heylin, Rapin. See extracts from Pole's letters, etc. in his life, by Philips, vol. ii.
(4) Philips's Life of Cardinal Pole. Echard's Hist. of England. Collier, etc.
(5) 1st and 2d Philip and Mary, c. 6.

it cannot be denied that she had many provocations,[1] from which she too hastily inferred that the existence of the protestant religion was incompatible with the security of her government. These were—Wyat's rebellion; the open and avowed attempts made by reformers upon her own life, and the lives of the established clergy;[2] the prayers that were publicly made in conventicles for her death;[3] the intolerable insults publicly offered to the religion of the state;[4] the political impostures practised against her government and faith;[5] and the seditious and treasonable books which were published by some of the leaders of the reformation, and, amongst the rest, by our late prelate of Winchester, Poynet.[6] All this, however, is offered, not in excuse, but barely in extenuation of the charge brought against Mary.

Answer 4. All these pleas will neither excuse, justify, nor even extenuate the cruel burnings of peasants, artificers, and women, against whom no such crimes were alleged, and whose only offence was anti-popery. Each traitorous offender—every treasonable offence ought to have been punished, but never, never ought there to have been either with Henry, Mary, or Elizabeth, burnings for blameless opinions. We have changed; and *if the propriety and reasonableness of further changes in our laws respecting religion can be pointed out, we will make further changes.* Rome must imitate our example; and not be contented with apologies.

Objection 5. If Gardiner, Bonner, and certain other catholics taught and practised religious persecution in their days, they were not singular in this particular; the most eminent protestant divines openly inculcated the same intolerant lessons.[7] In like manner, the protestant states were no sooner established, than they every where began to turn the sword against the catholics;[8] and not content with that, the different sects

(1) Heylin, in his Account of the Causes of the Persecution, says, "Such were the madnesses of the people . . . . . the governors of the church exasperated at these provocations."—Hist. of Queen Mary, p. 47.

(2) Notes of Milner—William Thomas, clerk of the council to Edward VI. and a disciple of the famous preacher Goodman, plotted the murder of the queen, for which he was sent to the Tower, and afterwards executed; at which time he boasted that he died for his country.—Wood's Athen. Oxon. Dr. Bourne and Dr. Pendleton, preaching the catholic doctrine at St. Paul's Cross, barely escaped, the one a dagger which was thrown at him, and which stuck in a post of the pulpit; the other a bullet that was fired at him, and grazed his person.—Stow, Collier, etc.

(3) Heylin, p. 47.

(4) Dogs and cats, shaved and dressed like priests, officiating, were suspended in the streets, or otherwise exposed.—Stow, etc.

(5) In March, 1554, a girl, called Elizabeth Crofts, was concealed in a wall, near Aldgate, and there taught to counterfeit a supernatural voice, declaiming against the queen, confession, the mass, etc.—Stow, Heylin. The year following, at Eltham in Kent, a youth of the name of Featherstone was instructed to assume the personage of Edward VI. in order to invalidate the queen's right to the throne.—Ibid.

(6) Such as the famous John Knox's "Blast against the monstruous Regimen of Women," and his other works against queen Mary of England, and queen Mary of Scotland. Goodman's book concerning "The Superiour Magistrate," in which he invokes the spirit of Wyat as a martyr. Poynet's "Treatise on Politic Power."—Heylin, Collier, Ant. Wood.

(7) Beza, the celebrated pastor of Geneva, writing in justification of the burning of Servetus, by his master, Calvin, for heterodoxy in religion, which event had lately taken place in that city, produces ample authorities from Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Bullinger, Capito (to whom he might have added even the conciliating Bucer,) in defence of capital punishments in matters of religion. See Beza *De Hereticis puniendis a civili Magistratu, &c. occasione mortis Serveti.* Cranmer took it upon his conscience that the young king, Edward VI., was obliged to sign the death-warrant of Joan Boucher, condemned for heresy, on account of a singular opinion concerning the nature of Christ's body. Heylin. Collier, part ii. p. 291. He also promoted the capital punishment of other dissenters, during this reign, as he had in the preceding reign that of protestants in general.

(8) This is emphatically remarked, with respect to Scotland, by Dr. Robertson in his history of that country, an. 1560. The same penal laws against catholics were about this time enacted in England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, &c.

amongst them made use of it against each other.[1] At the very time when Mary was burning protestants in England, the English refugees in Germany were persecuting each other on account of their respective opinions.[2]

Answer 5. I have noticed these sickening recriminations. I again say, Equal crime proves only equal guilt when that equal crime is continued. *Our guilt has ceased, for our laws are changed.* The guilt of Rome is, not that it formerly persecuted, but that its canon laws are unchanged.

Let us now consider the charges of Milner against John Foxe. They will be found to be as vague and as unmeaning as those of Andrews.

Objection 6. "The huge history of these persecutions," says Milner, "written by John Foxe, which has been the storehouse for all succeeding writers on the same subject, has been demonstrated to be one tissue of falsehood, misrepresentation, and absurdity."[3]

Answer 6. The answer to this remark is, that instead of the word *demonstrated*, we must read the word, *accused*, or *said to be.* No assailant of Foxe has *demonstrated* his work to be one tissue of falsehood.

Objection 7. *Some* of his pretended martyrs were alive at the time when he was describing the circumstances of their death;[4] many of them were executed for rebellion, assassination, theft, or other crimes:[5] not a few of them died in the open profession of the catholic doctrine, or only differed in certain points of no great consequence to the main subjects of controversy;[6] whilst the greater part either differed from the received doctrines of the established church, or differed from each other in some of the points, at least, on which they were arraigned and condemned.[7]

Answer 7. For "*some*" read "*one*;" that is, Marbeck, whose case I have considered.

None were burnt for such crimes in the reign of Mary who are mentioned by Foxe as martyrs. I have already said, if a thief be burnt,

(1) For the persecutions practised by the protestants against each other in the Low Countries, see Gerard Brand, Hist. Ref Pays Bas. For the persecutions raised against the anabaptists and other dissenters in this country, see Stow, Collier, Neal's Hist. of Puritans. For the persecutions exercised by dissenters upon quakers, see Penn's Life of G. Fox, who complains that 3,173 friends had suffered imprisonment under the commonwealth; of whom 32 had died of the rigours of their confinement. In New England, four quakers, of whom one was a woman, were actually hanged. See also Baxter's *Key to Catholics*, p. 48, and Pref., in which he boasts that his party had the sword to punish heretics, and calls upon the protector, Cromwell, to use it against papists, seekers, and quakers.

(2) Heylin's History of Queen Mary, p. 61, 62.

(3) The innumerable falsehoods and misrepresentations of this work (new editions of which are annually published, to keep up that spirit which it was first written to produce) have been demonstrated by Alanus Copus, alias Nic. Harpsfield, by F. Parsons, in his Three Conversions, and in part by Ant. Wood, Collier, and other learned and candid protestants.

(4) Ant. Wood says, that Foxe has committed many errors by trusting to the relations of poor simple people, and in making such martyrs that were living after the first edition of his book, though afterwards by him excused and omitted. Athen. Oxon.—It is plain, however, that these omissions only regarded such as were actually proved to be then alive by Alanus Copus, as was the case with the musician Marbeck. The same learned antiquary brings numerous proofs of remaining errors, sufficient to invalidate the credit of the whole Martyrology. See the remarkable story of one Grimwood, who was actually present in a church, when the clergyman was describing, on the authority of Foxe's Acts and Monuments (see p. 2,100), the circumstances of his supposed miserable and preternatural death, "his bowels, by the judgment of God, falling out of his body in consequence." Grimwood, in return, brought an action against the clergyman for defamation. Athen. Oxon. Hen. Morgan.

(5) For example, sir John Oldcastle, sir Henry Acton, John Onley, William Flower, William Gardiner, &c.

(6) For example, Savanarola, Rhedonensis, Thomas Bilney, William Taylor, &c. To these may be added the pretended confessors, Picus Mirandola, Erasmus, &c.

(7) See, at large, The Three Conversions of England, part iii.

not for robbery, but for quakerism, he may be called a martyr for that quakerism. Their holding different opinions among each other, or their greater or less variation from popery, has nothing to do with the one only fact of any moment, which is, that they were burnt for anti-popery.

With respect to the remarks of Milner, in the notes, I add that—

1. Foxe could not have committed errors by trusting to the accounts of poor, simple people, without those errors being instantly discovered. He did trust to those who reported the martyrdoms, but his narratives were instantly and closely scrutinized. The most decisive proofs of his veracity are to be found in his great anxiety to correct his accounts of Grimwood and Marbeck, one of which, as we have seen, he retained, and one of which he rejected, after inquiring into the truth of the accusation that he had been in both instances deceived.

Milner then goes on to discuss the martyrdoms of Bainbridge and Philpot, who were natives or residents of Winchester. In doing so, he appears to condemn the cruelties in question, by speaking of "the odious persecution;" but he so speaks of "church authority" and "obstinate heretics," that the reader of his book very unwillingly but very rightly infers, that the bodily punishment of a heretic by his church would not be deemed to be persecution. I pass by all such observations, however, as he has not assailed in his narrative the character of Foxe.

One mistake he seems to have discovered in the narrative of the death of Gardiner by Foxe. "Gardiner," says Milner, "having opened the new parliament, in quality of lord chancellor, October 21, 1555, was two days afterwards seized with the gout, and died, in sentiments of great humility and contrition, November 12th following, at York-place, now Whitehall." In the notes to this passage Milner adds—"Foxe, and after him Burnet, and other historians, relate, that on the day of Ridley and Latimer's execution at Oxford, Gardiner postponed his dinner until he had received an account of that tragical event, having messengers at proper distances on the road to convey him the earliest intelligence; that the old duke of Norfolk, who was then one of his guests, expressed great uneasiness at the delay of his meal; and that, on the arrival of the news, Gardiner, transported with joy, sat down to table, where he was seized with the dysury, and being carried to bed, died in great torments a fortnight after. The falsehood of this story, founded in excessive prejudice, is proved by Collier, from the following circumstances: Latimer and Ridley suffered October 16. October 21 Gardiner opened the parliament, which he afterwards attended a second time. The old duke of Norfolk had been dead a year before this event; and Gardiner himself died November 12, not of dysury, but of the gout."[1]

With respect to the duke of Norfolk, who dined with Gardiner, it was probably the grandson of the duke, who died in 1554. He might be called the old duke after he had possessed his dukedom some years, and

(1) Eccles. Hist. p. 386.

ceased to be a young man: and with respect to the other alleged inaccuracy, the death of Gardiner, I answer in the language of the Quarterly Review:—

"As to the death of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Dr. Milner, as his high-church friend, Jeremy Collier, had done before him, endeavours triumphantly to confute Foxe's story, that he died of dysury, immediately after the burning of Ridley and Latimer, by the fact of his having opened the parliament five days after that melancholy event. But let it be remembered, that Foxe, though at that time in concealment, had the best opportunities of information: and it has been suggested, that Gardiner, though labouring under that malady, might really open the parliament the fifth day from its access, and return to his own house, where he certainly expired a few days after.

"A late speaker of the House of Commons is said to have attended to his parliamentary duties under circumstances equally distressing."[1]

The conclusion is, that Milner has produced nothing against "the veracity and fidelity" of the martyrologist. This attempt, also, like every other, to impeach him of dishonest representations of facts, has totally failed.[2]

VII. GEORGE LEO HAYDOCK,

A Romanist clergyman, of Whitby, is the next of the assailants on the veracity and fidelity of John Foxe whom I deem it right to notice.

I mention the name of this gentleman, on account of his introducing the abuses of the martyrologist in the preface to a book of devotion, published by him for the use of his congregation. I am not aware of the existence among the anti-papalists, whether of the church of England, or of any other communion, of a devotional book of this description, which introduces the controversy between the two churches and their controversialists, in this manner. The present bishop of London, Dr. Hook, many other clergymen, Dr. Morison among the dissenters, Taylor, Spinks, Bean, Nelson, Jay, Simeon, Jenks, Goldie, and very many others whom I could mention, have clothed devotional thoughts in devotional language, and published books of prayers for the benefit of

(1) Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 355, (1810.)
I subjoin Milner's account of the dying words of Gardiner:—
"Gardiner," say Godwin[a] and Parker "died repeating these words—'Erravi cum Petro, at non flevi cum Petro.' In the sermon which he preached before the king and queen his words were—'Negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum amare flevi cum Petro.'" (Dodd.)—Milner's History of Winchester, vol. i. pp. 355—362.

(2) The reader who may wish to know more of Milner is referred, for his character as an ecclesiastical historian, to the Quarterly Review, vol. xxxii. p. 90; for his credulity, in the matter of Sister Nativité, to vol. xxxvi. p. 308, &c.; to vol. xxv. p. 142, vol. xxxvi. p. 356, and to vol. iii. p. 347, for his conduct on the question of the Veto.

(a) "In ipsa regia Westmonasterii podagricis doloribus absumptus interiit duodecimo Novembris, 1555. "Nov. 13, Memor. Ecclesiast. Strype, vol. iii. p. 229. Decumbentis in lecto cadaver ita putridum fœtidumque ante mortem fuit, ut præsentibus nihil molestius ipso odore esse potuit. In ipso mortis momento hæc verba ejaculatus est: 'Erravi cum Petro, non flevi cum Petro.'"—Ita Parke in Antiquit. Britan. p. 511. Godwin. p. 237.

the people; but I do not remember that any one of these, or of others whom I have not named, prefixes such an introduction to the praises of God, and the prayers to God, which he has collected together for the services of his christian brethren. I allude to Mr. Haydock and his book, therefore, to deprecate this custom. Queen Elizabeth commanded the expression "from the Bishop of Rome, and all his damnable enormities, good Lord deliver us," to be omitted from the liturgy. She acted wisely. *A solemn prayer for ourselves implies a solemn vow*, that we will so live, as to hope to receive the blessings for which we pray. *A solemn prayer against others is a solemn curse upon them*; and there can be no hope of that change among Christians by which they may all eventually seek for truth and union, if they begin to follow the example of the church of Rome, in cursing the heretics on Holy Thursday, or of introducing prayers against the persons of their brethren into their books of private devotion.[1]

The title of Mr. Haydock's book is, "A Key to the Roman-catholic Office: briefly showing the falsehood of Foxe's martyrology, the invocation of saints not idolatrous, the meaning of the litanies, &c. &c." The calendar contains a short account of the chief saints, their titles, countries, the year of their happy death, with a variety of prayers, &c. &c. A collection of hymns, or religious songs, is added, as a second part; and the third part contains a brief account of the conflicts of religion, or a history of the opposition to truth, from Cain to Herod the Great. The persons who have defended or opposed certain truths or errors which have sprung up in the christian church, are so arranged, as to represent the primitive martyrs and the modern church of Rome as constituting one identified communion; while the opposite columns, from the druids, the pharisees, and Nero, down to Luther, Robespierre, Priestley, and Johanna Southcott, together with the chief upholders of the anti-papal Anglican church, are classed among the followers of Cain, and the enemies of Christ. This peculiar mode of representing the episcopacy of England as heretical, is chiefly borrowed from the plate in Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, in which the church universal is represented as a vine, and identified with the church Roman. The dead branches are engraven as fallen off from the vine, and among those dead or withered branches are the reformers, and the chief ecclesiastics of the Anglican anti-papal church. This mode of conducting the great controversy is not unfair. It is but a method of representing the opinion of the writer. I only protest against either protestant or papist introducing their mutual accusations into their books of humble devotion.[2]

(1) The Athanasian Creed!—the Athanasian Creed! will be sounded in my ear, after these remarks. I answer—the church universal, not any one particular church, denounces only in that creed the deniers of the divinity of Christ, as the wilful forfeitors of the privileges of the christian covenant in general. The divinity of Christ, and the mysterious value of the atonement, with the other truths resulting from it, constitute Christianity.

(2) I had written (but I have destroyed the MS.) Prayers to God against Popery. The book I reflected, if published, would have produced "Prayers to God against Protestantism;" and thus the new and painful mode of conducting the great controversy would have begun, which I now censure in Mr. Haydock.

The passages in Mr. Haydock's work, to which I now refer, are found in the preface.

After some observations, in which every Christian will agree, on the duty of prayer, and of contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, Mr. Haydock recommends his readers to study the history of such persons as St. Gervase, St. Anastasia, St. Francis of Sales, as far preferable to the martyrology of John Foxe. The custom of publishing new editions of Foxe with engravings is censured as promoting hatred against our catholic fellow-subjects: while no allusion is made either to the causes of the publication of such books, or the continued unchangeableness, either, of the errors opposed, or of the supremacy claimed. Many observations are added, which I pass by as not referring to Foxe, till we come to the same summary of the charges against the martyrologist which is given by Milner, in his History of Winchester, his Letters to a Prebendary,[1] and End of Controversy.[2] Haydock refuses to call some of those who were burnt for their opinions concerning the church of Rome by the name of martyrs, because they were neither members of the church of England, nor holy persons. Cranmer, he says, would have condemned them also. He refers to Parsons as well as Milner. He affirms that some (not one) of the pretended martyrs were alive when the work was written, the allusion being to Marbeck, the only person of whom this is said; and he then goes on to the executions in the reign of Elizabeth. Nothing is said against Foxe which has not been already considered. With reference to the charge that the right to persecute is a tenet of the church of Rome, Mr. Haydock observes, that the adversaries of that church know it to be false, like a great part of Foxe's Martyrology. He does not, however, discuss the question what is meant by the right to persecute; nor define it, therefore, as the reformers would have defined it, that tenet of the church of Rome, by which the power and the authority are claimed, to punish the baptized Christian who obstinately holds the opinions which are condemned by that church; and he adds an observation which is most true, and which I commend to the more especial notice of the detractors from the testimony of John Foxe—"A liar is not to be believed, even when he speaks the truth." *There are no lies in Foxe—in the sense of a wilful intention to deceive;* and to those who still persevere, in spite of all our present examination of the accusations against him, to affirm, and to reaffirm, that the odious epithet "liar" describes rightly the character of the martyrologist, we can only reply that they compel us, very unwillingly, to recriminate; by assuring them, that they themselves deserve that coarse appellation; and that they are the first part of the character, which St. Paul himself, with their own poet, Epimenides, assures us, the Cretans always were.

(1) Letter iv. (2) Letter xlix.

VIII. LUKE MILBOURN,

The opponent of John Dryden, is the next whom I had intended to have placed among this list of assailants on Foxe. On looking, however, through the posthumous work to which I had designed to direct the attention of the reader, I find no cause for detaining him from the remaining portions of my catalogue.[1]

IX. JEREMY COLLIER,

The celebrated jacobite and nonjuror,[2]—the absolver at the place of execution of sir John Friend and sir William Perkins, who had been convicted, certainly upon questionable evidence, of a plot to assassinate king William,—the successful opponent of the immoralities of the English drama,[3]—the author of the Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain,[4] throughout the whole of which he seems to have had Foxe's Acts and Monuments before him,—is the next assailant of the labours of the martyrologist. With Mr. Maitland and Eusebius Andrews he appears to have had a "*personal dislike*" to the book; and it was with him, as with them, that criticism founded upon this unworthy motive has sometimes led him to injustice and unfairness. As Jeremy Collier is an author whose integrity and candour, notwithstanding his severe attacks on the motives and actions of those to whom he was politically opposed, has been hitherto considered unimpeachable, I can only conclude that he hated Foxe for the same reasons which make those who are still called High-churchmen, dislike the martyrologist and his pages. Foxe wrote his book at the time when the authority of the church had been abused to the atrocious persecutions which he has related. All the eloquence and energies of the historian are devoted, therefore, to the cause of the oppressed rather than of the oppressors—to the cause of the victim rather than of the judge. The abuse of which he complains was principally that of the papal authority; but because the episcopal power was not free from the modes of thinking which had been originally introduced into states and churches by the Roman canonical law, therefore it is that the opposition by Foxe to the abuses of church authority sometimes appear to be anti-episcopal. The Ecclesiastical History of Collier is written on the old and absurd fallacy, that the church, in a christian nation, is independent of the state. He did not perceive that, in a wisely-ordered community, the church of a country is only the christian

(1) His work is entitled—"A Legacy to the Church of England, vindicating her orders from the Objections of Papists and Dissenters, fully explaining the Nature of Schism, and cautioning the Laity against the Delusion of Impostors. By the late Rev. Luke Milbourn, Presbyter of the Church of England." 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1722. An useful, but unknown, or neglected book; with some exceptions an anticipation of the better portions of the Oxford Tracts.

(2) Died 1726. (3) See Johnson's Life of Congreve.

(4) The first volume of which was published in folio 1702, and the second in 1714. A new edition of Collier's work is now being published in London by Straker & Co. 443, West Strand, in nine volumes 8vo.

people of that country, considered ecclesiastically, of whom the clergy are but the servants, as Christ was humbled to take upon him the form of a servant; and that the state is but the same christian people, considered politically, of whom the civil magistrates are but the servants.[1] He did not perceive, that, in England at least, the government is but the committee of the state, ruling the people according to the united ecclesiastical and political law; and, therefore, that the church being the people, and the people being the state, the church can no more be independent of the state or of the people, than it can be independent of itself. The ecclesiastical servants of the people may refuse to receive the conclusions of the political servants of the people in matters of religion; as the political servants of the people may refuse to receive the conclusions of the ecclesiastical servants of the people in matters of civil polity; and many painful controversies and many fierce persecutions may be the result of their mutual disagreements; but when Christ gave his apostles the commission to preach the gospel, and when the same providence of God gave the sceptre to Nero or Vespasian, both the apostles and the emperors were the servants of the people, proposing or rejecting the truths of the gospel. But the one people was not the one church, till the civil magistrate and the ecclesiastical magistrate adopted the same conclusions, and the one people thus became one church. The church, before the time of Constantine, was formed of that portion of the people who received the apostolical teaching: the church, after the time of Constantine, consisted of the whole people, who were now governed by the one united law of the apostles, and of the emperors. The christian church became the christian people; and the christian people became the christian church. The people were the church, in religion: the same people were the state, in politics. They were governed by one law, of God, and not of man alone, and were no longer, therefore, independent of each other. As it was in the Roman empire in the time of Constantine, so it had been under God's own ordinance in the days of Moses, and of the Jewish sovereigns. They were one people with one law to govern them, as the people of God, and a two-fold class of magistrates, to administer that portion of the law which related to God, and that portion of the law which related to man. So it also ought to be, and so it is prophesied it shall be, that every people shall be one united church and state, in which the ecclesiastical servants who teach the law of God, shall be agreed with the political servants who teach the law of man, and they shall no more oppose each other.[2] Neither did Collier nor his followers perceive that the people may preserve their conviction that the authority of their ecclesiastical servants and of their political servants may be said to proceed from God, as certainly as the authority of a father and mother proceed from God; and yet, as I have already observed, as a most affectionate family may be compelled, with grief and tears, to take out a statute of lunacy against

(1) I use the word in the sense in which it occurs in Matt. xxiii. 11.
(2) I write this with the view before me of all the theories of Warburton, Hooker, Coleridge, Gladstone, and the others mentioned by Mr. Gladstone.

the most affectionate parent, to refuse obedience to his divinely-given authority, to depose their father from his place, and to decree the possession of the power over the family to their elder brother; so also a people may take out the statute of lunacy against their chief ecclesiastical servants, or their chief political servants, if the family is oppressed and injured by those very persons whose authority may still be said to be of divine origin, but of injurious exercise. Collier and the nonjurors did not perceive or acknowledge this. Foxe, by his severe denunciations of oppression, whether by the ecclesiastical or political servants of the people, compelled many of his readers to infer this conclusion; though he himself has never so far proceeded as to affirm that conclusion. Neither he nor they perceived that a christian church, state, or people are, or ought to be, all names for one and the same community, in which the several officers and servants sometimes clashed and differed. The nonjurors and the papists, therefore, hated the martyrologist, because the people inferred from his labours that even a divinely-appointed authority could not demand implicit and unremonstrating obedience when it was injurious to the nation whom it was intended to benefit; while the subjects who were compelled to be obedient to authority, admired and loved the pages, which taught them that the exercise of a divinely-originated authority might be fallible and injurious; and therefore, that though they were still required as a church, or people governed by the law of God, to obey their double rulers, yet their very obedience might be accompanied with remonstrance, and be limited, or qualified, according as that divine law regulated the people, or the church, both in their capacity of rulers and of subjects. If this had been rightly understood, the nonjurors, and their followers, would not have hated the labours of John Foxe. This, and this alone, is the secret which secures to all classes of a people, the advantages of good ecclesiastical and civil government—that they thus consider their ecclesiastical and civil rulers as possessing a divinely-granted power, as the parents of one christian family; but that they demand that such divinely-originated power be exercised according to the law of God, and compatibly with the best interests of man. Simple as this truism may now appear to be, it is not even yet universally adopted. The papist people treat their ecclesiastical magistrates, or servants, as their irresponsible lords. The antipapal people, who are not episcopal, treat their ecclesiastical servants as slaves. The episcopal people treat their ecclesiastical servants as fathers, and deem themselves neither their lords nor their slaves; but as their adult, free, religious and thoughtful children; acknowledging a divinely-given authority in the parent, but claiming to be governed by the divine law, which is granted for the service both of the parent and children—that power, freedom, toleration, religion, and union, may be blended together for the common peace and benefit of the one christian people, church, or family. Time, experience, and all the painful controversies and inconveniences of the past, have alone impressed these now common-place remarks upon nations and governments. *They are*

all founded upon the one truth, which is taught by the labours of John Foxe, that divinely-originated authority may be so exercised, that submission to its decrees is a crime, both against God and man. The papists thought otherwise respecting their ecclesiastical magistrates. The nonjurors thought otherwise respecting both their ecclesiastical and temporal magistrates. Both hated the martyrologist; and depreciated and undervalued his labours. Never, therefore, was any book so severely scrutinized as the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. Collier was most conscientiously the eulogizer of authority for its own sake. He seems to watch for an opportunity of condemning Foxe, as the assertor of the privileges of the christian individual, to think and judge freely. He writes as if he imagined that the *exercise of such freedom must uniformly, instead of casually, lead the individual into error.* He could not understand that this very privilege is the best safeguard to the divine authority of the church itself, because of the evidences upon which the religion of the church rests; while it is the best security, and the most vigilant protector, of the right exercise of that authority: and he so speaks of Foxe and of his efforts, that if it had been possible to have discovered any material error, or any notorious falsification of history, Collier, as the writer of the same ecclesiastical narrative, through which Foxe had previously proceeded, would have exposed the fault, and triumphed in the exposure. The Acts and Monuments of Foxe were unavoidably well known, and were most familiar to Collier; we may believe, therefore, that he has enumerated every inaccuracy which his research enabled him to mention. He has only, however, from the whole mass of the immense materials collected by Foxe, gathered eighteen objections, five in the first volume, and thirteen in the second volume, of his Ecclesiastical History, each of which I shall now proceed to consider.

That Collier had Foxe's Acts and Monuments constantly before him appears from the frequent allusions to the book, even where no fault is found with it. Thus we read, on the question whether Sawtre was the first who suffered death by burning for heresy, that "Foxe is positive on this point, and affirms that king Henry IV. was the first of all the English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints."[1] Collier discusses in another place, whether a certain testimonial in favour of Wycliffe by the university of Oxford, was a forgery. He gives the arguments of Wood against the document; but adds that Foxe did not doubt its authenticity, without any censure on him for his credulity, though Collier believes also that the testimonial in favour of Wycliffe was a counterfeit. I mention these references to Foxe, to prove the probability that his work was generally kept in view by Collier throughout his history. I notice only the objections he produces.

Objection I. Collier's first objection is, that "*the opinions of William Thorp*, a lollard, who takes no notice, in his definition of a church, of the necessity of a regular mission, or apostolical succession, *were approved by*

(1) Vol. i. p. 618, col. 2, folio edition. Vol. iii. p. 262, new ed.

the martyrologist." Though he objects to Foxe's opinion, he considers him, at the same time, an undeniable authority, fully to be depended upon for his statements of facts. "I shall only observe," he says,[1] "that we have no reason to question the truth of the narrative of Thorp's trial, since that whole narrative was penned, as Foxe reports, by Thorp himself." Collier then goes on to say—*that a paper called Thorp's testament is approved by the martyrologist*, though it contains some very objectionable doctrines. "He exhorts the people to desert the communion of the church in consequence of the misbehaviour of the clergy: a doctrine which is opposed by the 26th article of the church of England. Yet Foxe calls him 'a good man, and a blessed martyr.'"

Answer 1. A man may be "a good man and a blessed martyr," and hold many opinions which would be deemed objectionable. *Who will venture to say, that* any one of the primitive or later martyrs, or *archbishop Laud, or Cranmer, or Polycarp*, or any other witness for the general mass of christian truth, *would deserve our approbation in every opinion* they had possibly formed on the points controverted among Christians. A man of holy and blameless life, worshipping Christ as divine, and holding the common faith, must be deemed "a good man, and a blessed martyr," if he dies for religion, or no martyr ever existed. On referring, however, to Foxe,[2] we find only that, as he had related the whole trial of Thorp, he adds, to use his own words, "We thought it not meet to leave out a treatise which came into our hands, under the name and title of His Testament; which treatise, by the matter and handling of it, might seem to be counted a complaint of vicious priests." The paper is then given, and it proves, on inspection, to be what Collier describes it. It condemns the priesthood, but it relates to a period which, we may trust, has for ever gone by. If Collier had applied its remarks to the clergy of whom Foxe spoke, and considered only the period to which they applied, Collier would have agreed with Foxe. The censure against the popish clergy of the time in which Thorp lived, when Arundel was archbishop, and when Thorp was tried, we may justly thank God, is not applicable to the present day. Collier applies generally, the remarks which Thorp applied to the clergy of his own day more particularly. Foxe does not approve, either in this instance, or in the instance of Wicliffe, Huss, or any other of his martyrs, of all the sentiments they uttered. He relates their opposition to Rome, their opinions, and their martyrdom, in the same manner that Collier himself might have done: for, in the present instance, Collier himself says of Thorp, that, notwithstanding, "Thorp was mistaken in some points, and his spirit too much embittered, he seems free from the impressions of interest, and boldly prepared for the worst that could happen." Collier could not say less; Foxe did not say more.

Objection 2. Collier objects *to Foxe's mode of treating the history of sir John Oldcastle.*[3]

(1) Vol. i. p. 624, col. 1; vol. iii. p. 277, new edit.
(2) Vol. iii. p. 282, new edit.
(3) Vol. i. p. 646; vol. iii. p. 324, new edit.

Answer 2. "Oppression maketh a wise man mad."[1] If a man wished to worship his God and Saviour only, and not a saint or the Virgin, he was a heretic and a traitor, and deserved death. There was a meeting of the oppressed. The oppressors called the meeting a rebellion. The public records prove the fact of the meeting of a few men, but they do not prove the crimes of intended treason or regicide. The matter has been already discussed even to tediousness. "Foxe," says Collier, "by questioning," (and, he might have added, justly questioning, and therefore throwing great doubt upon the proofs,) "does but discover the strength of his wishes, and the bias of his inclination. I have no desire to charge this historian with insincerity, yet it is plain that his prejudices and passions governed his pen in some cases."

Objection 3. Collier censures *Foxe for the manner in which he has discussed the narrative of Augustine's conversation with the British bishops.* "Foxe," says Collier, "acknowledges that Augustine wrought miracles; and then he speaks of him with very coarse language for not rising to the Welsh bishops, in calling Augustine 'his lordship so high, so heavy, and so proud.'"[2]

Answer 3. Foxe's credulity in believing Augustine's miracles justified him in anticipating from Augustine greater humility. There is a want of philosophy in this conduct of Foxe which Collier has not noticed, and which I shall not stop to discuss. But, without losing any of our respect to Augustine, as the ecclesiastic who, with all the faults of his age, had all the goodness of his age, we are compelled to confess that his demeanour towards the christian prelates who, as bishops, were equal, by the ordinance of Christ, either to the bishop of Rome, or to Augustine himself, was not very conciliatory. There were seven bishops present; no bishop accompanied *him.*[3] It was, at least, ungracious in him not to rise on their approach, and they might well argue, that a man who would thus act towards them would soon assume the authority of a master. His answer to them, upon their refusal to receive his mission, is most intemperate. Gregory himself appears to have found it necessary to keep in subjection this spirit of Augustine, by reminding him that he had no authority over the Gallican bishops, and "that he ought not to put his sickle into another man's corn."[4] He was also cautioned against being too much elated with his success.[5] These historical facts, we may believe, had not escaped Foxe, and they might draw from him the sentence with which Collier is so scandalized. Yet Collier himself admits that Augustine "had some of the infirmity of human nature about him; that he gave too broad signs of his superiority, and pushed his claims too far."[6] Foxe expresses this very same sentiment, but he uses only more plain language than Collier.

Objection 4. "Foxe states that king John, among divers conditions belonging to him, had one which is not in him to be reprehended, but

(1) Eccles. vii. 7. (2) Vol. i. p. 646. (3) Beda, H. E. xi. 2.
(4) H. E. i. 28. (5) H. E. i. 31. (6) Collier, vol. i. p. 646.

commended rather, for when the king saw a fat stag broken up, he said, 'How easily and happily he has lived, and yet, for all that, *he never heard any mass.*'"[1]

Answer 4. On referring to the passage in Foxe which Collier condemns I find that, while Foxe was unjustifiable, Collier is uncandid. The expression of the martyrologist is—"*The popish mass.*" This Collier omits. That which Foxe would not reprehend in king John is, to use his own words,[2] "that being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not the popish mass." Then follows the profane allusion to the stag. Yet nothing can justify language of this kind. Collier was right in condemning it; Foxe was wrong in approving it. But Collier informs us, in the next paragraph, of the reason for which he thus criticizes the language of the martyrologist, and it is only another specimen of the unfairness with which Foxe was treated. "I had passed over," says Collier, "these exceptions against Foxe, if he had not taken the freedom to blemish the public records." This accusation made me search very carefully to see whether Collier alleged any one single proof whatever of its truth. He mentions none—not one. I therefore deem the assertion itself, after the opposite testimony which I have given to the reader, to be an insufficient demonstration of its truth. Collier, like the great majority of his school, had a "*personal dislike*" to the book. He goes on, in the same paragraph, to insinuate, for he does not affirm, that Foxe did not carefully distinguish between "martyrdom and treason." He meant to say, between heresy and treason, which he well knew could not be done, for the laws of Henry IV.,[3] the ecclesiastical authorities, the people, and the influence of the priesthood upon the people, had identified the two crimes; and the act of parliament at Leicester identified them by the public law.

Objection 5. "Foxe says that a council may depose a pope, and illustrates it thus: 'For like *as oftentimes kings which do wickedly govern* the commonwealth and exercise cruelty *are deprived of their kingdoms*, even so 'tis not to be doubted but that bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church.'"[4]

Answer 5. Collier was a Jacobite, and believed with certain of our modern Oxford theologians, *that the people of England had committed a sin*, when they made their deliverer from the assumption of irresponsible authority in church and state, and therefore from tyranny and despotism, their ruler instead of James the Second. *Foxe does not tell us that kings ought to be deposed;* he certainly infers that such deposition is not criminal, when they violate their own laws. This question is one of those on which silence is better than discussion. Our theory,

(1) Collier, vol. i. p. 646; vol. iii. pp. 325, 326, new edit. (2) New edit. vol. ii. p. 340.
(3) The review of these objections might lead to endless discussions. Collier goes on to accuse both Fuller and Foxe of error, in maintaining that treason and heresy were identified, because the blood was not corrupted as the punishment of both. But Collier quotes only the act of Henry IV. anno 2. See Fuller, Ch. Hist. b. iv. p. 167. Hume, vol. iii. p. 558. Both of whom assert the fact.
(4) Collier, vol. i. p. 661; vol. iii. p. 358.

that the king can do no wrong, will ever, I trust, prevent the future necessity of such discussion. We may hope that no popishly-affected sovereign will ever again call forth the national indignation and jealousy; more especially as we are not governed by an individual or person only, but by three estates of the realm, of which an individual is but one; and the ordinances of men by which we are required to submit, as Christians, for the Lord's sake, make the individual sovereign supreme, according to known laws and well-defined institutions. But Foxe was not wrong in the principle which his Jacobitic critic condemns, —"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 tyranny." Collier calls this a republican topic. It is the truth, which has been abused to republicanism, and to all kinds of folly and wickedness; but it is the truth which is implied in every text of Scripture, which gives duties to the sovereigns as well as to the people; and it is the foundation of all the greatness, freedom, and prosperity of the English monarchy itself; which is so protected and so limited by the laws, that while it can do no wrong, it can do much right, and secure the love, without incurring the hatred, of the people.

Objection 6. "*Foxe*," says Collier, "*misrepresents Wolsey, by charging him with using the expression, 'Ego, et rex meus'*; whereas he was charged only with the presumption of uniting the king's name with his own, and even then placing the king's name first;—'The king and I *would* you *should* do this.'"

Answer 6. *Foxe charges the cardinal with using the expression in his letters to Rome.* Collier refers to the articles of impeachment; Foxe to the popular accusation. Foxe gives only the summary of the allegations against Wolsey in eight short sentences.[1] Collier gives the whole impeachment in more than four folio, double-columned, pages.[2] The only error of Foxe is, that he mentions the popular accusation, as if it had been one of the actual articles of the impeachment.

Objection 7. Foxe is censured for *representing cardinal Wolsey as the pattern by which we are to judge and censure the hierarchy in general.*[3]

Answer 7. If Collier had observed the marginal note in Foxe, he would have seen Foxe's meaning more plainly. Bilney, of whom Foxe is speaking, was indignant at the "pomp and pride of the pope and cardinals;" and from them he turned to censure "the bishops and clergy." Both Bilney and *Foxe, if they did censure the hierarchy, could only refer to the contemporaries of Wolsey;* and I am sure that Collier himself, if he had reflected, would have joined in that condemnation.

Objection 8. *Foxe says, that those who murdered cardinal Beaton*

(1) Foxe, vol. iv. new edit. p. 614. (2) Collier, vol. ii. p. 43; vol. iv. p. 120, new ed.
(3) Collier, vol. ii. p. 45, vol. iv. p. 126, new ed., compared with Foxe, new edit. vol. iv. pp. 616, 620.

were stirred up to do so by the Lord;[1] and Collier justly asks, whether the Lord stirs up men to wrest the sword out of the magistrate's hand, and whether stabbing a nobleman is a proof of divine impulse?

Answer 8. *Foxe calls the crime a murder, and therefore he condemned it.* But Foxe, in common with some men in all ages, was too much accustomed to attribute *any* unexpected retribution to the immediate interposition of God. He uses the common language of all parties in the day in which he lived, in thus assigning to the providence and agency of God, the actions of men which seemed to inflict a punishment, corresponding to the greatness of a crime. I condemn all such language, as most unjustifiable.

Objection 9. "*Foxe calls Gardiner 'an insensible ass,' and says that he had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of justification.*" Collier mentions this because there is a vein of satire and coarse language through the Acts and Monuments.[2]

Answer 9. Foxe wrote with the impetuosity of a man who felt the importance of his subject, remembered the past, and trembled for the future. It is certainly considered coarse language *now* to call a bishop "an insensible ass." When he said that Gardiner had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of justification, *Foxe perhaps means that the bishop's conduct proved that he was not accepted in the sight of God.* I can only observe that the language of all controversialists, with few exceptions, at that time, would not be endurable at present. *I am defending Foxe's veracity, not his taste.*

Objection 10. Foxe is censured for *comparing the alarm which took place among the guards at the execution of the duke of Somerset to that which seized the officers of the high priest when they seized our Lord.* Collier calls this an odd, not to say profane, parallel.[3]

Answer 10. This was the style of writing of the time. The simile *is between the alarm which arose,* in both cases, and not between the person of our Saviour and the duke.[4]

Objection 11. Foxe is charged *with being inconsistent,* in sometimes praising the duke of Somerset, sometimes pointing out defects in his character and conduct.[5]

Answer 11. *This is a proof of his sincerity;* he praised what was laudable, and censured what was blameworthy.[6]

Objection 12. Foxe is censured for *having been so calm* when describing Wyatt's rebellion.[7]

Answer 12. He calls it a *rebellion;* that marks his sense respecting its character. The exact mode of dealing with a subject, especially negatively, is no ground of criticism.[8]

(1) Collier, vol. ii. p. 209; vol. v. p. 154, new ed.
(2) Collier, vol. ii. p. 233; vol. v. p. 218, new ed. Foxe, vol. vi. p. 433.
(3) Collier, vol. ii. p. 316; vol. v. p. 453, new ed. (4) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 294.
(5) Collier, vol. ii. p 317; vol. v. p. 454. (6) Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 293—295.
(7) Collier, vol. ii. p. 362; vol. vi. p. 59. (8) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 414.

Objection 13. *Foxe is censured* for attacking the duke of Suffolk's servant, and *calling him "traitor."*[1]

Answer 13. Is not that man a traitor who betrays a trust imposed in him? The man might be no traitor to the crown, since it was his duty to reveal treason; but *he was a traitor to his master*, and that doubly, since he had promised to keep his secret.[2]

Objection 14. Foxe is censured for affirming that the insanity of judge Morgan was a punishment for having condemned lady Jane Grey.[3]

Answer 14. This is another instance of the feeling mentioned before, respecting Beaton; and the same answer applies.[4]

Objection 15. Foxe is censured for *ridiculing the prayers* made when it was supposed that queen Mary was likely to present the nation with a prince.[5]

Answer 15. He *ridiculed the mistake*, not the prayers; others did so; there were satirical verses composed on the occasion.[6]

Objection 16. Foxe is *censured for the marginal note* placed opposite the passage last mentioned. It was, "Cry up louder, you priests; peradventure your God is asleep."[7]

Answer 16. *This custom* of clothing our political opinions, or controversial conclusions, in the language of Scripture, *is common to* the bulls of the popes, the sermons of puritans, papists, high churchmen, low churchmen, and every sectarian who ever formed an opinion either in religion or politics, and who took that part in public discussions, which entitled them to address their brethren. The bulls of the popes more especially abound with this mode of affirming the conclusions or opinions of the writer.[8] Foxe's allusion is made to Elijah's reply to the priests of Baal. I pass no opinion on the expediency of this custom, because the right, or wrong, of so quoting the holy Scriptures, must depend on each particular instance, when the quotation is made; but Foxe only observed the universal custom of all, and every party; and he ought not to be too severely condemned. Even lord Clarendon quotes the sacred writings in that manner which illustrates his own noble views of historical events; as the puritans against whom he wrote, quoted other texts, to illustrate more ignoble views.

Objection 17. Foxe is censured for *misrepresenting Ridley's letter respecting auricular confession.* Ridley approved of the practice. Foxe, in the margin, says that confession is to be made by way of asking counsel, and thus gives a different colouring to Ridley's meaning.[9]

Answer 17. Foxe *has not meddled with the text*, but left it to speak for itself. Ridley and Foxe agree in the main points, viz. that confession is expedient, not absolutely necessary; and that the priest is the adviser, not the judge of the penitent. In these points, both differed

(1) Collier, vol. ii. p. 362; vol. vi. p. 60.
(2) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 414.
(3) Collier, vol. ii. p. 363; vol. vi. p. 60.
(4) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 425.
(5) Collier, vol. ii. p. 374; vol. vi. p. 93.
(6) Foxe, vol. vi. p. 581.
(7) Collier, vol. ii. p. 375; vol. vi. p. 93. Foxe, vol. vi. p. 583.
(8) See the Bullarium Romanum Magnum, passim.
(9) Collier, vol. ii. p. 386; vol. vi. p. 124. Foxe, vol. vii. p. 432.

from Rome. Foxe's "asking counsel," too, is implied in Ridley's terms, "instructed, reproved, and comforted;" how could the latter be given without the former having taken place? I see no contradiction. I see only a marvellous anxiety to prove Foxe in the wrong.

Objection 18. Foxe is censured *for praising Elizabeth for her forbearance*, though she had permitted Sampson and Humphreys to be deprived.[1]

Answer 18. I *see nothing to censure here;* if it be meant by Collier as a censure, it is a very pointless one.

This terminates the objections of Collier; and I rejoice to find that though this nonjuring divine disliked the labours of John Foxe, he was too honest to lavish upon him the abuse which that "*personal dislike*" originated, with Andrews, Parsons, and others. In the single instance in which he accuses him of destroying documents, he gives no proof of the truth of the charge; and my respect for Collier compels me to believe that he too hastily credited the slander of Parsons. He justly condemns the deficient taste, and the unmeasured language, which sometimes characterise the pages of Foxe; *but he has said nothing to disprove "his veracity and fidelity;"* the points in which alone the reader is interested, and which I had engaged either to censure or defend. I accept the silence of Collier on these points, as a proof, that nothing of any great importance could be alleged by him against either; and the martyrologist, therefore, escapes from this ordeal also, unharmed, and scatheless. His authority is not shaken. His book is not proved to be valueless. Our fathers and their sons who esteem it are not yet proved to be fools.

X. PETER HEYLYN,

One of the favourite chaplains of archbishop Laud, prebendary of Westminster, and rector of Houghton, who was deprived of all his preferments by the puritans, and voted a delinquent by the house of commons in 1643, for joining Charles I. at Oxford, is added to this list of assailants on John Foxe, because of his severe language against some of the opinions alleged by him to be held by the martyrologist. Though Heylyn very unjustly considered Foxe to be the enemy of the church of England, because he condemned some conclusions of Foxe against Bradford, on the subject of predestination; and though he calls "the publication of the discourse of Foxe on this point, the first battery made on the bulwarks of the church of England, in point of doctrine, by any member of that church;"[2] yet *he does not assail the 'veracity and*

(1) Collier, vol. ii. p. 501; vol. vi. p. 416.
(2) Quinquarticular History of the Church of England, part iii. cap. 18, p. 613, ap. Heylyn's Tracts, folio, London, 1681.

fidelity' of the martyrologist." He always, on the contrary, quotes him as an historical authority, whenever he has occasion to mention him.[1] Heylyn was a very voluminous writer; and it has been observed that he speaks less severely of Foxe in his later publications. The character given of this writer by Wood, Chalmers, and Swift,[2] sufficiently explains the anger, which he seems to have felt towards Foxe. I shall briefly consider his objections to the opinions and sentiments in the Acts and Monuments.

Objection 1. Speaking of the writings of Frith, Tindale and Barnes, on the subject of predestination, Heylyn says, "*I do not look on Mr. Foxe as a competent judge in matters which concern the church of England*, the articles of whose confession he refused to subscribe, he being thereunto required by archbishop Parker."[3]

Answer 1. This reasoning is strange in the highest degree. Is a man then precluded from criticising opinions, because he objects to subscribe them? If so, no English divine must write against the decrees of the council of Trent, because he refuses his subscription.

Objection 2. *Foxe would not accept any preferment* in the church but a prebend's place in Salisbury, which tied him not to any residence in the same, and this was done to avoid subscription.[4]

Answer 2. (1.) He would not accept any preferment. *This is no great crime.* Had he been mercenary, he probably might have obtained leave from his friends Pilkington and Whittingham, of Durham, to retain his stall in that cathedral. But (if we may guess a reason) he found it necessary for the progress of his literary occupations, that he should be in London.

(2.) He accepted a prebend's stall in Salisbury. His friend Jewell was there, and he was exempted from the necessity of residence.

(3.) This was done to avoid subscription. How does Heylyn know this? Was subscription the law at Durham, and not at Salisbury?

Objection 3. Heylyn points out various particulars, in which *Foxe held opinions* respecting predestination, reprobation, and election, which are *at variance with those of Bradford.*[5]

Answer 3. *What have we to do with Bradford's opinions?* Heylyn does not show that he has varied from our Articles. And in such a

(1) See Reformation of the Church of England justified, ap. Tracts, ut supra, p. 7 and p. 17 of the same work.

(2) Heylyn, says Wood, "was a person endowed with singular gifts, of a sharp and pregnant wit, solid and clear judgment. In his younger years he was accounted an excellent poet, but very conceited and pragmatical; in his elder, a better historian, a noted and ready extemporaneous preacher. He had a memory tenacious to a miracle. He was a bold, undaunted man among his friends and foes, though of a very mean port and presence; and therefore by some of them he was accounted too high and proud for his function. A constant asserter of the church's right and king's prerogative; a severe and vigorous opposer of rebels and schismatics. In some things, too much of a party man to be an historian, and equally an enemy to popery and puritanism." Much perhaps, says Chalmers, cannot be added to this character. He was undoubtedly biassed and warm to a degree, which must be imputed, although it cannot be defended by a reference, to his sufferings. That he should be suspected of popery is not very wonderful, as in his history of the reformation he preceded Collier in many of those opinions which brought the same charge against the latter; and in his aversion to puritanism, he departs further from the orthodoxy of his own church, than is consistent with attachment to its doctrines. He had, as Swift justly observes, "according to the age he lived in, too high notions of regal power; led by the common mistake of the term supreme magistrate; and not rightly distinguishing between the legislature and administration." See Chalmers' Biog. Dict. art. Heylyn.

(3) Tracts, p. 544. (4) Tracts, p. 609. (5) Tracts, p. 609.

question as predestination, why should we hold with the interpretation which Heylyn puts upon the Article rather than with that adopted by Foxe? And at the end, although Foxe adopts the calvinistic view of personal and eternal election, he does not adopt the calvinistic view of reprobation, the really objectionable part of Calvin's system, and he advises each individual not to climb up into heaven to know whether he be one of the elect number of God, "but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God, which, if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's Spirit accordingly, thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and cumber his head with no further speculations; knowing this, that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish." We need not much fear the Calvinism which leads to such doctrines.

Objection 4. Heylyn, as I have said, *regards the publishing of this discourse as the first great battery* (1) *which was made on the bulwarks of our church, in point of doctrine,* by any member of her own, after the settling of the Articles by the queen's authority, A. D. 1562. He goes on to say, that the arguments in themselves are "not so strong (2) as to make any great breach in the public doctrine," but that they produced their effect, owing to "the great esteem which many had of that man, and the universal reception which his book found from all sorts of people." (3.) He afterwards speaks of, but does not specify, "many marginal notes and other passages (4), visibly tending to faction and sedition;" these he supposes to have escaped the notice of the convocation of 1571.[1]

Answer 4. (1.) "This great battery" exists only in Heylyn's imagination, — the *doctrine of Foxe respecting justification,* to which he alludes, *is not shown to be against the tenets of the church of England,* and the extract given above shows that it was anything but antinomian.

(2.) If the arguments are not strong, how can they be a battery?

(3.) This confession is of more value from the accusations which have gone before.

(4.) We might perhaps have been able to explain away these, had Heylyn specified them. The convocation of 1571 certainly did not attach much importance to them; that they escaped its notice is a reflection upon them not easily to be accepted.

Objection 5. *Foxe speaks of the episcopal habits as* "more ambitious than profitable, and *tending more to superstition than edification.*" He also calls them "*popish attire.*"[2]

Answer 5. It is not necessary to defend Foxe's opinions respecting the habits; in his hatred for popery he saw the mark of the beast in things innocent in themselves, and tending to the maintenance of order. Yet *that the church of England does not totally condemn him, in the detail, appears from the discontinuance of the "long scarlet chemise down to the foot,"* which so particularly excited his indignation.

(1) Tracts, p. 613. (2) Tracts, p. 614.

Such are the chief objections of Heylyn to the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. Even these objections, he appears to have much modified, when he had more fully weighed the whole circumstances of the question respecting him and his work. In mentioning the canon of 1571, which fixed the Acts and Monuments in the parish churches, he expresses himself in these words:—

"By the other [canon] there was nothing aimed at, but to gain credit to the book, which served so seasonably to create an odium in all sorts of people against the tyrannies and superstitions of the pope of Rome, whose plots and practices did so apparently intend to the ruin of the queen and kingdom. There was no purpose, either in the bishops or clergy, to justify all or any of the passages in the same contained, which have been since made use of by the disciplinarians, either to countenance some strange doctrine or decry some ceremony; to which Foxe showed himself a friend or enemy, as the case might be."[1]

At p. 280, Heylyn mentions the attempt made by Foxe to induce the queen to pardon the Dutch anabaptists, and speaks of it with much approbation.

Heylyn's animosity against the puritans was naturally great, for they had plundered him of all he possessed, driven him from his home, sequestered all his preferment, exposed himself and wife to the greatest hardships,[2] etc.

Heylyn died in 1662. He was born in the county of Oxford, in 1600. The mentioning of the word Oxford makes his biographer enthusiastic in his praise of the university of that name. He calls it "the constant seat of the muses, the sun, the eye, the soul of Great Britain, the glory of the island, that noble Athens." And long, very long, may that honourable university deserve the praise implied by such language. But let Oxford beware that its learned sons betray not the holy cause of the Anglican antipapal church, of which it has so long been the venerable upholder. The Sun of Righteousness shines upon our church and nation; the light of the body is the eye; the light of that church and nation is chiefly Oxford. If that eye be single, the whole body shall still be full of light; if that eye be evil, the whole body shall be full of darkness; if the light that is in us be darkness, how great is, how great will be, that darkness![3]

(1) Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians, p. 269, edit. fol. Lond. 1670.
(2) See Life, prefixed to his Historical Tracts, pp. xvi. xvii. (3) Matt. vi. 22, 23.

XI. ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD,—respecting whom, to use, with little alteration, the language of Dryden, every man is—

> " so over-violent or over-civil,
> That he, with every man, seems God or devil,"

is next placed by me, in the same spirit of fairness with which I have endeavoured to discover both the objectors and the objections to John Foxe, among the assailants of the martyrologist. Though I well know, *in these days of the revival of Laudism, that is, of the desire to establish the irresponsible power of the church*, that the suspicion of the disapprobation of Foxe's work by this eminent prelate, will excite more prejudice against the " Acts and Monuments " than any remarks either of his living or of his deceased opponents; I am compelled, on the authority of a passage in Rushworth, and on the accusation on his trial, to consider Laud as one of those Anglican protestants who was not pleased with the labours of John Foxe; though he did not plead guilty to the charge, but palliated or explained it away. Before I consider, therefore, the allegation adduced against him, I may be permitted to inquire, previously, into the probability of its truth. The attempt to do so may, possibly, enable us to understand better the motives, the objects, and the offence, of this eulogised or slandered, this canonized or demonized prelate.

All the subjects in theology, morals, and religion, which can interest the human mind, are summed up in these three:—those which relate to the object of worship—those which relate to the happiness or destiny of the soul—and those which relate to the manner in which the blessing of the object of worship, is promised and imparted to the soul. Revelation has been granted to man to discover to him all he can desire to know, upon these three subjects. But that revelation is given to him on the supposition that he is a reasoning being; and, (because our reason is now separated from the will,) capable therefore of perverting the revelation thus bestowed upon him. Now, man can only pervert revelation in one of these two modes,—by " adding to," or by " taking from," the discoveries of revelation on the three points in question; and the volume of the law of Christ, like the volume of the law of Moses, (before additional revelation to that law of Moses was given,) actually terminates, therefore, with a double curse on those who add to, and those who take from, the truth of God. The Romish portion of the holy catholic church has been so exposed to the influence of perverted reasoning, that it added, before the reformation, some doctrines to those of revelation respecting the object of our worship, the destiny of the soul, and the means of obtaining the blessing which the soul requires. To the object of worship by Christians (the one God the Creator, the

Redeemer, and the Sanctifier), it added saints, images, relics, angels, and the Virgin. To the revelation respecting the destiny of the soul it added purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the masses or sacrifices which should influence the state of the soul, after its earthly probation was completed. To the revealed means of obtaining a blessing from the object of worship on the soul, the reading and the preaching of the perfected Scriptures, the two sacraments, the public worship, and the appointed episcopacy which gave to each church its rules, its teachers, and their assistants—it gradually added the equality of tradition with Scripture, five sacraments, private masses, auricular confession to a priest, pilgrimages, penances, and the supremacy of one bishop over all others; and, worse than all these, it added the unlimited power, by divine right, to inflict torture upon the body for the good of the soul.—The consequence of these additions to the primitive faith produced so much indignation at the time of the Reformation, that many members of the catholic church proceeded to the opposite extreme of taking away, not only these additions, but even much truth itself, from the revealed discoveries of God. From the object of worship some took away the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier. From the ancient doctrine of the destiny of the soul, some took away the continued consciousness of the soul, and taught its sleep in the grave. From the means of obtaining the blessing promised by the object of worship, some took away the necessity or the efficacy of the sacraments themselves. From the priestly office, they took away its due authority, and denied its succession. At the time of the Reformation, in the transition-state of the episcopal church, the whole life and virtue of religion, among many, appeared to consist in the reckless rushing from the opposite extreme of "adding to" the word of God, to the extreme of "taking from," the word of God; some on one point, some on another, while all were bound together by one bond of union only, the just and proper hatred of persecution and persecutors; blended with the unjust and improper hatred to some portion of the truth itself, which had been disfigured by the additions which deserved condemnation.

The primitive episcopal churches (and for fifteen hundred years there were none other) maintained, for an indefinite period, the truth of God without any very material corruption: though the mystery of iniquity began to work, even in the apostolic age. When any great change was proposed, either to add to or to take from the common faith, the innovation was considered and condemned by assemblies well acquainted with the received Christianity.

The reformed episcopal church of England, when it examined, and rejected, the additions which had been made to the ancient faith, was guided by the decisions of the assemblies which had thus been held; and it maintained, without "adding to" or "taking from" the word of God, the ancient faith respecting the object of worship. It rejected the dulia or latria of saints, angels, images, relics, and the virgin, while it retained the honour which was due to the Redeemer and the Sanctifier. It taught

the right doctrine of the soul, its accountableness and its continued consciousness, with the certainty of the commencement of its perpetual happiness or misery at the dissolution of the body. It taught the supreme value of the holy Scriptures, by interweaving them with its public services in the church, as the living tribunal by which both the teacher and the people were to be directed. It taught the necessity and the value of two sacraments as the appointed channels of the communication of promised blessings. It gave its right place to tradition as an evidence—to preaching as the ordained maintainer of the ancient, or the new knowledge, which either antiquity or criticism could give to the religious inquirer. It rejected all extremes. It rejected transubstantiation on the one hand, and the mere commemoration of the death of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, on the other. It abolished the Latin prayers. It rejected the extempore address in the name of the congregation. It denied the papal supremacy; while it rejected the presbyteral equality, and maintained the episcopal government. It set aside the doubtful miracle, and the spurious legend; while it demanded knowledge and learning in the candidate for the office of priest. It studied to be conformed to the revealed will of God alone, and not to the ambition of the foreigner, to the caprice of the excited people, or to the imaginary perfection of the zealous and popular preacher. Holiness to the Lord, was its motto. The salvation of the souls of the people, was its object. Discipline was valued as the means by which the object of worship blessed the soul of the worshipper, in the use of his holy Scriptures, and in the observance of his sabbaths, sacraments, prayers, and preaching, as the ordinances of his own institution.

Such was the Anglican protestant church under Edward and Elizabeth: and as the true value of the apostolical succession was found in the earlier ages of the church, by maintaining the medium between the two extremes against the incipient papal supremacy, and the masses of strange sects,—so the same true value of episcopacy was shown, in its still preserving the same medium at the great change in the laws and institutions of England, called the Reformation. All the sacred objects for which Christ had founded his church, were continued. The object of our worship was such as He Himself had revealed. The soul was blessed—by the continuance of those means of grace only which the object of its worship commended, and all unscriptural extremes were both condemned and avoided.

The great object of Laud was the same which Whitgift, Bancroft, and his other reformed predecessors in the see of Canterbury had intended: the preservation of this church, in its integrity of doctrine, discipline, and worship. But Laud ruined the cause he loved, by adopting the one, one, error which is the peculiar fault of Rome. *He so exercised his ecclesiastical authority, as to induce the conviction among his contemporaries, that the cause of Christ's holy catholic church was inconsistent with the progress of the liberties of his nation, and of man-*

kind. This was the chief cause at least of his failure. There were, it is true, many other causes. It might have been supposed that a church so constituted would have commended itself, at that time, as it does at present, to the approbation and favour of the conscience of every well-instructed Christian who only seeks for peace of mind, holiness of life, and future happiness. But many other causes combined to prevent this happy repose under its influence. The agitations consequent upon extensive change,—the intense and indiscriminate hatred of the errors maintained by the persecuting papacy,—the want of discipline upon scriptural principles among those who proceeded to the rejection of episcopacy,—the maintaining, not only by Laud, but by the episcopacy in general which rejected the papacy, that same wretched error of the papacy itself, that uniformity of religious belief and worship might be justly compelled by intolerance and severity,—the imperfect definitions and limits of the regal power, of the ecclesiastical power, and of the senatorial power, among the people,—the clashing of the precedents which justified the people in hesitating to obey laws which emanated from the individual sovereign, ruling without the representative senate; and the precedents which no less justified the sovereign in demanding the pecuniary contributions of the people, towards the defrayment of the just expenses of the defence of the country,—the perpetual efforts which the adherents of the papacy were making to regain the sceptre in England, and to recover their supremacy over Europe,—the general attachment to liberty as well as to religion among the people,—with many, very many other more minute, yet most influential circumstances relating to the court, the queen, the courtiers, the city, and the people, rendered the union of learning, zeal, piety, prudence, firmness, gentleness, courtesy, sagacity, and wisdom, in our chief ecclesiastical ruler, more requisite and indispensable than at any other period of our history. Laud's motives were as pure as those of St. Paul. But if he was deficient in that rare union of these great qualities, which is ever required in a ruler,—and if he had imbibed that one giant error, which was common to so many ecclesiastics, as well as to the papacy itself, we cannot be surprised that he should dislike that book, which was principally written to show the terrific consequences to human happiness, resulting from the perversion of ecclesiastical power, whether among bishops, popes, or sovereigns. If he did not possess that union of greatness of mind, which is essential to an ecclesiastical statesman, is it improbable that he would have opposed the general attachment of the people for the labours of John Foxe, by condemning the book, by refusing a licence for its republication, and by expelling it from its place in the churches? We are unfortunately compelled to believe, from the general estimate of his character, that he would have been guilty of the conduct imputed to him. Let us consider the points to which I have alluded.

With respect to his *learning*, it was founded, as his biographer rightly

affirms, and as all his works prove, upon the noble foundation of the fathers, councils, and the ecclesiastical historians.[1] His *zeal* for the Anglican church requires no proof. His *piety* is no less manifested in every page of his Diary. *Prudence,* the virtue which is wisdom in practice, which weighs all difficulties, accomplishes all its objects, and offends few in its doing so, he had none. When the people were changing the Lord's day, of rest from weekly labour, and rest from weekly amusements, both of which are implied in the sabbatical repose of the Christian, into the more austere sabbath of the law; he sanctioned, by compliance with the royal proclamation, the effort to make one part of the Lord's day a time of recreation and revels; and thus increased the difficulties of reconciling the people to the Anglican church, by seeming to identify its laws with one of the most offensive indulgences of popery. His *firmness* was shown in approving of punishments disproportioned to offences: as well as in steady devotion to the cause to which he dedicated his life. He was alike deficient in gentleness of demeanour, and placid courtesy.[2] His manners were ungracious, and repulsive. His deficiency of sagacity and wisdom was principally displayed in imagining he could rule, by opposing the prejudices of the people, rather than in procuring the conviction of their error. Instead of opposing the press by the press, he endeavoured to prevent printing. Instead of incurring the odium, of humbly submitting to his sovereign the necessity of withholding compliance with the royal command in the matter of the Book of Sports, he made no remonstrance.[3] Instead of approving the conduct of the chief justice, Richardson, who endeavoured to restrain the abuse of the Lord's day, he is said to have reprimanded him, till that high magistrate wept at his severity. He showed a still greater deficiency of wisdom, when in his honourable, but ill-judged zeal for the cause of religion and morality, he violated the law of the land. *I write from his own diary; and draw my opinion of this mixed character from his own account alone.* He had committed a gentleman to prison for unjustifiable conduct; and was fined by the parliament, five hundred pounds. "If the imprisonment were more," says the unfortunate archbishop, "than the law allows, what may be done for honour and religion's sake?" Oh, lamentable deficiency of wisdom, for the magistrate to imagine himself superior to the law which he administers![4] I say not these things to join in the censure upon Laud. I discover only in them some reasons why he was able to make his great learning, his ardent love to the church, and his intense zeal for its service, of so little avail, in commending its noble cause to the religious people of this great and religious country. I think it possible that "Rebellion's vengeful

(1) Bishop Young, ap. Le Bas's Life of Laud, p. 6.
(2) See Le Bas's account of the expostulation of Clarendon, &c. pp. 333, 334. I am referring generally to Le Bas, as the last of his biographers.
(3) The following is the copy of the order to Laud:—
"Charles R.
"Canterbury. See that our declaration concerning recreations on the Lord's day, after evening service, be printed."
(4) "The judge is never wiser than the law." Quoted by the attorney-general on the trial of lord Cardigan.

talons" might not have seized on Laud, if he, as well as his antagonists, had not committed errors, which imply deficiency of *wisdom* where there was no deficiency either of *piety* or *zeal*. He had not the commanding power, like Luther, or Burke, to imprint his character, and his plans of good, upon his contemporaries, because he mistook the king for both the law and the state. In his great and holy zeal for union among Christians, he distinctly avows, in reply to one article of his impeachment, that he did both wish and labour for a reconciliation with Rome. He declares that he ever prayed heartily for the unity of the whole church of Christ, and for the peace of torn and divided christendom. *His desire was that England and Rome might meet together, provided that their union could be accomplished without a sacrifice of truth, or an abandonment of foundations.* "If this could be done, God forbid!" he exclaims, "but that I should labour for a reconciliation." In all this he was right; but he did not sufficiently insist, that if Rome and England may ever hope to be united on the common foundation of truth,—the only foundation,—they must be united on the principle that *Rome must progress, not England retrograde. Rome must change, as England has changed already.*

More, much more, might be added, but too much already has been, perhaps, said on the character of Laud. I agree with his last, most eloquent biographer, that, "so long as perfect integrity and sanctity of purpose, with a heart devoted to the service of his God, his sovereign, and his country, can win for any human being the reverence of posterity, so long must an illustrious place among English prelates be assigned to Laud."[1] What, then, was his crime? What was the high crime he committed? It was that which I have mentioned—the crime of the head, and not of the heart. The cause of the episcopal church was committed to his care, when the papist was exaggerating, and when the puritan was depreciating, the value of the external religion which God had appointed as the means of blessing the soul of the worshipper. The papist was "adding to," the puritan was "taking from," the word of God, in many and various forms. To Laud was committed the solemn and most important charge of commending to the two parties the church which might reconcile and unite both; but he failed in his great object, and he put back for many years the cause of the catholic church in England, by committing the great crime of inducing the conviction, that the establishment of Christ's holy catholic church, as the medium between the two extremes, is inconsistent with the cause of the liberties of mankind; instead of being, as it truly is, their best earthly promoter, by commanding senates, kings, and people, to know and to fear God. Laud arrayed force against opinion. The puritan was the tinder. Laud was the spark to kindle it, not the water to quench it. His object was good. He would have ridden the young horse to a rich and green pasture, but he used the whip and the

(1) Le Bas, last paragraph.

spur when he should have caressed, while he gently curbed the restless steed; and the horse threw its rider. He would have piloted the ship rightly, but when the passengers saw the billows run high, they refused to confide in the skill of their pilot, and the vessel was wrecked in the confusion. He would have governed the family well, but he ruled his brothers as infant children, not as reasoning men. He would have exorcised the evil spirit from the nation, but the man, in whom the evil spirit was, leaped upon him, and overcame him. His virtues were neutralized. His liberal projects destroyed. The church was ruined, and himself murdered, as the result of the separation of political wisdom in a bishop, from religion, zeal, and learning.

The truth of these remarks will appear from his conduct towards the public press.

In the ninth year of those fatal twelve years of exasperating and offensive government, when the parliaments of England were suspended, and the unhappy Charles ruled as the autocrat, without the advice either of his lords or commons—the sad year when a clergyman was excommunicated and deprived by his own archbishop for not reading the Book of Sports, in spite of his pleading that such reading was against the law of God, the law of the realm, the authorities of councils, fathers, and other writers[1]—the year when the press, as it had long done, certainly poured forth the most indignant libels, in the most indefensible language—Laud, instead of endeavouring, like a wise ruler, to remedy the evil, by employing one writer to counteract the efforts of another, pursued the hateful plan of attempting to fetter the press by his decree against printers and printing, in the Star Chamber. The original decree consists of thirty-three articles, and is too long to be inserted here. I give, however, the abstract from Rushworth. He informs us that one result of the decree was the refusal of the license to reprint the works of John Foxe.

"The licensing of all new books," says Rushworth, "was at this time in the power of the archbishop of Canterbury and his substitutes and dependents, who used that strictness that nothing could pass the press without his or their approbation, but the authors, printers, and stationers, must run a hazard of ruin. But, lest the printers (being thus restrained) should fall to the printing of old books of divinity formerly licensed, this decree was made in the Star Chamber:—'That no person shall presume to print any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same be first licensed, with all the titles, epistles, and prefaces, therewith imprinted, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London, for the time being, or by their appointment; and within the limits of either university by the chancellor or vice-chancellor thereof, upon pain that every printer so offending shall for ever thereafter be disabled to exercise the art of printing, and shall suffer such further punishment as by this court, or the high commissioner, shall be thought fitting; that before

(1) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 459.

any books imported from foreign parts shall be exposed to sale, a true catalogue thereof shall be presented to the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London; and that no officers of the customs shall deliver any foreign books out of their hands and custody before those bishops shall have appointed one of their chaplains, or some other learned man, with the master and wardens of the Stationers' Company, or one of them, to be present at the opening of the packs and fardels, and to view the same. And those who disobey this injunction are to be censured in this or the high commission court, as the several causes shall require. And if in this search there happen to be found any schismatical, or offensive books, they shall be brought to the aforesaid bishops, or the High Commission Office, that the offender may be punished. That no person shall imprint in the parts beyond the seas, or import from thence any English books, or whereof the greater part is English, whether formerly printed or not. And that no books whatsoever shall be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new license first obtained, upon pain of like censure and punishment. And that, if any person whatsoever, that is not an allowed printer, shall presume to set up a press for printing, or work at any such press, or set and compose letters for the same, he shall be set in the pillory, and whipt through the city of London.'

"After the making of this decree," continues Rushworth, "Mr. Foxe, his Acts and Monuments, (called the Book of Martyrs,) bishop Jewel's works, and some parts of Dr. Willet's, with others formerly published by authority, were denied new licenses, as also the Practice of Piety, which had been reprinted thirty-six times."[1]

If this account by Rushworth be true, which there is no reason to doubt, we may conclude that Laud was actuated by the same reasons to refuse the licensing of Foxe as Jeremy Collier had for depreciating the martyrologist. These have been discussed already.

With respect to the tradition, that Laud caused the removal of the volumes of Foxe from the churches, I do not find that this circumstance formed at his trial a ground of distinct and separate accusation. The question, however, did come out in the trial. Laud had altered the position of the altars in churches, the opinions of Foxe and Jewel were quoted against him: and he replied, "It were better they should not have these books in churches, than so to abuse them." He distinctly says, he "never gave counsel to have these books removed," (nor is that so much as charged,) "but said only thus, that *if* no better use would be made of them, then that last remedy must be adopted, but never till then." His accuser, Browne, objected that he had taken these good books from the people; he replied, "there was no such thing done or intended, only a word spoken to make busy men see how they abused themselves and the church by misunderstanding and misapplying that which was written for the good of both."[2]

I shall only observe further, therefore, respecting Laud, that those

(1) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 450. (2) Trial of Laud, ap. Hargrave, p. 892.

who wish to understand the manner in which this good, but unwise, man was a tyrant in his government of the church—a hero at his trial—a martyr at his death; and would comprehend how the catastrophe which he desired to avoid, was accelerated by the exasperation occasioned by his own arbitrary measures,—he who would clearly perceive the way by which "the calves of Bethel and of Dan," superseded for a time the worship of the holy temple, should devote a few hours to the study of Laud's diary and Laud's trial.[1] He will there see, without referring to the friends or enemies of the archbishop, how Laud admits that, in his zeal for the king's service, he may have overstepped the letter of the law:[2] while Charles certainly wished to exalt the prerogative, and to diminish the weight of the statute law, the necessity of parliaments, and the influence of the people generally. The king unfortunately found in the chief ruler of the church, a most efficient instrument in forwarding these views. The king and the bishops supported each other. They elevated his authority, he protected them against the puritans, and extended their privileges. On one occasion he chid them for not communicating with him more freely upon the wants and interests of the church.[3] James, in 1622, (Heylyn, 93,) had issued injunctions forbidding preachers to limit the prerogative in their sermons; and, in 1627, sermons were preached extending the royal power so far as to make the people a mere cypher in the constitution. (Heylyn, 158, 159.) In all this Laud was concerned; the 1st, 2d, and 3d articles in his trial turn entirely upon this accusation, and the charge appears to have been made out against him. With respect to his dealings with the press, it was thought highly important both that his antagonists should be silenced, and that the friends of his party should have the exclusive means of circulating the tenets, with which they hoped to leaven the people. The system of licensing, which Laud found ready established, afforded the easiest mode of obtaining this end. A very inaccurate edition of the Bible, published during his time, gave him convenient opportunity for interfering. He wished to improve the general efficiency of the press, he said, and to guard against the recurrence of such disgraceful errors as that which we have just now mentioned. "The trust of the press was referred to the High Commission Court,"[4] but the actual control was exercised by himself through his chaplains.[5] This enabled him to suppress libels about himself,[6] a subject on which he was nervously sensitive.[7] The power which he acquired from the king's unlimited favour, and the control which he exercised over the press, led him to show his real character. He was, we are told, a papist at heart. But that he was no papist, is shown by his conference with Fisher, and that on a subject the most important for the Romanists of the time to have decided in their favour,—the pope's authority in temporals. If he was a papist, he took an unfortunate mode of proving his attachment to the see of Rome.[8] He caused the clergy

(1) See Laud's speech on the scaffold. (2) Trial, 847. (3) Diary, p. 32.
(4) Trial, 874. (5) Trial, 850, 907. (6) Heylin, 43.
(7) Trial, 843, 844. Diary, 44, 47, 54. (8) See Letters to Oxford, 139.

to take an oath hostile to the increase of Romanism.[1] He converted many from Romanism.[2] He shows that it was against his interest to do so.[3] He punished the circulation of popish books.[4] He took considerable trouble in aiding the project of Dury for the union of the protestant churches.[5] With many of our Oxford brethren at present, he had an objection to the use of the word "Protestant."[6] He says that the church of Rome is erroneous, but it is still a church.[7] As for the offer of the cardinal's hat,[8] see Lawson's Life, 11, 35, and compare a parallel case which occurred to him while a prisoner in the Tower.[9] See also his first canon of 1640 against Romanism, and his severe treatment of Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, who refused to subscribe it.[10] Yet he certainly wished to establish a higher degree of ecclesiastical authority in England, than is compatible with the liberties, happiness, and improvement of the people—and this I call Laudism. He was decidedly a pious man, as his whole life proved, liberal to the church,[11] yet superstitious,[12] and too much attached to the exteriors of religion.[13] But this may be partly accounted for by the laxity with which such things were regarded when he came to the see.[14] His great error, which appears to have run through his whole conduct, is this, that he thought the end justified the means, and that the laws might be modified at his discretion.[15]

The study of the whole period in which Laud lived will ever be most interesting as a common lesson to kings, bishops, and people. *Happy will the future be, if we all learn wisdom from the crimes and follies of the past.* If we would read history profitably we shall never believe in human perfection, either in sovereigns, ecclesiastics, or laity. All, from the monarch on the throne to the beggar on the dunghill, have "hearts deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know them?" and neither Charles nor Laud, much as we lament their disgraceful murders, must be regarded as free from censure. *They both died as martyrs for a cause which they fondly loved, but deeply injured.* The people of England demanded a spiritual service. The king and the archbishop proffered the Book of Sports. The people demanded knowledge. The king and the archbishop waged war with the press. The people idolized and venerated Foxe, the martyrologist. The archbishop did not encourage his labours. The unprejudiced and impartial student of history will read their lives, approve their zeal, love their piety, groan for their folly, and weep for their fate. Let us thank God that we have learned as a nation from the lessons of the past; that we have called a race of sovereigns to the throne who do not, and will not, rule the state upon the principles of the Stuarts: and that our bishops do not, and will not, rule the church upon the principles of Laud. Let us rejoice that we are governed in the church upon the great principle of the Reformation, which

(1) Trial, 832, 869. (2) Trial, 844, 845. (3) Trial, 843. (4) Trial, 855.
(5) Trial 905, 936. (6) Trial, 917. Speech in Heylyn, 499, 500. (7) Journal, 39.
(8) Diary, 49. (9) Diary, 62, 63. (10) Wharton, p. 81. Diary, 58.
(11) Trial, 854. Diary, 68, 69. (12) Diary, 14, 23, etc.
(13) Trial, 883. (14) Trial, 908. Wharton, 344. (15) Diary, p. 60.

regards the truths taught, more than the authority which teaches them; and that we are governed in the state by the principles of the revolution of 1688; which regards the liberties, (not the caprices,) of the people, as protected and not injured, by the law, and by the prince who upholds them. Let us thank God that the Brunswicks, and not the Stuarts,—the Howleys, and not the Lauds,—govern the people and the church: and may they and their successors ever remember that, as our fathers would not suffer the lion of popery to invade them, nor stand to be devoured by the wolf of Laudism; so neither will their sons submit to irresponsible and arbitrary power, whether by their civil, or ecclesiastical rulers. We thank the God of nations for our blessings in church and state; and we pray to be enabled to perpetuate those blessings, by the same jealousy, which originally obtained and secured them.

XII. ROBERT PARSONS, OR PERSONS,

The contemporary, and the most unsparing and inveterate of the enemies of the church of England, and of the antagonists, therefore, of John Foxe, is the next on my list of the assailants on "*the veracity and fidelity*" of the martyrologist. I beg the more especial attention of the reader to the labours of this remarkable jesuit. Distinguished when tutor of Baliol, for six years,[1] as the most learned and zealous of the opponents of popery, and as the most indefatigable introducer of protestant books into the college library, he changed his religious principles, and became the consistent and conscientious papist. He transferred to the church of Rome the same zeal and devoted attachment, which he had hitherto dedicated to the church of England. He believed, and he acted upon the belief, that the bishop of Rome was the divinely-appointed head of the church of Christ, and that he possessed, as such, the power to excommunicate, not only subjects, but kings and princes, if they refused submission to his supremacy. It was beautifully said of Fletcher of Saltoun, that he would have given his life to serve his country, but he would not have done a base thing even to save it. With Parsons, and the other jesuits, half the saying is true—they would give their lives to serve Rome, but they believed they might do many base things both to serve, and to save it. *The mistakes of the conscientious are the tares in the field of the church.* Such was Parsons. He believed that if the bishop of Rome did excommunicate a prince, such prince is from that moment deposed, and his subjects are freed from all their oaths of allegiance; and not only so, but they may, and they ought, to remove him from his authority, as an apostate, a heretic, a

(1) From 1568 to 1571.

forsaker of Christ, and an enemy to the commonwealth.[1] This doctrine, as I have elsewhere formerly shown,[2] was taught in the canon law—preached by the jesuits—approved by their superiors—and acted upon by their agents and partizans. The queen of England had been excommunicated by the bishop of Rome. The curse of Pius V. had been denounced against every member of the church of Rome who obeyed her as queen after the 25th of February, 1569. The northern rebellion took place in England in the same year. Dr. Story was executed in 1570, for the plot to organize a foreign invasion of England. The Spanish ambassador fled the country in the following year on having been detected, contrary to the law of nations, in a plot against the life of the sovereign, to whom he had been sent as the messenger of peace. Rebellions were planned and broke out in Ireland, on the same account, in the year 1574, two years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris, and in the very year when Parsons changed his principles, resigned his tutorship, and proceeded to Louvaine, Padua, and Rome. The history of the reign of Elizabeth derives its principal interest from the fact that England was the protector of the Christianity of antiquity and of the reformation, against the novelties, and the unchanging errors of Rome,—and that one universal war, both of secret conspiracy and open violence, was maintained against her, to restore the ascendancy of Rome and the supremacy of its bishop over the church and state of England. And England never fulfils its high destiny, more certainly, as the benefactor and example to mankind, than when it thus acts as the defender of the true faith against the "world in arms." Three times already it has thus been honoured. It defended Christianity against popery, though all the power of the continent was arrayed against it, in the reign of Elizabeth. It protected the same faith against the same enemy, and against the armed continent, in the reign of William. It rescued the common Christianity against another enemy—the French infidelity, when the continent was again armed for the destruction of England. It is greatest in the hour of the greatest danger, when it thus remembers its lofty rank, as the Canaan of the latter days. Many, however, even of its own subjects, in the reign of Elizabeth did not comprehend this high destiny of their country; and the *danger of the sovereign was greater* at one period *from the domestic traitor, than from the foreign enemy.* One bond of religious agreement united both. Both were sincere. Both were the enemies of England. The papist of the continent was joined together with the papist of England. Both believed that the end justified the means. Both imagined that he who killed a royal heretic, did God service. Both changed their "religion into treason, and their faith into faction." Both were convinced that they would save their own souls, and the souls of others also, if they could overthrow the heretical state, and the heretical episcopacy of Eng-

(1) See the references which justify my opinion of the character of Parsons in Foulis, Chalmers, and Dodd's Church History. It is customary (see the Quarterly Review), more especially, to speak of Parsons as a profligate hypocrite. I believe him to have been a conscientious traitor.

(2) "Accusations of History against the Church of Rome," second edit. p. 285.

land. Both were persuaded that the destruction of the protestancy in the church, state, and people of England, was essential to the happiness of mankind, and the honour and glory of God; and that such destruction, therefore, was to be accomplished by all means, and at all hazards.

No one individual, with the exception perhaps of Edmund Campian, was more deeply impressed with these convictions, than the jesuit Robert Parsons, after he forsook the church of England, and his tutorship at Oxford. Having been admitted into the society of the Jesuits, in the year following his leaving Oxford,[1] he devoted his great talents, his profound learning, his fierce zeal, his restless turbulence, and his ardent piety,[2] to the cause of the canon law, and the bishop of Rome, as the rule of the discipline, and as the supreme head, of the church of Christ. He is the most illustrious instance on record, that the Romanists are most zealous in their hatred of the church of England, when they are most pious and most religious: and therefore that, in the same proportion as they are to be respected for their sincerity, they are to be dreaded, *till they change*, for their mistaken enmity to the true Christianity of the gospel and church of Christ. Parsons, immediately on his change of principle, surrendered his soul and body to the work of destroying the purer religion so successfully established in England. He procured the changing of the hospital at Rome, founded in the reign of Mary, into a college, or seminary, for English students; where an oath was taken by the pupils to assume holy orders, and to return into England to convert the English to Romanism. He then ventured, at the risk of his life, to come to England with Campian, to communicate to the adherents of the church of Rome, a dispensation for their outward obedience to the queen, till the time arrived when they might throw off the mask; but he entirely put an end to the custom of attending the parish churches, which had hitherto prevailed among them, in spite of the bull of Pius V. absolving the subject from his allegiance to the queen. The Romanist laity would have remained the quiet obeyers of the laws, if the influence of the jesuits and of the priests had not been exerted to render them disobedient and rebellious. Having succeeded in these great objects, and being in danger of apprehension through the vigilance of Burleigh, he returned to the continent, to the college at Rome, of which he was now made the superior, and in the year 1587, while the armada was being fitted out for the destruction of the church and state of England, he went to Spain to encourage the invasion of England, to assert the title of the Spanish Infanta to the crown of Elizabeth, and to require the English students and priests in Spain to support the Spanish claim. He procured the expulsion of those English youths from the jesuit colleges, who refused to be employed against their country; and when the Armada, with its thumbscrews and other instruments of torture, had, by God's mercy upon us, totally failed, he endeavoured to form a continental

(1) July 5, 1575.
(2) The Christian Directory of Father Parsons, in one closely-printed, thick octavo volume, contains as perfect passages of devotion as "The Christian Year."

league against England, in favour of the queen of Scots. He attempted to induce the king of Spain to make another effort: and when that failed, he was no less indefatigable in endeavouring to excite rebellions in England, and to organize confederacies against his own country, under the duke of Parma, the king of France, or the king of Spain. When the chief Romanist ecclesiastic in England, the archpresbyter of England, as the bishop of Rome styled him, Blackwell, had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy to James the First; father Parsons, as the prefect of the English mission, deprived him of his office. He obtained a brief from Paul V. to deprive all priests who took the same oath. He increased the jealousy of the government against the papists. He prevented the possibility of union among the English, by rendering the more moderate of his own party hateful to the more zealous; while the common people, who abhorred the thought of popery, identified the moderate with the zealous. He obtained more influence over the members of his church than any ecclesiastic of his age; and the effects of that influence still remain in the institutions for the education of the partizans of Rome, at Douay, St. Omers, Lisbon, Rome, and Spain; and in the constant supply from those places to that schismatical and papistical intrusion, into the dioceses of the protestant episcopal church, which is impertinently called "the English mission."

Against the efforts of such men as father Parsons and his successors, the English people not only opposed, with success, the laws of the state, the discipline of their church, the freedom of their institutions, and the intense love of truth which has ever characterized the Saxon race; but they opposed also the *one deep conviction which was principally enforced upon the public mind by the labours of John Foxe*, that the dominion and supremacy of Rome, were alike fatal to liberty, religion, and the common happiness; that it always had persecuted, whenever it was able; and that it always would persecute, by punishing with bodily torments, blameless opinions or undoubted truths, if it again had the power to do so. While the labours of John Foxe, therefore, remained unassailed, the zealous jesuit perceived that he must despair of succeeding in his endeavours to recommend the supremacy of Rome to the common people. The continent was arming; the armada was sailing;[1] but Foxe was read in the churches and in the houses of the

(1) May I subjoin here, for the admiration of the devoted friends of the Anglican, protestant church, the beautiful and eloquent prayer which was offered in the royal chapel, and in English churches, when the Armada was preparing:—

"O Lord God, heavenly Father, the Lord of hosts, without whose providence nothing proceedeth, and without whose mercy nothing is saved; in whose power lie the hearts of princes, and the end of all their actions; have mercy upon thine afflicted church; and especially regard thy servant Elizabeth, our most excellent queen; to whom thy dispersed flock do fly in the anguish of their souls, and in the zeal of thy truth. Behold! how the princes of the nations do band themselves against her, because she laboureth to purge thy sanctuary, and that thy holy church may live in security.

"Consider, O Lord, how long thy servant hath laboured to them for peace: but how proudly they prepare themselves for battle. Arise therefore, maintain thine own cause; and judge thou between her and her enemies. She seeketh not her own honour, but thine; not the dominions of others, but a just defence of herself: not the shedding of christian blood, but the saving of poor afflicted souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver thy people by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many; by want, or by wealth; by weakness, or by strength. O! possess the hearts of our enemies with a fear of thy servants. The cause is thine; the afflicted thine; the honour, the victory, and the triumph shall be thine. "Consider,

people; and the voice of lamentation, mourning, and woe, which sounded from the scroll of that prophet, awakened alike the patriotism, the fears, the gratitude, the piety, and the sterner courage of the people. Foxe fanned the flame at home, which darted forth its fires of indignant bravery, and armed the nation both against the Spanish invader, and the papal traitor. When Parsons, therefore, perceived that every intrigue had failed—that the Armada was defeated—that plans of foreign invasion and of domestic treachery had proved alike abortive—he attempted, but too late, to destroy the reputation of the book which had so long excited the people to the love of antipapal freedom, and antipapal truth. Parsons was already well known as an author, and was justly reckoned among the best writers of the age. He had published his Discourse on the Reasons why Catholics should Refuse to go to their Parish Churches; his Defence of the Mission into England; and the Christian Directory. He had published also that book, which, from that time to the present, has rendered his name most familiar to the students of the political history of England, the "Conference of the Next Succession to the Crown of England."[1] He now resolved to attack the ponderous volumes of John

"Consider, Lord, the end of our enterprises. Be present with us in our armies. Terrify the hearts of our enemies, and make a joyful peace for thy Christians.

"And now, since in this extreme necessity, thou hast put into the heart of thy servant Deborah, to provide strength to withstand the pride of Sisera and his adherents, bless thou all her forces, by sea and land. Grant all her people one heart, one mind, and one strength, to defend her person, her kingdom, and thy true religion. Give unto all her council and captains, wisdom, wariness, and courage, that they may speedily prevent the devices, and valiantly withstand the forces of all our enemies, that the fame of thy gospel may be spread unto the ends of the world. We crave this in thy mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious death of thy dear Son Jesus Christ. Amen."

May I add too, the contrast to this prayer; those which were offered to God, and to the Virgin Mary, on board the fleet, for the success of the papal efforts, against the heretics of England:—

"*Versic.* Exurge Domine.—*Resp.* Et judica causam tuam, Kyrie eleison. Christe, eleison Kyrie, eleison. Christe, audi nos; Christe, exaudi nos, &c.—Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei Genetrix, ora pro nobis. Sancta Virgo Virginum, ora, &c. Sancte Michael, ora. Sancte Gabriel, ora. Sancte Raphael, ora. Omnes Sancti Angeli, et Archangeli Dei, orate pro nobis. Omnes sancti Beatorum Spirituum ordines, orate. Sancte Joannes Baptista, ora pro nobis," &c.; and then naming each saint distinctly with the petition *Ora*, &c.; and so to the end of that part of their Litany. And then are Proper Psalms appointed for each day in the week, beginning at Sunday; for which is Psalm iii. "Domine, quid multiplicati sunt, qui tribulant me? Multi insurgunt adversum me," &c.

Then follow certain versicles and responses, and after them some collects composed for the occasion; which were these:—

"Da, quæsumus, ecclesiæ tuæ, miserecors Deus, ut Spiritu Sancto congregata, hostili nullatenus incursione turbetur.

"Concede, nos famulos tuos, quæsumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere, et gloriosa Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis intercessione, a præsenti libera tristitia, et æterna perfrui lætitia.

"Ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, preces placatus admitte; ut destructis adversitatibus, et erroribus universis, secura tibi serviat libertate.

"Deus, omnium fidelium pastor et rector, famulum tuum N—(quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ præesse voluisti) propitius respice. Da ei, quæsumus, verbo et exemplo, quibus præest, proficere; ut ad vitam, una cum grege sibi credito, perveniat sempiternam.

"Quæsumus, Omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus Philipus, rex noster (qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula) virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa. Quibus decenter ornatus, et vitiorum monstra devitare; et ad te (qui Via, Veritas, et Vita es) gratiosus valeat pervenire.

"Deus, qui conteris bella et impugnatores in te sperantium potentia tuæ defensionis expugnans; auxilare famulis tuis implorantibus misericordiam tuam; ut hæreticorum et omnium inimicorum suorum feritate depressa, ineffabili te gratiarum actione laudemus.

"Deus noster, refugium et virtus ade [adsis] piis ecclesiæ tuæ precibus, Auctor ipse pietatis. Et præsta, ut quod fideliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur.

"Hostium nostrorum, quæsumus, Domine, elide superbiam et eorum contumaciam dexteræ tuæ virtute prosterne.

"Libera, quæsumus, Domine, a peccatis et hostibus tibi famulos supplicantes, ut, in sancta conversatione viventes, nullis afficiantur adversis.

"Protector noster, aspice, Deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum et hæreticorum defende periculis; ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti, liberis tibi mentibus serviant.

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, mœstorum consolatio, laborantium fortitudo; perveniant ad te preces de quacunque tribulatione clamantium; ut omnes sibi in necessitatibus suis misericordiam tuam gaudeant affuisse. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

"*Versic.* Exaudiat nos, Omnipotens et Misericors Deus.

"*Resp.* Et custodiat nos semper."

(1) Dodd denies that Parsons was the author of this work. It was compiled by cardinal Allen, Inglefield, and other papists. These committed their materials to Parsons, who prepared the book for the press.

Foxe, to proceed through the whole work, and to undeceive the people, if he could prove the martyrologist to be in error. If it had been possible to have shaken the confidence of the English in the details given by Foxe, it would have been done by father Parsons. He had abundant opportunity to collect materials from among the surviving relations, friends, or enemies of the victims of the Marian persecutions. Talent, zeal, the command of the public attention, bitter hatred against the church and cause he had deemed it right to forsake,—all combined to render him the fittest person to test the "*veracity and fidelity*" of the martyrologist; and he has compiled a work from which nearly all succeeding writers against John Foxe have borrowed their chief materials. It is comprised in five volumes, written with great care; and it is essential to the completeness of this survey of the assailants of John Foxe to review the whole work of father Parsons. The subject indeed is exhausted, but I will proceed with the details of this principal attack on the martyrologist as briefly as possible.

The five volumes were published, with the license of his superiors, in 1603. The slavery in which the papistical authors rejoiced, did not allow them to attain to the privilege of publishing controversial works without permission. He did not, however, prefix his own name to the volumes. He had written or compiled in 1594 the Conference on the Succession of the Throne, under the feigned name of Doleman. In 1599 he published a reply to a treatise of sir Francis Hastings under the title of "A Temperate Wardword." He combined the feigned name and the allusion to this last-named treatise in his title-pages to the five volumes, and published them as the work of N. D., author of the Wardword. It is difficult to assign reasons for his doing so, as the name Parsons was as well known as Doleman. It will be found, on a careful inspection and perusal of the whole work, that Parsons writes on the principle generally adopted by all controversialists. *He does not discover*, as we might have expected, *errors in the facts or narratives of John Foxe*, the point in which we are principally interested. He does this:—He takes for granted the certainty, infallibility, orthodoxy, antiquity, and undoubted truth of every opinion he has formed, and every conclusion to which he has arrived; and he freely expresses his no less undoubted conviction that all who differ with him in these conclusions are in damnable error. His work is compiled, therefore, against the opinions rather than against any discovered errors of the martyrologist; and Foxe is regarded throughout as a good authority, or as no authority, as an historian,—not according to his conclusions, not according to his researches, not according to his facts and narratives,—but according to his agreement with father Parsons.

The title to the first volume of Parsons is—"A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganism to Christian Religion; the First under the Apostles in the first age after Christ; the Second under Eleutherius and Lucius; the Third under Gregory the Great and King

Ethelbert; divided into three parts, and dedicated to the Catholics of England, with a New Addition to the said Catholics on the News of the late Queen's Death, and Succession of his Majesty (King James the First) to the Crown of England. By N. D., author of the Watchword." Deut. iv. 23, is quoted as the motto—"Inquire of antient tymes before you," &c. &c., or, as it is rendered in our translation, "Ask now of the days that are past, which were before you," &c. &c. It is the text which is usually quoted by those who would clothe in the language of the Scriptures their opinion that the fathers were wiser than the sons, in retaining opinions, which the sons may be supposed anxious to reject. Foxe's name is not mentionod in the title-page.

The book opens with an account of the general contents of the treatise, which he divides into three parts, all of which he declares to be written against Foxe. The first part, concerning the three conversions, he informs us "was begun against sir Francis Hastings, but it is enlarged against John Foxe, his false Acts and Monuments."

The second part "searcheth out the beginning, state, and progress of the protestant religion from age to age, and is against the whole course of John Foxe his said Acts and Monuments, from Christ's tyme to this, especially against the former part thereof, from the primitive church downward to the tyme of king Henry the Eighth."

The third part "examineth more particularly the second volume of Foxe his Acts and Monuments, wherein he treateth of new martyrs and confessors of the church, placed by him in an ecclesiastical calendar."

The whole of Parsons's five volumes, therefore, are expressly written against the work of John Foxe: with what success we shall now proceed to examine.

Vol. I.—He dedicates the first volume to the catholics of England, meaning by the word "catholic" the *papal, not the antipapal Christians of the country;* the true episcopal, anti-arian catholics. In this dedication he lauds their "loyal behaviour of duty towards their temporal prince in all worldly affairs." Yet he calls Elizabeth their "old persecutor," and expresses his hope in an additional paper, that James would become a convert to papalism. After a preface on the general subject of Christianity, he begins by stating, that the scope of the work is to show that, upon three several occasions, England has received the christian faith from Rome; first, under the apostles; secondly, under Eleutherius; and thirdly, under Gregory; and that the faith received at each period was identically the same as that of modern Rome.[1] The *argument* is this. St. Peter came to Rome in the third year of the reign of Claudius; Claudius went into Britain; there *probably* were many Christians at Rome at this time; it is *probable* that some of them would go with him into Britain. Christianity would necessarily extend in England in proportion with its extension in Rome. At page 14, he conjectures that St. Peter himself may have preached here.

(1) Page 12.

This is the amount of his proof, upon which we need not waste many words; for, admitting that all his conjectures, as to the fact, that many Christians came from Rome to Britain, were undoubtedly true, as I believe they were, we have not the shadow of a proof that they taught any other doctrines than those which the antipapal church of England teaches. This is not the place to discuss the question, yet I shall observe here, that even Baronius, A.D. XXXV. § 5, quotes a MS. in the Vatican, which says that Joseph of Arimathea founded our church. Gildas says that the light of Christianity reached us "tempore summo Tiberii Cæsaris." Now, Tiberius died 17 cal. April, A. D. XXXIX. (Sueton. in Tiber. cap. lxxiii.;) and Baronius fixes the origin of the church of Rome, 15 cal. Feb. A.D. XLV. (Baron. A.D. XLV. § 1.) The church of Christ therefore in England, is the elder sister of the church of Christ in Rome, according to the very best papal, not protestant, authority.

Parsons then enters upon a long discussion, the object of which is to prove that the Britons did not at the beginning differ from the Romans in the celebration of Easter, but that this error arose at a comparatively late period of their history. It is unnecessary to trace him through all this.

The second part begins with an account of the conversion under Lucius by pope Eleutherius. The whole story is mysterious. Its truth depends upon the authority of Gildas. From him it is adopted by Beda. Usher has already shown the chronological difficulties with which it is beset, and his work should be consulted. It seems strange that, if Lucius had Roman teachers and conformed to the church of Rome, there should have been such a prejudice in the minds of the British bishops against Augustine, and that there should have been such striking differences in doctrine and discipline. The speech of Colman[1] gives us a key to the whole, by referring the origin of the British mode of celebrating Easter to St. John. From Ephesus it came to Gaul, and from Gaul to Britain.

All the subsequent discussion upon this question may be safely omitted, for we cannot argue upon the doctrines of Lucius when we have no documents whereon to rest a single opinion; though Foxe is called the "jangling Foxe"[2] for rejecting the supposed tradition.

The conversion under St. Augustine follows,[3] and it is the most important discussion of all, as far as Foxe is concerned. At the outset it must be admitted that Augustine and Gregory have scarcely had justice done them by Foxe. He seems to have been afraid of them. It is very important for us, to admit the authority of Gregory, since he is a highly valuable witness against Rome as she is now. Yet Parsons admits[4] that Foxe sometimes did Augustine justice. On the next page he is displeased with Foxe's impartiality in first praising what he considered a miracle, and then finding fault with his hauteur towards the

(1) See Beda, iii. 25. (2) Page 130. (3) Page 151. (4) Page 156.

British bishops. Yet this is the true way to estimate character; Foxe neither blindly praised, nor blindly censured.

I may add here, in reference to the miracle mentioned by Beda, (and admitted by Foxe,) that the person on whom Augustine performed it, was an Angle; that the proposed proof of the superior claims of Augustine was suggested by Augustine himself,[1] and that the Britons were unwilling to have their orthodoxy tested by such a criterion. If all Augustine's miracles were of a similarly doubtful character, they do not make out a strong case for him.

At page 206, Parsons enters upon his proof that we owe all our religion to Rome, through Augustine. Even if this were true, it proves nothing; but it is not true; for he carefully conceals the fact, that, excepting Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, the whole of England was converted by the Scottish monks, who were essentially the same in doctrine and discipline as the British. There is also another error which runs through the whole argument; it is this—he argues for the truth of modern Romanism, from the truth of primitive Christianity. (See pages 216, 217, &c.) Foxe is abused in every page for affirming an opposite opinion; but his facts are not disputed.

Parsons now passes rapidly over the history of England from Augustine to William the Conqueror, pausing only to notice the liberality of Canute in the building of monasteries, &c. He forgot to mention that Canute's bad title made him glad to have the aid of the clergy. At the beginning of his reign he had seen bishops and abbots in the field of battle against him, and he knew their influence too well to despise it. Nor do we hear anything of the liberties which Canute took with the clergy in legislating for them in spiritual matters, such as celibacy, fasts and festivals, &c.

The remainder of the volume is a general outline of what is afterwards to be discussed in detail. The only thing which appears to be worthy of notice is the quotation made from Riche's Speech,[2] which is said to prove that "the heart of the people was wholly against these innovations in religion, at the commencement of the reformation." If the quotation and inference are correct, we may set against them the better testimony of Tunstall, in his letter to cardinal Pole, where he says that the body of the English nation was weary of the papal yoke. Yet even in this very page where the opinion of Foxe is condemned, he is quoted as an authority, whose "*veracity and fidelity*" may be depended upon, when he relates the facts of history.

Vol. II.—We come to volume the second. The arrangement of Parsons's materials is here somewhat confused. He professes to inquire where the protestant church was, up to the time of Henry VIII. The volume exhibits the usual assumptions, false premises, false conclusions, &c. which the Romanists always employ when treating this question.

In page 277, he discusses the importance and value of the apostolical

(1) See Hist. Eccl. p. 100. (2) Page 259.

succession, against the notions of Foxe and others, on the invisibility and visibility of the church. As we by God's mercy have retained the succession, without its errors, it is unnecessary to enter upon the question, which, as far as Foxe and Parsons are concerned, is rather one of metaphysics than theology.

Parsons reasons absurdly[1] about the relative bulk of the different parts of Foxe's history. His history is of course fullest upon those passages respecting which he had the fullest information.

The next hundred pages are taken up in an attempt to show that the faith generally professed in Europe (not in England particularly, for Parsons owns that there are no documents for this) was the same as the modern Romish doctrine. This belongs to the general question between the two churches, and is not connected with Foxe.

At page 352, Parsons begins with Gregory and Augustine; and at page 362, he proceeds to test Foxe's historical accuracy by examining his account of the proceedings of one council, and detects two errors at the outset; one in the date, A.D. 680, instead of 673, and another in the place—Thetford instead of Hartford. In the first, Foxe is certainly wrong; in the second it is doubtful, for the place is not exactly known, and "Herutford" may perhaps be "Thetford" as well as "Hartford," for both are conjectures.

Here I meet with the first charge of any real importance against Foxe. *It is the accusation of a wilful falsehood.* The case is this:

The council of Whitby had decreed that Easter should be observed in England in the manner adopted in the church of Rome. The council of Thetford or Hertford, or Herutford, confirms that decision. Easter-day was commanded to be the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the new moon, in the first month of the year. The words of Beda[2] are—"Ut sanctum diem Paschæ in commune, omnes servemus dominica post quartam decimam lunam mensis primi." Foxe relates all the decisions of the council in an abridged form. Parsons accuses him of so translating the above words of Beda, as to lead his readers to believe that the council decided against the Roman custom of keeping Easter; thereby to justify the oriental error. "*Foxe*," says Parsons, "*without shame or conscience, putteth in, or putteth out, what he thought best, to make these fathers speak in favour of a condemned heresie.*"[3] This is a serious charge. Let us first extract the very words of Foxe. The decree of the council was, says Foxe,[4]—"That Easter-day should be uniformly kept and observed, through the whole realm, upon one certain day, videlicet, prima 14 luna mensis primi."

The accusation of Parsons is, that "Foxe leaves out the word dominica; and then for 'post 14 lunam,' written at large in Beda, he putteth in 'prima 14 luna,' short, in numbers only, to make it more obscure, adding 'prima' of his owne; and putting out 'post' from the words of the council,

(1) Page 300.
(2) Stevenson's Beda, vol. i. p. 259.
(3) Parsons, vol. ii. p. 365.
(4) Vol. i. p. 138, ed. 1684.

thereby to make the sense more clear in favor of the heresy. For that *prima* 14 *luna mensis primi*, the words do signifie the fourthtenth day of the first moone of March expressely. And moreouer, he addeth of his owne these words, *upon one certayne day*, which the decree hath not. Meaninge thereby that this 14 day must be obserued with such *certainty* as it may not be alterred or differred to any Sunday; but must be obserued as an immoueable feast."[1]

I accept these remarks of Parsons as a proof of his anxious desire to find some undoubted inaccuracy in Foxe; and of the difficulty of his doing so. Foxe has not in any respect altered or falsified Bede. His translation does not vary from that of Bede. By omitting "dominica," and giving "prima," he gives the same sense with Bede, who omits "prima," and mentions "dominica;" whereas both words ought to have been mentioned by the two writers. The oriental opinion respecting Easter-day was, that it might fall on any day of the week, provided only that it was observed on the third day after the fourteenth day of the moon, in the appointed month. There is not one allusion whatever in Foxe to prove that he adopted the oriental opinion; or that he desired to insinuate, in this instance, that the Roman custom was incorrect. The adopting the word "prima," even though the word "dominica" is omitted, makes the decision of the council more clear, rather than more obscure. If he had written "tertia," instead of "prima," there might have been some apparent foundation for Parsons's objection. The omission of the word "post," and writing "14," instead of "quartam decimam," has nothing to do with the question. *Parsons's allegation is therefore an indefensible mistake.*

In page 367, we are presented with what Parsons calls one of Foxe's garbled quotations. Foxe is quoting the proceedings of the same council, on the subject of the celibacy of the clergy. The council decided that no man should put away his wife, but for the gospel reasons; and if he did even this, if he wished to be considered a more perfect Christian, he would not take another. Foxe omits the latter part of the decision of the council. He might otherwise have been led into the discussion of the doctrines of celibate perfection so curiously maintained by Rome; for the words of the council were, "si Christianus esse recte voluerit nulli alteri jungetur," &c. Here is no garbled quotation. He quoted sufficiently for his purpose, and proceeded to other matters.

In page 370, Parsons is angry with Foxe for omitting the proceedings of another synod. It might have been inserted for aught of Romanism that it favours.

Now page follows after page, of most indefinite and vague matter respecting the faith of the church of England. A few quotations from contemporary authors would have been worth all his declamation. He goes on without alluding to anything which tells against the popedom; nothing of William's answer to the pope, nothing of Henry II., nothing

(1) Parsons, vol. ii. p. 366.

of Grostete, nothing of Edward I. nor Edward III. All are avoided; and nothing is said to invalidate Foxe.

In page 487, we have Wyclif's erroneous doctrines carefully pointed out, but nothing is said on those errors in faith and practice, in the church of Rome, which Wyclif censured.

In page 547, Parsons commences his survey of the reign of Henry VIII. Parsons here attempts to prove the inconsistency of Foxe in first calling Henry a reformer, and then showing that he persecuted the reformers. Both facts are true. He was a reformer, because *he threw off the papal power;* and yet he was not a reformer, for he *retained all the doctrines of Rome*, excepting some very important ones, respecting the use of the Scriptures.

In page 576 there is the same matter as we shall find in Harpsfield about Colyns, Cowbridge, Erasmus, Mirandula, etc.; and the remainder of the volume is a general history of the times. He does not attempt to deny one single martyrdom mentioned by Foxe, nor to show that in any one fact connected with these cruelties he has departed from the truth; and this is the sole and only question, which is in the least degree interesting to the modern reader.

Vol. III.—We are brought to the Third Volume. The general object of the whole of this volume is to prove that those individuals whom Foxe has inserted in his calendar as martyrs (witnesses of the truth) were, in reality, executed either for opinions which *we* would reject as heretical, or for treason, or for some crime against the government of the land. I have already commented on the use of the word "martyr." Foxe calls Wyclif a martyr. In the usual acceptation of the word, the reformer was not so; he was a confessor. Yet he may be justly called a martyr.

The temper with which this volume is written will appear from a few extracts. In the account of John Tudson, whose martyrdom is placed by Foxe in his calendar on the 14th of January, Parsons observes,—"John Tudson, falling to be a ghospeller, was so obstinate and arrogant as the *bishop of London was forced* at length *to* condemne and *burne him*, under queen Mary." And of another poor victim he says,—"being obstinate in divers hereticall opinions, but especially about the sacrament of the altar, he was burnt also for the same, in Smithfield, after many means first used to reclayme him." And again,—"a poor labouringe man, borne at Histon, . . . married at London, and there becoming a ghospeller, fell to be so forward in sowing and defending Calvinian opinions, as lastly he was burnt for the same, in Smithfield." And again, we read of "a poor woman burned at Canterbury, under queen Mary;" the next were "two willfull poore women, also burned at Canterbury." Of other victims, "the first was an artificer, the second a poore ignorant woman, and burned for like opinions with the former." And so we might go on, page after page, noticing the poor ignorant men and women put to death. No fact recorded by Foxe is denied.

The victims are ridiculed and despised, because they were poor, vulgar, mean, and low. The wretched bigot could not see, that whom the world most scorns, God most honours; whom the world most hates, Christ most loves.[1] See especially, at the end of the "Foxian Calendar" in this volume, a notice of the lowly condition of these witnesses, so put as to excite contempt or ridicule.

Parsons now sets about justifying these enormities, and this he does by laying down two propositions, viz.—

1. It was necessary justice, and no cruelty, to punish such wilful and malignant people.

2. Constancy in a "sectary" is not constancy, but pertinacity.

He then proceeds to justify the second of these positions, by proving that it was the theory of the fathers; and to do this, he quotes several passages from their writings. All is penned on the radical error of assuming that the Romanists are the church, and the protestants are without (extra) the church. Too much time would be consumed, if I were to refer to all his quotations; but I am by no means persuaded, that he has done justice to these venerable writers; the passages are, probably, either not to the purpose, or require explanation by the context. I judge thus from the first of his quotations—that from Cyprian de Unitate Ecclesiæ. I there find some disingenuous dealing with the original. The translation by Parsons is,[2]—"Whosoever is separated from the church, and joyneth himself to an adultresse conventicle, is separated also from the promises of the church, nor euer shall he come to enjoy the rewards thereof if he leaue her; he is an alien, a prophane person, an enemy; he cannot haue God for his Father, that hath not the church for his mother; yea, though he should be slayne for the confession of Christ's name, yet can he not be saued; *macula ista nec sanguine abluitur.* This crime of separating himselfe from the church cannot be washed away with bloud; *inexpiabilis culpa nec passione purgatur*, it is a fault unexpiable, nor can it be purged by death itselfe." Such is Parsons's translation. Now, Cyprian is speaking of the catholic church:—"Quisquis," he says, "ab ecclesiâ segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur, nec perveniet ad Christi præmia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum Patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem." So far Parsons goes with Cyprian, inserting, however, the word "*conventicle*,"—translating "perveniet" by "*ever* shall he come,"—and making the "præmia" mean the rewards of the *church*, not the rewards of *Christ*, as the text requires. To have pursued the quotation would not have suited his purpose, for the following words would have shown that those who are here condemned are such persons as knowingly and artfully separate themselves from the unity of the catholic church. But Parsons proceeds as if the remainder of his quotation were in immediate connexion with what I have now cited. It is not so. What I have already quoted is in page

(1) 1 Cor. i. 26—28. (2) Vol iii. p. v.

121 of my edition;[1] the remainder is in page 126. It is as follows:—"Tales etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur, inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordiæ nec passione purgatur." Here Parsons's words, "yet can he not be saved," are an interpolation, perhaps a natural inference from what follows; but what would have been said if Foxe had been found so tampering with a translation? To come to the text itself. Parsons omits the word "*tales*." One would have been tempted to ask who these "*tales*" were; and on turning to the context we see that a definition of them is given. They are such as have not charity. (1 Cor. xiii. 2, 5, 7, 8.) "Ad præmia Christi, qui dixit, (John xv. 12,) pertinere non poterit qui dilectionem Christi perfidâ dissensione violaverit." Such, then, are those excluded from the rewards; and the whole is a paraphrase of the sentiment of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xiii.; but by this dishonest mode of tacking together two disjointed sentences, a different sense is attached to it.

The second extract is equally misquoted and misinterpreted. It is this—"He cannot become a martyr who is not a member of the church, neither can they euer come to Christ's kingdom who do forsake his spouse which is there to raigne. Though tyed to stakes they burne in flames, and be consumed with fiar, though throwen to wild beasts they be by them deuoured—non erit fidei corona, sed pœna perfidiæ sit." In this quotation a large portion is omitted between the words "raigne" and "though," which would have given it a different colouring. That Foxe in every point was faultless we are not concerned to maintain. Thus he did not (in my opinion) do justice to More, to say that he well deserved his bloody end. It was not judicious to compare Tyndale and Frith to St. Paul and Timothy. Yet I do not see that Parsons brings any proof of inaccuracy, still less of fraud, against Foxe; the differences are the differences of the churches of Rome and England, and here Foxe may be permitted to have his opinion as well as Parsons. At page 524, he accuses Foxe of "sundry kinds of falsehood and untrue dealing, and diverse kinds also of lies, some historical, some doctrinal, and other like." We have a specimen of the nature of these at p. 527, such as "the following 4 lies about justification, 2 about hope and charity, 10 about good works by the pope's law, 3 about freewill and good works, etc." Of these I have spoken in my remarks on Andrews, who has copied them. The "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are still unimpeached; and there are no other observations on the martyrologist worthy of notice, till we may close the volume.

Vol. IV.—The Fourth Volume proceeds with the continuation of the examination of Foxe's Calendar, with that of the church of Rome in juxtaposition, from July to December inclusive. Prefixed is "The Epistle Dedicatory to the glorious Company of English Saints in Heaven," who are supposed to be dreadfully scandalized by the bad company into which Foxe has brought them. They are supposed also to have attained heaven by "fasting, watching, large prayer, lying on the

(1) Edit. Goldhagen, 1839.

ground, and other such chastisements;" but not one word on the merits of our Saviour. On the next page there is a sneer at *faith*.[1]

The Calendar itself goes on as before; there are no charges of any inaccuracy brought against Foxe, excepting such as having written Brenbr*idge* instead of Brenbr*icke*, (31 July.) Robert Purcas instead of William Purcas, (20 August.)[2] This is satisfactory as showing how little could be corrected, and that nothing could be denied. Parsons is not accurate; e. g. he says that Ridley was a native of Northamptonshire.

Parsons takes care to repeat the caution to the reader, guarding him against sympathizing with these poor men and women thus put to death: he says that it was necessary justice and no cruelty, and further, that they were influenced by *pertinacity*, not *constancy*.

I find very little which requires notice after this, excepting the mode in which Parsons deals with the history of Marbeck. Parsons has the candour to admit that historians "may have many false informations." He goes on to say that he does not often bring accusations against Foxe upon matters *of fact*, (would he have hesitated had he been able?) but is most indignant about his lies, "which lyes cannot any wayes be excused, whereof you shall see above 120 in one chapter afterwards, (see page 412,) taken out of less than three leaves of his Acts and Monuments, and thereby perceive the credit that may be given to John Foxe his narrations." These "*lies*" are those on points of doctrine mentioned in the last volume, and have been already noticed.

In page 362 he commences a long disquisition upon the power, the right, and the obligation of punishing heresy with the sword; and affirms, that this sword is in the church. Parsons professes, indeed, to have been moved with compassion for the sufferers, but he suppressed the feeling as improper. If the question be raised at all, it is only in reference to the *expediency* of the case; and this expediency is questioned *only* from the want of success of the persecutions under Mary. His interpretation of the parable of the tares, is the necessity of caution in rooting up the heresies, which are the tares. This is the most important passage in the whole treatise. His interpretation is defended from Augustine.

In page 397, Parsons attributes the supposed errors of Foxe to want of judgment, or to mental weakness, rather than to malice; and mentions some infirmities of mind to which the martyrologist was subject, such as, that he imagined himself to be glass, or earthenware, or a bird,—circumstances which proved his brain to be diseased. These things are not mentioned by Foxe's other biographers, and we have now no means of ascertaining their truth. In page 400, speaking of Foxe's errors, he says that many of them have already been specified,(we have seen how many!) and that further proof is given of his errors in the XIXth chapter. This chapter contains the celebrated charge, that Foxe has told one hundred and twenty lies in three pages. These lies, we have seen, are not per-

(1) See also pages 207 and 370.
(2) In my observations on Harpsfield, I have collated some of these alleged inaccuracies.

versions of facts, but alleged misstatements of doctrines. All the charges of Parsons are equally vague and unfounded.

In pages 400 and 403, are some passages worthy of remark, as showing the result of Foxe's work, which would appear to have been great. At page 401, the fact of it being placed in the churches is mentioned. Parsons attributes the success of the book to the variety of the history itself,—the plates of the martyrdoms,—the hypocrisy of the writer, which is clothed in seeming frankness,—the speeches attributed to the martyrs,—the greatness of the book,—and the placing it in the churches. He assures us, that this miserable man, John Foxe, and his abettors, will have to yield a strait and heavy account to their Redeemer, at the most dreadful "accoumpting day," for the infinite spiritual hurt which they have rendered to the souls of their countrymen. He assures us, (page 404,) that one effect of Foxe's book is to make men have no religion at all; while in page 405, he informs us that this Fox-den book is only fit to make madmen of fools, and heretics of ignorant people; and he exhorts his countrymen to lose no more time in reading his vain pages. This advice his poor foolish countrymen have not hitherto followed. One reason may have been, that it was then submitted to them by the papist. *The same advice has been lately enforced upon them by their brother protestants, who hate the name by which the public law describes them,* and prefer the opinions of Robert Parsons to those of John Foxe. I make no remarks on the coarse language which the jesuit has sometimes adopted. I submitted sufficiently to that degradation in reviewing the pages of Eusebius Andrews. And thus we close the fourth volume.

Vol. V.—The Fifth Volume of Parsons is occupied solely with an account of the disputations mentioned by Foxe as having taken place between the Romanists and the Reformers. According to Parsons, the former are always right and the latter always wrong. On these I shall only observe, that, in page 17, Parsons could get no other copies of these disputations besides those preserved by Foxe: and this very fact proves to us the great value of Foxe's work as a storehouse of materials. The whole volume is entirely dogmatical and polemical, having nothing to do with Foxe. It requires no special notice. And so the whole subject ends. No great facts are overthrown. The "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are still unimpeached; and we may justly believe, that if the attack of Parsons, his inveterate and learned contemporary, has failed to depreciate his work, that they will still remain, not unimpeached, but certainly unimpeachable.

With respect to the character of Robert Parsons, I have assigned to him the credit of high motive and good intentions. I am not ignorant that pope Clement himself is said to have called him—a knave; the jesuit Fitzherbert—a hypocrite; the secular priests—the worst of villains;[1] and that the Quarterly Reviewer,[2] Southey,[3] the protestant

(1) Robert. Abbot. Antilog. fol. 14, 2 ap. the Life of Father Parsons, in Foulis's History of Popish Treasons, Let. x. chap. 1, p. 506.
(2) Vol. xxxiii. pp. 7, 8, 16, 21, 32, &c.
(3) Vindiciæ Eccles. Anglic. I think.

writers generally, and even the greater number of the papal authors,[1] have deemed him to be unworthy of approbation. I cannot, however, after reading his Christian Directory, come to these conclusions. I believe rather, that *he was sincerely convinced that he was doing God service by every act of treason which he committed against his native country, and against the church of England.* I am convinced that he believed the truth of the passage I have already quoted from his work on Foxe; that he believed in the damnation of Foxe and of his abettors; and that he thought that he should be the cause of saving many souls from everlasting perdition, if he could have surrendered England to Spain, rendered the Armada successful, and made his native country a province to the king of Spain, and its church a tributary to the bishop of Rome. The same principles have uniformly led to the same results. The more zealous adherents to the church of Rome, who always obtain the ascendancy over their more quiescent brethren when controversial excitement is greatest, have ever regarded their obedience to the laws of God, as identified with their own submission to the foreign bishop; and they have as uniformly believed that it is no less their bounden duty to convert their countrymen to the same opinion, and to reduce them to the same yoke. They have been convinced, with Parsons, of the truth of the papal maxim,[2] that it is necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the bishop of Rome. They believe, with father Parsons, that the council of Trent, in its catechism, as it is still taught at Maynooth, in Spain, and by Dens, speaks but the truth, when it declares that heretics and schismatics are still under the jurisdiction of the church. The belief in these and similar principles sent the Armada against England, and excited numerous rebellions and insurrections in England and Ireland from the reign of Elizabeth to the reign of George III. Such belief on the part of the papists demands, even to this hour, on the part of the protestants, the most vigilant and persevering jealousy against the holiest, the best, most pious, and worthiest Romanist. If the church of Rome still produce a pious, holy, virtuous, papal priesthood, then let England beware of the popery which would betray the protestant church and state to the church and creed of Rome, to please the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Even now, in our own day, language has been used respecting the propriety of appealing to the foreigner,—of withholding assistance, in the event of a war, from our own sovereign,—and of bringing England once more under the yoke of Rome,—language which I will not repeat, as I wish to say nothing which may appear to relate to the peculiar divisions of the day in which we live; but if Rome does not, will not change,—if the same principles, which our fathers believed to be the "worst of superstitions and the heaviest of all God's judgments,"[3] are continued,—if the worst maxims of the ancient canon

(1) See Dodd, Chalmers, the references in Foulis, and the Lansdowne MSS. 983, fol. 165.
(2) Bonif. Extrav. lib. i. Tit. I. de Major. et Obedientia. (3) Milton.

laws are still taught,—if the general conviction be true, that a class of zealous, enterprizing partisans are ever actively employed, secretly, yet perseveringly, to imbue the minds of all whom they can influence with the doctrines in question,—if these things are so: then let England beware, lest other domestic enemies are found who shall imitate the example of the jesuit Parsons, and betray their country to the foreigner, to please God and to extend the church of Christ. *If Rome does not, and will not, change* the principles on which this man acted,—and if similar religious principles, always, in the same circumstances, produce the same effects,—then the experience of the past requires us to continue our ancient jealousy,—to beware of popery,—and to value, next to the holy Scriptures and the sacred liturgy of our protestant episcopal church itself, those writers who paint in their proper colours the consequences of the adoption of the principles of papistry. *If Rome does not, and will not, change*, every day and every hour deepens the conviction, that jealousy of Rome is still a duty; and the study, therefore, of the volumes of John Foxe, and of all, who, like him, enforce the evil consequences of the dominion of Rome among us, is still both a duty, and a privilege.

XIII. NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD,

The learned Greek professor at Oxford, in the reign of Mary; archdeacon of Canterbury; brother of Bonner's chaplain; one of the defenders of the papal cause in the conference held at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth; but more especially distinguished for his knowledge of the canon and civil law; is the last whom I shall mention among the assailants of the "*veracity and fidelity*" of the martyrologist. His zeal and bitterness against Foxe were equal to his learning.[1] He refused, at the accession of Elizabeth, to comply with the queen's injunctions, and was deprived of all his preferments: he was committed to the Tower, where he remained twenty years, and died in 1583. Dodd assigns no reason for this imprisonment.[2] He would have us to infer that it was the result of the cruelty or caprice of the queen. Chalmers tells us that his zeal for popery occasioned the loss of his appointments; and that he appears to have been afterwards imprisoned. Chalmers,[3] like Dodd, assigns no cause for his punishment. Fuller says he was imprisoned for denying the queen's supremacy.[4] This does not, however,

(1) "He was," says Leland, "Atticæ linguæ interpres fidelis, disertus, aptus," etc. etc. ap Dodd, vol. ii. p. 63. Brussels edition, folio. I have not seen the new edition of Dodd.
(2) Dodd, vol. ii. p. 63. (3) Biog. Dict. vol. xvii. p. 158.
(4) "Nicholas Harpsfield," says Fuller, "bred first in Worcester school, then in New college in Oxford, where he proceeded Doctor of Law, and afterward became archdeacon of Canterbury. Under king Edward VI. he banished himself; under queen Mary he returned, and was advanced; and under queen Elizabeth imprisoned for denying her supremacy. Yet such was his milde usage in restraint, that he had

seem to be a sufficient cause; as many denied the supremacy who were not molested for their opinions. The mystery appears to be solved by a passage from the Lansdowne MSS. We there find, among the notes and additions to Anthony Wood's memoranda on Harpsfield, a letter from the council to sir Thomas Fynch, and George Maye, one of the aldermen of Canterbury, that Harpsfield was guilty of disorderly and seditious conduct. We may therefore justly infer that it was on this account Harpsfield was apprehended and committed to the Tower; for the queen was certainly never guilty of any unnecessary harshness; and she desired, especially at the beginning of her reign, to conciliate and not to irritate the papists.[1] While he was in prison he wrote the celebrated Six Dialogues, against the reformation and the reformers generally. The first five were written principally against the Magdeburgh Centuriators. The sixth was chiefly directed against Foxe. Harpsfield was imprisoned soon after the queen's accession, in the beginning of 1559. Elizabeth came to the throne on the 17th of November, 1558. The Magdeburgh Centuriators was published very early in the reign of Elizabeth; and one of the first copies, therefore, must have been conveyed to Harpsfield in the Tower, together with the first edition of Foxe. We have no means of ascertaining what number of books were collected by the prisoners for religion in the Tower at this time; and what portion of the references, therefore, were made from memory, or from inspection: but the work is a wonderful production, under such circumstances. It is, indeed, possible that some part of it was compiled by the editor, Alan Cope, under whose name it was published,[2] at

the opportunity to write much therein, and among the rest his Ecclesiastical History, no less learnedly than painfully performed; and abating his partiality to his own interest, well deserving of posterity. He died at London, in prison, after twenty years' restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a religious man."—Fuller's Church History, xvi. cent. book 9, p. 143.

(1) Notes of additions and corrections to Mr. A. Wood, in Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeac. of Cant. deprived, who died in 1583.

1498. 13 Cal. Maii. Bulla Alexandri Papæ concedens Nicolao Harpsfeld, rectori eccliæ Ashrengue Reignesash in dioc. Exon. ut duo alia beneficia quæcumque cum ecclia prædictâ tenere possit. (Autogr. penes Decan. et Capit. Cant.)

1554. 31 Martii. Nicolaus Harpsfeld institutus ad archidiaconatum Cant. per destitutionem Edmundi Cranmer, clerici conjugati.

1554. 27 Apr. Nic. Harpsfeld coll. ad preb. de Harleston per deprivationem Johis Hodgskin episc. Bedford; qui denuo restitutus obiit ante 7 Jul. 1560. (Reg. Boner.)

1554. 29 Apr. Nich. Harpsfeld admiss. ad eccl. de Laingdon cum capella de Basildon com. Essex. per deprivat. Johis Hodgskyns, episc. Bed.

1558. 14 Maii. Magr. Johes Harpsfeld, S. T. P. coll. ad eccl. de Laingdon per resign. Nichi. Harpsfeld, LL.D.

1558. 28 Octob., (Reg. Pole 31.) Magr. Nich. Harpsfeld, LL.D. factus est officialis curiæ Cant. literis Reginaldi Poli, Cant. Arepi, et decanus de Arcubus literis ejusdem sub ead. data.

1555. 23 Maii. Nic. Harpsfield admiss. ad eccl. de Saltwood vac. per deprivat. Robti Watson, clerici conjugati.

1558. 9 Jan. 29. 1 Eliz. At opening of the convocation Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeac. of Cant. chosen a prolocutor. (Parker Synodalia MS.)

xi Feb. 1558-9. A letter from the council to sir Tho. Fynch and George Maye, one of the aldermen of Cant. that where the lords are informed that Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Cant. hath used himself of late very disorderly in stirringe the people, as much as in him lyeth, to sedition: and that it is also reported by some of the servants of the college in Christ Ch. Cant. that religion could not nor should not be altered; they are to examine these matters. Nicolaus Harpsfield, clericus, in legibus licentiatus, habet literas reginæ Mariæ de præsentatione ad archidiatum Cant. (Rymer xv. 381.)

1 R. apud Westmon. 2 Apr. reg. 1, 1554.

1557. 24 Martii. D. Arepus contulit magro Niclo Harpsfield, LL.D. eccliam de Bishopsbourne Cant. dioc. vac. per mort. dni Rici Thornden, nuper episc. suffragan.

1558. 1 Nov. Arepus contulit magro. Nicho. Harpsfield, LL.D. canonicatum et preb. in ecclia Xti, Cant. quos magister Ricus Parkhurst dudum habuit. (Reg. Pole Cant.)—Lansdowne MS. 982, p. 37.

(2) The title of the book is—"Dialogi Sex contra summi Pontificatus, Monasticæ Vitæ, Sanctorum sacrarum Imaginum, Oppugnatores et Pseudo-Martyres:—

"In quibus præterquam quod nonnulla quæ alii hactenus vel attigerunt leviter, vel penitus omiserunt, paullo uberius et plenius explicantur; Centuriatorum etiam Magdeburgensium, auctorum Apologiæ

Antwerp, in 1566, and whose name, as editor, is in the title-page. At the end of the book[1] are printed ten large Roman capitals; they are—

A. H. L. N. H. E. V. E. A. C.

They are thus interpreted:—Auctor Hujus Libri Nicholaus Harpesfeldus, Edidit Vero Eum Alanus Copus.[2] It does not appear that the suppression of the name of the author prevented the general knowledge of the fact that Harpsfield was its writer. A letter is still extant among the Harleian manuscripts, from Laurence Humfrey to Foxe, informing him of the publication of the book; in which he mentions Alan Cope's name, but not that of Harpsfield.[3]

Foxe knew that the work was written by Harpsfield, for he entitles a part of his reply to the Dialogues, "A Defence of the Lord Cobham against Nicholas Harpsfield, set out under the name of Alanus Copus."[4] As this work was printed very soon after the publication of the Martyrology, by the bitter enemies of its author, while the contemporary witnesses of the principal matters which are related by Foxe were still alive, it is, I think, evident, that the zeal, activity, rage, and hatred, of the papal party would have collected any facts which could have destroyed the reputation of the work. The language of Harpsfield against Foxe is everywhere most abusive. The Acts and Monuments are said to abound with blasphemies and lies. The blasphemies are the antipapal propositions. The lies are the reports of the courage, constancy, sufferings, and testimony of the papal victims against the faith and discipline of Rome.[5] I shall go through the whole dialogue, by first giving the abstract

Anglicanæ, pseudo-martyrologorum nostri temporis, maxime vero Johannis Foxi, et aliorum, qui adulterino evangelio nomina dederunt, variæ fraudes, putidæ calumniæ, et insignia in historiis ecclesiæ contaminandis mendacia deteguntur:—

"Nunc primum ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam et catholicæ religionis confirmationem ab *Alano Copo Anglo* editi, cum triplici indice, primo auctorum, altero capitum, tertio rerum et verborum. Psalm. xxvii. 'Unum petii a Domino, hoc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ; ut videam voluntatem Domini, et visitem templum ejus.'

"Antverpiæ, ex officinâ Christophori Plantini. MD LXVI. Cum privilegio."

(1) Page 1002.

(2) In the beautiful copy of Harpsfield now in my possession, the letters in the handwriting of some former owner, apparently contemporary with the publication of the book, are thus interpreted:—"Auctor hujus libri, Nicolaus Harpsfeldus, episcopus Vintoniensis electus, archidiaconus Cantuariensis."

(3) "Salve, mi Foxe," says Humfrey, "in Domino fratre, et Servatore nostro. Alanus Copus quidam Magdalenensis cum nos Magdalenenses non lacessitus lacerat, tum libro dentato satis, insulso tamen, mortuos iniquissime persequitur. Ille μαρτυρομαχεσθαι egregie suis partibus functus est: tuum est .... vicissim te præstare μαρτυρομαρτυρα et fortem et aculeatum, ne quis deinceps audeat mordere mortuos, et sanctorum cineres turbare. Moverunt et alii hanc Camerinam, cum omnes undique audaciti (sic) scriptores Martyrologium tuum legendum mendacem et sterquilinium fœtidum appellitent. Sic indies crescunt animi adversariorum: sic ubique sævit per suos satellites Satan; quem ô si Christus spuma oris sui tandem aliter conterat. Nostræ res quo in statu sunt, in quo lubricoso et scopuloso loco versantur, non ignoras, audis, vides, ingemiscis: quibus autem modis tantæ miseriæ sublevari, quomodo tot malis salutaris medicina adhiberi queat,—non reperio, non invenio, nescio. Tu si quid nosti, communica; ne desis causæ bonæ, officio tuo, laboranti ecclesiæ. Si quid Ducis Norfol. literæ, opera, gratia, auctoritas, valere possunt, age, effice, ut vel scribat ad suos serio et sæpe, vel præsens cum aliis instet, urgeat.

"Dux, cum essem Norwici, longe et prolixe pollicitus est omnia. Dominus sic illi dux sit, sic regat et flectat alios, ut congruentibus animis de studiis in causam honestissimam, sed deploratissimam, incumbant. Ultimum et præstantissimum refugium est, ardens ad Deum hominum bonorum comprecatio, pro reginâ serenissimâ, pro consiliariis honoratissimis, pro episcopis, pro ecclesiâ. Tu, mi Foxe, ora, intercede, clama, ac vale in Domino, qui tuos omnes labores sanctificet ac fortunet, uxorem et liberos conservet.

"Angliæ, ex ædibus D. Warcoppæ piæ et lectissimæ viduæ. Maii 20.

"T. TOTUS LAURE. HUMFREDUS."

Harl. MSS. 416, art. 113, fol. 177.

(4) Vol. i. p. 647; vol. iii. p. 348, new edit.

(5) I select one specimen of the style of Harpsfield. He is railing against Foxe for inserting the names of the victims in a calendar. After saying no pope, however ambitious, ventured thus to act, nor did ever any one of the heretics themselves arrogate such power, he adds—"Novos enim novus iste papa fastos, novas martyrum apotheoses, et tam admirabiles pro sua amplitudine exco-

of the forty-six sections of which it consists, and then by considering the principal charges which he alleges against the accuracy of the narratives of the martyrologist. Foxe deeply studied the pages of Harpsfield, and replied to his chief accusations. It will be seen that the result of our examination of the charges of Harpsfield, the more immediate contemporary and severest enemy of Foxe, will afford us the last and most triumphant reply to all the attempts to depreciate the value of his pages. Whoever will take the trouble to read Harpsfield, will find that he is very diffuse and indefinite, as well as abusive, and that his indefiniteness renders it very difficult to meet his objections. Vague and general expressions, accusing an author of lying, blasphemy, misrepresentation, injustice, and other literary crimes, prove only the hatred or anger of the writer who uses them, unless they are supported by specific facts and instances. The survey, therefore, of the table of the contents of his sections, and the consideration of the particular circumstances to which he may allude to prove their truth, will enable us to decide whether Harpsfield has been more successful than any of the assailants of Foxe whom we have already considered.

The forty-six sections of the Sixth Dialogue occupy two hundred and sixty-two closely-printed Latin quarto pages. They are the chief foundation of all that Parsons or Andrews have written, and much of them has, therefore, been already considered. The briefest possible statement of the contents of the sections will be sufficient to show the indefiniteness of which I complain.

Chap. 1. The cause, not the fortitude, of the victim, makes the martyr. In what true fortitude consists.

2. Foxe enrols criminals among his martyrs; as in the case of lord Cobham and his followers.

3. The pseudo-martyrs commit themselves to death to obtain the praise and glory of martyrdom.

4. They ought not, therefore, to be called martyrs,

5. But to be detested.

6. They are not conscious that they are heretics.

7. Why one error makes a heretic.

8. Though Cyprian might err without heresy.

9. The folly of the declaration of the reformers, that the whole world began to see the true light.

10. On the causes of the multiplication of sects.

11. They will decline as the Manicheans and others in former times.

12. The martyrs and pseudo-martyrs contrasted.

13. Why the title martyrs ought not to be given to the opponents of Rome; and whether the ancient prophets, the Maccabees, and the Innocents, are entitled to that name.

gitavit, ut nescias impudicitiam et impietatem hominis, an stultitiam magis demireris, edito nuper libro, quem tu degustasse videris, ingenti quadam nugarum, mendaciorum, et blasphemiarum mole onerato, non Latine ut prius, sed Anglice—in quo solo aliquod prudentiæ specimen ostendit: ex eo enim fortassis fiet, ut impietas et stultitia illius minus per reliquum christianum orbem, et solâ fere Angliâ celebretur."—Page 819.

14. Sectarians, mutually opposed to each other, cannot call each other martyrs.

15. The absurdity of denying the greatness of the differences between the Zuinglians and Lutherans.

16. Yet Foxe blends all opponents of Rome in one mass, and eulogizes Lutherans, Zuinglians, other heretics, and criminals in one indiscriminate mass as martyrs.

17. Falsehood of Foxe in the case of Cowbridge.

18. The Lutherans cannot be martyrs, because Luther recalled from the bottomless pit many ancient heresies.

19—25. The follies, &c. of Luther and of Lutherans.

26. Foxe is ridiculed for his respect for Erasmus,

27. And for including Mirandula among his martyrs.

28—30. Foxe's account of Wycliffe condemned.

31—35. Attacks on Luther and the foreign reformers.

36. Credulity of Foxe condemned.

37. Eulogy of Foxe on Cobham condemned.

38. Some improbabilities in the accounts of the martyrs censured.

39. On the story of Baynam.

40. Comparison between the martyrs of Foxe and of antiquity.

41. On the Hussites.

42, 43. On the controversies respecting the headship of the church.

44. On the martyrs for the church of Rome.

45. That true martyrs are found only in the church of Rome.

46. On the true catholic church. Arguments from Augustine to strengthen the weak and confirm the wavering. The manner in which heretics are to be treated.

Such is the brief abstract of the chapters of which this sixth dialogue is composed. It will be seen from this, how little of the whole treatise is devoted to Foxe. Even of the small portion which is thus given to the martyrologist, much has been answered by Foxe himself.

I will consider throughout the replies of Foxe, and the arguments (if the objections of Harpsfield may be justly called by that name) which his antagonist has adduced against him.

At the end of the fifth dialogue, Harpsfield anticipates many of his subsequent remarks by deriding the account of the patience, joy, and self-possession related of many of the martyrs by Foxe. It is useless to record how one clasped his hands three times above his head in the flames; another remained unmoved, as a token to his friends of his adherence to the conviction of the truth of the opinions for which he was condemned; others gave other expressions of their attachment to their opinions in their most intense sufferings. Harpsfield, like Andrews and Parsons, derides such narratives. Foxe compares, and exults in the comparison, such sufferings with those of the martyrs of antiquity. Harpsfield is very indignant at this. It is, however, impossible to discover the difference either in the suffering, the endurance, or the cause, between the

two. Harpsfield calls it an unjust comparison,[1] and surnames the victims mentioned by Foxe, pseudo-martyrs; but he assigns no reason whatever for his doing so.[2]

After some preliminary remarks on the nature of true martyrdom,[3] and refusing the glory of martyrdom to the pseudo-martyrs, and calling them the slaves of the devil,[4] rather than martyrs, we come in the sixth dialogue to the accusation against Foxe, *that he is guilty of falsehood, for placing among his pseudo-martyrs the names of men who had no claim even to the honour of such martyrdom* as he would assign to them; for they suffered for crimes, and not for opinions. Harpsfield enumerates the following names,—*Cromwell, Hales, Randal, Tonley, Sanders, Cranmer, Cobham, Acton, Wyatt.* These are inserted by Foxe among those who bore witness to the truth of antipapalism, but who are called by Harpsfield traitors, thieves, and rebels.[5]

With respect to *Cromwell*, Foxe tells us, that with his last breath he declared that he died in the catholic faith. The distinction between catholic and papist was very frequently maintained at that time as well as at present. Many, who were apprehended and burnt for antipapalism, called themselves catholic; and were still condemned for denying some of the anticatholic doctrines maintained by the church of Rome. Cromwell is called by Foxe the "noble and worthy lord." Foxe disbelieved the charge of treason, which was never proved; and ranked him among the witnesses against Rome. Harpsfield does not venture to say that the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe's narrative of the actions and death of Cromwell are erroneous; and this is the chief point we have to consider.

Judge Hales drowned himself in madness, vexation, or despair, on account of Mary's conduct. He was sent into the Marshalsea—removed to the Counter—then to the Fleet; where he was so agitated at the report of the cruelties reported by the warden to be contriving against the antipapists that his reason fled. He endeavoured to destroy himself with a penknife. He was afterwards released; but he never recovered his reason, and drowned himself.[6] Hales was the only judge who had refused to sign the instrument which gave the crown to lady Jane Grey. He was imprisoned for charging the justices of Kent to conform to the unrepealed laws of Edward; that is, he was imprisoned for being a protestant. Did not Foxe rightly eulogize him as a martyr—as a witness for the truth of the gospel, as it is now professed and taught in the Anglican, protestant, reformed episcopal church?

Randal hanged himself, and therefore Foxe is condemned by Harpsfield for placing his name also among the martyrs for the truth. Harpsfield, according to the custom which Mr. Maitland condemns so severely in Foxe, does not give his references with sufficient clearness. I cannot

(1) "Iniqua pseudo-martyrum cum veris martyribus comparatio." Margin, p. 736.
(2) See page 737. (3) P. 738.
(4) "Quos rectius diaboli mancipia quam martyres appellaris."
(5) "Qui nobis non modo teterrimos hæreticos, sed et fures, homicidas, atque etiam divinæ et humanæ majestatis imminutæ reos, tantum non pro martyribus adorandos objicit."—P. 746.
(6) Burnet, tom. ii. p. 248, ap. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 33, note 3.

find any person of this name, to whom the observations of Harpsfield are applicable. A person of the name of Randal was compelled by the bishop of Lincoln in the year 1521 to do penance for abetting the heresy of Thomas Man. Both he and his father were required to abjure their errors, but I do not read that he hanged himself.

Foxe is condemned for inserting Tonley among his list of martyrs, whereas Tonley was hanged for theft.

This appears to be a most serious charge; yet it is capable of explanation, and that explanation is a complete vindication of the martyrologist.[1] John Tooley, as Harpsfield informs us,[2] was executed for a robbery attended by violence. Yet he is placed by Foxe among his martyrs. Harpsfield is quite right. *Tooley was hanged for theft; and Foxe has made him a martyr;* and if the two facts are thus put together without any further explanation, the martyrologist appears to have been guilty of the greatest possible absurdity. Let us, however, consider all the circumstances which Harpsfield has omitted. Tooley, while he was

(1) Harpsfield spells the name of the person of whom he is now speaking, Tonlæus. I looked in vain for the English name in Foxe's list, which corresponded with this word. It is evident that the word ought therefore to have been written in English, Tonley, or Tunley, or Townley. The word Tonlæus however is a misprint for Tooleius. Harpsfield is referring to Tooley, who as he justly reports was hanged for theft. This is but a specimen of the vexatious manner in which the reader of the several works which attack John Foxe is baffled, in the attempts to discover the truth of the charges against the martyrologist. The printing of the names both of places and persons appears to have been left to the printers. I subjoin the manner in which some names of the same persons are spelt by Foxe, Parsons and Andrews. It will enable the reader to judge of the difficulty of always ascertaining who are meant by the references of the three writers.

	FOXE.	PARSONS.	ANDREWS.
	Anne Albright, *alias* Champnes	.....	Anne Allbright.
Feb. 3.	John Phaidon.....	John Claidon	John Claydon.
4.	Richard Turmine	Richard Turmyne.....	Richard Turmin.
27.	Robert Farrar.....	.....	26. Robert Farrer.
March 4.	John Hougley	.....	5. John Hugleyne.
5.	Petrus Flestedius.....	6. Petrus Flessidius	Peter Flessidius.
8.	Thomas Hilton	9. Thomas Hylton	Thomas Hilton.
10.	Davy Foster	11. David Foster.....	Daniel Foster.
13.	Father Bate	.....	Father Batt.
23.	Robert Spicer.....	.....	John Spicer.
April 2.	Archer and Howkins ...	1. Archer and Hawkins	N. Archer and N. Hawkins.
3.	Wrigsham	Wrigsham	N. Wrigsham.
7.	Jo. Awoke	John Ancock.....	John Awcock.
14.	Joan Bech	16. Joane Beach	Joan Beach.
15.	John Hullier	17. John Hullier	John Hallier.
May 16.	Elizabeth Thacknel ...	Elizabeth Thacknell	Elizabeth Thackwell.
June 2.	Nicholas Belman	Nicholas Beleman	Nicholas Belenian.
4.	Nicholas Chamberlain...	5. Nicolas Chamberlayne	Thomas Chamberlayne.
6.	John Osward	.....	John Oswald.
11.	Henry Wice	.....	Henry Wye.
17.	John Morice	16. John Morrice	John Morris.
25.	Benden's Wife	Bendon's Wife	Benson's Wife.
29.	John Loyd	.....	John Floyd.
July 1.	Henry Voz	Henry Voes	Henry Vose.
	John Esch	John Esch	John Eske.
7.	John Pelley.....	.....	8. Margery Pulley.
11.	John Frank.....	.....	John Frankiske.
18.	Askine.....	Atkins.....	Thomas Askaine.
29.	Stephen Wight	.....	Stephen Wright.
	Robert Willes.....	.....	Robert Mills.
31.	Thomas Benbrick.....	Thomas Benbricke	Thomas Benbraike.
August 5.	Patrick Patingham	.....	Patrick Packingham.
14.	Richard Smith	Robert Smith.....	Richard Smith.
25.	Elizabeth Folks.....	.....	Elizabeth Felkes.
Sept. 2.	William Wright.....	.....	William White.
4.	Thomas Coo	.....	5. Roger Coo.
12.	John Goreway	.....	John Gorey.
Oct. 17.	Robert Pygot...	Robert Pyggot	Robert Piggot.
22.	Gregory Packe	.....	Gregory Parke.
Nov. 2.	Richard Mekings	Richard Mekinges	Richard Mekins.
5.	Alice Potkins.....	Alice Potkins	Alice Perkins.
21.	Elizabeth Driver	.....	22. Alice Driver.

(2) "Tonlæus capitali supplicio propter furtum violentum affectus." P. 747.

in prison, or before his execution, was brought to a better state of mind. Immediately before he was hanged he addressed the people, and declared that he died a true christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his most precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which he said were mere idolatry and superstition. He added much more to the same effect; and appealed to the people who agreed with him, to say Amen,—which they did, three times.

If the matter had rested here, nothing would have been so absurd as for Foxe to have canonized a thief, because he declared himself an anti-papalist. But this was but the beginning of the matter. The queen's council heard of the dying words of the culprit; and they were actually guilty of the unpardonable folly (Foxe believes under the influence of Cardinal Pole) to do in the case of the dead body of Tooley the same as was done at Oxford respecting the dead bodies of Bucer, of Fagius, and of the wife of Peter Martyr. They issued a commission to Bonner the bishop of London, to inquire into the matter, and to proceed to the making out of the process provided by the ecclesiastical laws in that behalf.[1] The bishop of London acted upon the mandate. He issued a writ or mandate to the clergy of London,—called Tooley the son of perdition and iniquity,—and charged them to summon the relations of Tooley to show cause why the dead man should not be excommunicated; and after certain depositions and attestations of witnesses, the dead body was actually excommunicated, unburied, and burnt. *All this Harpsfield has omitted. Foxe does not say one word to eulogize the man.* He merely records the facts from the registers to which he refers; and places the name of Tooley among his list of witnesses against Rome, to direct the attention of the reader to the follies and absurdities connected with the observance of the old canon law in the instance of the exhumation of the criminal. In a part of his reply to Harpsfield, Foxe expressly says that his table of names against Rome was never intended to denote that ALL whom he enumerated were holy persons; but that the reader, by seeing their names, might be reminded of the facts he has related.[2] Does not this explain the whole matter? Does the martyrologist deserve censure, even when the name of a thief, under such circumstances, is found among his list of witnesses against the papal follies?

Sanders, Cranmer, Cobham, Acton, and *Wyatt*, whom Foxe has also added to his list, are called by Harpsfield rebels, and not therefore martyrs.

Laurence Sanders is called a rebel, I believe, because he rightly and justly refused obedience to the queen, when she commanded the clergy of the apostolic church to cease from preaching. He not only refused

(1) See Foxe, new edit. vol. vii. p. 92, for the letter and proceedings.

(2) "If master Cope cannot abide the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverley, who were hanged, as he saith for treason, to have the name of martyrs, then let them bear the name of witness-bearers 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."—Vol. iii. p. 385, new edit.

to obey, but *he persevered in preaching against the errors of the papistry, which was so rapidly returning to curse the protestancy of England.* He refused to leave England. He preached the one only true doctrine, which is in itself the sole refutation of all popery—the justification of the spirit of the sinner by the faith, which is founded upon evidence, and is the motive to obedience.[1] The bishop of London sent an officer to charge him to attend him, on pain of disobedience and contumacy. When Sanders obeyed, the bishop accused him of treason for disobedience to the queen's proclamation, questioned him on the old test of papalism or antipapalism—the doctrine of transubstantiation; and concluded the conference by committing him to prison. The result is well known. His beautiful letters are still preserved. His distrust of his own firmness,—which, however, endured to the end,—when Pendleton, the boaster, who assured him of his own superior firmness, fainted and apostatised; his perfect freedom from every thing like enthusiasm; his sober zeal for the truth; his dying salutation to the stake, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life;"—all combine to prove to us that he possessed the only true spirit which can ever conquer the threatening domination of the now reviving papacy, and preserve the primitive Christianity which is still established among us. Harpsfield does not deny in this instance also the accuracy of the narrative of Foxe. With this we must be contented; though he calls Sanders a rebel.

Cranmer, too, was a rebel. I shall say no more of his melancholy and well-known story, than to observe—that Cranmer was murdered by the papists—Laud was murdered by the puritans. May the archbishops of Canterbury study their lives, avoid their faults, and be prepared for their deaths; in defence of the same church which still holds its place between the puritan and the papist, and deserves the homage of its children and servants, even to the death of the stake, or of the block! The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. The seed of the church of England is the blood of antipapal and antipuritan martyrs. May the flowers and the fragrance of learning and of truth ever spring from that seed! and may the fruit of the seed of the blood of the martyrs, and the flower and fragrance of its learning and its truth, be, holiness to the Lord—holiness on the mitres of its rulers—holiness on the robes of its priests—holiness on the bells of the horses and the bowls of the altars [2]—holiness on the heads and hearts of the sovereign, clergy, and people!

Cobham and *Acton* were rebels; and, therefore, they also could not be martyrs.

I am sure that the reader of this protracted examination into the charges which have been made against John Foxe will rejoice to be referred to the defence which Foxe himself has made against the accusations of Harpsfield in the case of lord Cobham. I had promised to proceed through the whole detail; but I am sure my doing so must unavoidably

(1) See Foxe, vol. vi. p. 615. (2) Zechariah xiv. 20.

prove uninteresting. The question is, was Cobham arraigned as a traitor or as a heretic? The answer of the papal party is, that he was executed as a traitor, because of the affair in St. Giles's Fields. The antipapal party deride the notion that the meeting in St. Giles's Fields was a political meeting of twenty thousand men suddenly gathered together, as Walsingham and others affirm; but declare it to have been a religious meeting of comparatively few numbers. They assure us, also, (and the evidence upon this latter point cannot be contradicted,) that heresy was identified with treason; so that he who was guilty of opposing any one doctrine taught by the church was guilty of an act of treason against the sovereign. The question has already been discussed. I must be contented to refer the reader for further details to Foxe's discussion of the case of lord Cobham against Harpsfield.[1] He refers to the original indictment,[2] and proceeds to inquire into and to demonstrate the improbability that lord Cobham intended, or desired to destroy the king, or the estates of the realm. He shows how treason and heresy had long been identified by the priesthood. He examines the accounts of the several witnesses against Cobham—Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and points out their disagreement with each other. To the general accusation by Harpsfield, that his book was full of lies, he answers,[3] "I would to God that in all the whole book of Acts and Monuments, all the narratives of this nature were false, all were lies, all were fables; I would to God the cruelty of you Catholics had suffered all them to live, of whose death ye do now say, that I do lie. I deny not but that in my book many things may have escaped me, yet I have bestowed my diligence, to profit all men, but to hurt none."[4] The question of the calendar is then discussed. Foxe declares, that he arranged the names of his martyrs according to the days of the month, to serve as a table, by which to remind his readers of their testimony, not to displace from the other calendar the names of the truly wise, good, and holy men, who may have been justly placed there. Parsons and Andrews, as well as Harpsfield, exhaust every epithet of vituperation on Foxe, for his thus arranging the names of his victims in a calendar. Yet on this point also, his reply is unanswerable.[5] Harpsfield accused him of thrusting God's saints out of heaven into hell. No! he answers, I thrust none down to hell. Yet I am not like the great godmaker of Rome; I exalt none to heaven. You are the men who, like the giants of old, would scale heaven; and then to

(1) Vol. i. p. 647, edit. 1684. Vol. iii. p. 348, etc. new edit.
(2) P. 351, vol. iii. new edition. (3) P. 383.
(4) I may observe here that Foxe (p. 384, vol iii. new edit.) informs us that the English translation of his work from the Latin was made by others, while he was employed in preparing fresh materials for new editions. This may account for some errors which Mr. Maitland has pointed out: but as Foxe saw the translations, or at least published new editions, of his work, in which these translations were retained, he is justly to be deemed responsible for every error.
(5) "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,' etc.; and declaring afterward, how the same 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.'" P. 386, vol. iii.

place there the traitor, and the enemy of God ;[1] and make even Becket's popish blood, a ladder to enable men to climb there also: while you thrust down from heaven the true saints of God, even those who die to serve him, and lay down their lives against his enemies. I am sure that neither the names of the archbishop Thomas Becket, nor of the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, deserved to be placed in the same calendar with the holy Evangelists and the apostles; but if we are compelled to have either, the days are at hand when we must decidedly prefer Becket, or Cranmer. You encumber, says Foxe, your calendar with saints. You place among them men of the most questionable character; and you derogate from and degrade the honour of Christ as the only Mediator, when you beg these canonized traitors—whose only claim to notice, as in many cases mentioned, was their slavery to Rome—to intercede at the throne of God for the dupes who worship and pray to them. As to the accusation, that in printing the names of his martyrs some were printed in red letters, he assures us that this was done at the discretion of the printer. After some further general defence of his book, and solemnly asserting (I have already quoted the passage) that if "a lie be a wilful intention to deceive, then I protest to you, master Cope, and to all the world, that there is not a lie in my book ;"[2] and after some observations on the manner in which the church of Rome has perverted the testimony of the fathers; he goes on to prove most unanswerably, against Harpsfield, that treason and heresy were identified by the statute law[3] of the land before the execution of Cobham; as they had long been identified by the bishops, and, under their influence, by the people, before his arraignment. He quotes the words of the letter of Walden, the provincial of the Carmelites, to pope Martin, that *all the followers of Wycliffe, as being equally traitors to God, and traitors to the king, should be punished with the double punishment of burning at the stake on account of God, and hanging at the gallows, on account of the king.* In his book on the catholic faith, the same writer exults in the same conduct of Henry the Fifth. The illustrious king, he says, decreed, that every man who was proved to be a Wycliffite, should be punished as guilty of treason.[4] The same undoubted fact may be proved by other quotations. I subjoin only two more from the historian Roger Wall; the noble king, Henry V. he says, reputing

(1) I am endeavouring to condense the meaning of the long paragraphs of Foxe. He is sometimes very diffuse and verbose.

(2) P. 393, vol. iii.

(3) "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," etc. P. 396. vol. iii.

(4) "To confirm the said sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the aforesaid author, tom. i. lib. ii. '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 perfidiâ per catholicos bene doctos legem statui fecit, ut ubique per regnum Wiclevista probatus, reus puniretur de crimine læsæ majestatis,' etc. 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,' etc. 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?"—P. 396, vol. iii.

Christ's enemies to be traitors to himself, to the intent that all men might without doubt know, that, so long as he lived, he would be a true follower of the christian faith, did enact and decree, that whosoever should be found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called the Lollards, should be counted and reputed guilty of treason against the king's majesty. The king in consequence of this very statute, and of his inveterate hostility to the Wycliffites, was called by the ecclesiastics of his age, the Prince of the Priesthood. "O true friend!"[1] says his eulogist, "who taketh and reckoneth that injury done to himself, which is done to his friend; who reputeth that to be to his own prejudice which is done to the prejudice of his friend." That is, *Henry treated the actions, opinions, and worship, which he was taught by the priesthood of his day to believe to be against the cause of Christ, as treason against himself, as the friend of Christ and of his church:* and thus heresy and the treason were, as Foxe proves, identified.[2]

But it may be said, by some one who is ignorant of the details of the lamentable period of which we are speaking, perhaps the king was right. What were the Wycliffites, and of what crime were they guilty? The answer is, they were guilty of reading the Scriptures[3] in their own language, without the consent of their ecclesiastical superiors. Those who studied the Scriptures, perceived the contrast between the revelation of God and those ordinances of men which were called the decrees of the catholic church. They protested against the enactment of those ordinances of man. They were punished for doing so. They refused, because of such punishments, to cease from such protesting. The severity of the punishments was increased to conquer the supposed crime, till we actually read of the burning of men to death for having read four of the epistles of St. Paul; the persons who heard them read being put to open penance; and a bishop, yes, a christian bishop, first preaching to the victims at the stake, in the presence of their own children, who were commanded to set fire to the faggots, which were placed round their suffering parents. We read, I say, of a bishop of Christ's holy catholic church preaching to the victims, who were expecting the flames which their own children were to kindle, that whosoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those chapters, they were damned for ever. Oh, God of mercy! these were the members of thy holy church; and *now, even now, in this land, where these things were done, it is deemed to be illiberal to man, uncharitable to thy people, and unjust before thee, to remember and to mention these things.* We have forgotten at what hazard the people of the church of Christ wrested back the holy Scriptures, from the hands of an ambitious priesthood;

(1) "O verus amicus! qui amico illatam injuriam sibi inferri consimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat esse suum, et ad ejus onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros supponere non veretur," etc.—P. 397, vol. iii.

(2) "In hoc etiam parliamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque cujuscunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus et perfectus christianæ fidei æmulator existeret; statuit et decrevit, ut quotquot ipsius sectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, invenirentur æmuli et fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in majestatem regiam haberentur," etc.—Pp. 396, 397, vol. iii. new edit.

(3) "Wicleviani vero dicebantur, quicunque id temporis Scripturas Dei suâ linguâ lectitarent."

and plucked forth the sacred volume from the fires of their persecuting tyranny. Many there are among us, who are again beginning to place the traditions of men on the throne of revelation; to give to the church the sceptre of its ruler; to lessen the value of the Scriptures; to forget the records which relate the eventually certain consequences of such apostasy; and to call those men bigots and fools, who would learn from the past, to direct the present, and to secure the future. Treason and heresy were one crime. The bodies of men were hanged and burnt at the same moment, that the double punishment might be inflicted at the same moment, for the double yet identified crime; and if such crimes of the ecclesiastical and civil rulers of the past are ever palliated or forgotten, the curse of the causes which occasioned them will return also. *That statesman was wise who uttered the undoubted aphorism, that if the English people should ever cease to hate popery, they will cease at the same time both to love truth, and to value liberty.*

Wyatt took up arms against Mary. He acted in the name of the protestant religion: he committed a great crime: he was justly punished for actual, undeniable treason. If he had confined his mode of objecting to the queen's marriage with the Spaniard to remonstrance and petition, he would have obeyed the law, maintained the liberty of the subject, and upheld his loyalty to the prince. Christianity requires neither the confused noise of the battle of the warriors, nor the garments rolled in blood. Wyatt was a rebel. Foxe pities, but does not defend him.[1]

I read on, with much patience, many most unquotable sentences[2] on the characters of many persons who were burnt for their antipapalism, and who certainly cannot be defended for the actions which immediately occasioned their punishment, whatever be our opinion of the principles which excited them to injudicious conduct. Gardiner, for instance, after many cruelties, was put to the horrid death of having an iron hoop round his waist, to which one end of a rope, which passed over a pulley, was tied, while the other end of the rope was held by a man opposite to the victim. The pulley was inserted by a staple in the cross-beam of a gallows. His hands were cut off. In that state the sufferer was drawn up by the rope to the top of the gallows. A fire was kindled below him; he was then slowly let down into the fire. After he had been burnt for some short time, he was again drawn up into the air. After he had thus hung some time, he was again let down. This fearful operation was repeated, while the sufferer continued to pray aloud, as they pulled him up and down with the rope, till the rope was burnt by the fire, and the body fell into the flames. All this was horrible, and because the reason of the infliction of this fearful torture proceeded from the conviction that the sacrifice of the mass was an abomination, Foxe inserts the name of Gardiner among his list of

(1) For an interesting account of Wyatt, see Ainsworth's work on the Tower.
(2) Especially in p. 749.

martyrs. Harpsfield objects to his doing so; and no protestant upon earth can justify the conduct of Gardiner, by which he displayed his antipapal zeal, and brought upon himself the indignation of the priesthood. Gardiner,—it was in Portugal,—rushed through the people when mass was being celebrated by a cardinal, in the presence of the king and his nobles, snatched the wafer from the priest, stamped it under foot, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This proceeding was the act of a madman, and deserved to be punished with severity, or with the treatment of a lunatic. In that day[1] the deed was considered laudable. Foxe speaks of the outrage, as a history no "less lamentable than notable," and eulogizes the most constant suffering of the victim. The inhuman severity of the punishment would by many, on the other hand, be deemed only proportionate to the crime. Harpsfield so considered it. Harpsfield spoke of the crime, Foxe of the cruel punishment. Nothing is said by Harpsfield against "the *veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe. He takes for granted throughout, on the contrary, that Foxe has related these sad narratives truly. I again say this is sufficient. I am not defending the taste, the judgment, or the opinions of the martyrologist; I am asserting only the credibility and the certainty of his histories. With respect, however, to the philosophy of these attacks of Harpsfield, I can but add, that he has quite mistaken the whole question. *The detestation of the cruelty of a punishment does not imply the approbation of the conduct of the sufferer.* We condemn the burning of Servetus; we pity his sufferings; we are compelled to abhor the craft, or error, or duplicity of the great and good John Calvin. Yet, who in his senses can imagine, because we do so, that we approve the opinions of the denier of the blessed Trinity, and the oppugner of the divinity of Christ? The death of Servetus made him, in one sense, a martyr; for he died as a witness to his conviction of the truth of an error. We may quote the death of Servetus as an argument against the cruelty of committing the body to the flames, because of the mistakes of the judgment; but we do not therefore approve of the mistake, though we pity the victim.

The same mode of reasoning will apply to *Robert Debenham*, *Nicholas Marsh*, and *Robert King*, who were executed for the felony of taking down and burning the rood at Dover Court. They are called martyrs by Foxe, and criminals by Harpsfield. Their act was rash. Their consciences were burthened, says Foxe, to see the honour of the living God given to an idol; therefore they took it down and burnt it. They derived no benefit to themselves from their conduct; they hazarded their lives to the death, and they lost their lives. The words they addressed to the people at the scaffold edified the people more than many sermons. Is not Foxe more justified in calling them martyrs, than Harpsfield in abusing them for nefarious impiety?[2] They bore

(1) 1552.

(2) "Nefariâ impietate." P. 850, edit. 1684.

their testimony against Rome, and were added to the catalogue of witnesses who died in bearing witness against her. No narration of Foxe is contradicted. The truth of all his facts is taken for granted, even where Harpsfield places in the margin of his well-printed pages,[1] that Foxe is convicted of the most evident lying.[2] The expression is used in reference to the character of the persons whom Foxe eulogizes, not in reference to the facts he relates; and so it is throughout. Because the names of the victims are mentioned in the calendar, to the apparent exclusion of the saints of the Roman calendar, Foxe is charged, as I understand the argument, with raising the martyrs to the rank of saints, in the sense of such saints being intercessors for men, or mediators between God and man; as Thomas à Becket, Dunstan, St. Swithin, and other questionable characters, are entitled saints by the church of Rome. This is an entire misapprehension of the reasoning of Foxe. Some, and the great majority of the victims to the severity of the church, are rightly and justly called saints, and holy and godly martyrs; for they were persons of blameless lives, pious motives, and sincere believers in the truth of the gospel of God: others, however, though they suffered the same cruel death of the stake and faggot, were not men of this character, and Foxe, therefore, does not speak of them in the same manner. His eulogies are not indiscriminate. Harpsfield abuses Foxe for inserting the names of *Collings*, or Colyns, and Cowbridge, among his martyrs. Collins was burnt for lifting up a dog above his head in imitation of the act of the priest, when elevating the wafer,[3] to insult the holy ordinance. Foxe is condemned for inserting his name among his martyrs. Cowbridge was burnt by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, for holding many most absurd and strange notions, very contradictory to each other. They are omitted by Foxe, but are given by Harpsfield; and a proof is thus afforded us of Harpsfield's power to have discovered any falsehoods in the martyrology, if Foxe had written any.[4] Among them are such propositions as these:—that Christ is not the Redeemer, but the future deceiver of the world;[5] that all who believe in Christ shall be damned.[6] These, and ten more, are omitted by Foxe; and Harpsfield imputes his silence to the desire to misrepresent the orthodox Oxford theologians, who had so piously discharged their duty of causing such a wicked heretic to be burnt.[7] It certainly does appear, at first sight, that Foxe has acted unwisely in elevating these two men to the rank of martyrs, and that, in this instance, Harpsfield has decided rightly. If we refer, however, to the account of Foxe himself, we shall find that in these, as in his other

(1) The book is an honour to the press, in type, clearness, and beauty. It was printed at Antwerp, at the press of Christ. Plantinus.
(2) "Foxus apertissimi mendacii convincitur." P. 753.
(3) "Dum sacerdos de more hostiam attollebat, spectante populo, caniculum pedibus arreptum supra verticem ad sacramenti contumeliam erigebat." Pp. 749, 861.
(4) Page 859.
(5) "Christum non esse mundi Redemptorem, sed futurum mundi deceptorem."
(6) "Universos qui in nomine Christi crediderunt, in inferno damnatos." P. 859.
(7) "Habes jam tandem perversa Coubrigii dogmata, quæ, cur Foxus reticuerit, veram, ni fallor, causam reddidi. Qui nullo modo ferendus, quod theologis Oxoniensibus, qui tam pie officio functi sunt, tam impie calumniatur, quasi falsis criminibus hominem innocentem circumventum obruerint." P. 860.

narratives, he has carefully distinguished between the testimony of the wise and of the unwise, of the pious or questionable, of the persons whom he certainly places in his calendar as witnesses against Rome, but not necessarily, therefore, approvable as the undoubted saints of God.

Collins is described by Foxe as a madman, who was driven to insanity by the desertion of him by a fair and beloved wife.[1] He was a student of law in London. He came by chance into the church, where a priest was saying mass. His dog was with him. He held it up by the legs; was apprehended, condemned, and burnt.[2] Foxe mentions the fact as an instance of the cruelty of his judges, in burning a madman. "I do not," says Foxe, "recite this man as one of God's professed martyrs; yet neither do I deem him to be sequestered from the Lord's family; and, though the flock of the bishop of Rome account him to be a heretic, and condemned and burned him, I would on that very account esteem him as belonging to the holy company of saints." Foxe was wrong in speaking thus; for, though a man might be burned as a heretic unjustly, he might have still been an erroneous and wicked man. But Foxe does not canonize him, as Harpsfield represents. Foxe has expressed himself obscurely, and meant, I believe, that, as no other action was urged against him but this of holding up the dog, which he considered to be a proof of insanity, and as he was burned for that only, he therefore considered him as probably one of those who might be regarded, when sane, among the pious opponents of the errors of Rome.

Foxe has spoken in the same manner of *Cowbridge*.[3] He tells us that Cowbridge was out of his senses. His father, the head-bailiff of Colchester, had left him great wealth, which Cowbridge resigned to his sisters, and wandered about the country, seeking out learned men, and instructing the ignorant. For thus acting as a priest, without a license to teach, he was apprehended, sent to Oxford, and imprisoned. Famine and loss of sleep, in the Bocardo, deprived him of his reason. "In his insane moods, he uttered," says Foxe, "many unseemly and indiscreet words." Dr. Smith and Dr. Coates, the Oxford professors of divinity, and the other divines of the university, reported that there was a heretic at Oxford who could not bear the name of Christ to be uttered, and therefore that he ought to be burned; and so thereupon condemned him. He was sent up to London; and the articles upon which he was condemned were sent up also. Foxe assures us that he could not obtain a copy of them, which were, that, in the creed, the words "in Jesum Christum" ought to be "in Jesum Jesum;" and that every poor priest in the church hath as much authority as the pope, or any other bishop. In reply to this, Harpsfield gives us twelve articles. Foxe replies to them all by saying, "that, as the man was mad, if the articles were so

(1) P. 251, vol. v. new edit.
(2) In the reign of Henry VIII., 1538, who continued in communion with the church of Rome till his death.
(3) P. 251, vol. v. new edit.

horrible as Cope, in his Dialogues, doth declare, he was more fit to be sent to Bedlam than to be had to the fire in Smithfield. But such is the manner and property of this holy mother-church of Rome, that whatsoever cometh to their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must go. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect that they will consider, as by these two miserable examples of Collins and Cowbridge doth appear, who should rather have been pitied than been burned."[1]

Who will not agree with Foxe? Who will not now (thanks be to God for the labours of the martyrologist, which have so greatly contributed to the improvement in the public mind!) approve the opinion of Foxe, rather than the arguments of Harpsfield; and pity, rather than burn, either the sane or the insane heretic? Foxe does not canonize the madman. He does, however, tell us, that "when he came to the stake, he called upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ: and with great meekness and quietness, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of the Lord." He had recovered his senses; and he is justly reckoned, therefore, by Foxe among those who, though they were not elevated to the rank of the saints-mediators of Rome, bore their testimony against the cruelty of the priesthood, and are rightly denominated martyrs.

The time would fail me to go through the long list of names whom Foxe mentions with praise always for their testimony against Rome, though not always with approbation either for their opinions or conduct; and whom Harpsfield, Parsons, and Andrews, as uniformly speak of with hatred, contempt, or detestation. Joan of Kent, Peter the German, John of Vesel,—all of whom held notions which the church of England, as well as the church of Rome, condemn,—with Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, Barnes, Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinglians, Wycliffe, Frith, and others, are all classed by Harpsfield[2] with the Manichees, the Donatists, and the enemies of God. Foxe is supposed to be the indiscriminating eulogizer of all heresies and all heretics. The same vague, general, unmeaning abuse, *which spares his facts as unassailable, while it impugns his motives, opinions, and conclusions,* is given by Harpsfield which we have read in Parsons and Andrews, and the same general answer must be given to it; that while the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are proved to be unimpeachable, we are not required to defend his taste, his language, nor his errors. I shall only therefore go on to examine whether any specific falsehood is produced by Harpsfield, to justify the frequent appellation, both among the papal and protestant enemies of the martyrologist, as "the lying Foxe."

It will be said that *Harpsfield, in his index, alleges seven specific falsehoods against Foxe.* He does so: and when I mention them, the absurdity as well as the nature of the accusation will be seen at once. *The first is that Foxe calls heretics martyrs;*[3]—this has been sufficiently considered. *The second, that he makes Eleanor Cobham and Roger*

(1) P. 253, vol. v. new edit. (2) Pp. 820—827, &c. (3) P. 753, vide supra.

Onley, martyrs, and not sorcerers; a charge which he discusses at some length, and which I shall certainly leave to the student, as Foxe himself has replied to the accusation at great length.[1] It would indeed be most absurd to inquire in this age of the probability of the witchcraft and sorcery, by which Roger Onley, the knight or priest,[2] laboured to consume the king's person by way of necromancy;[3] or whether, the painted chair, upon the four corners of which hung four swords, and on every sword an image of copper, were the true instruments of magic; and whether Lady Eleanor Cobham, who desired in her treason to take the king's life, employed Onley as her coadjutor; or whether these accusations were invented, and the real crime of both Onley and Lady Cobham was not, as Foxe from other authorities relates—an attachment to the principles of Wycliffe. I think it probable that every reader in the present day will believe the evidence which convinced Foxe that these people were guilty of holding certain opinions in religion which the priesthood of the day condemned; rather than, that they practised the king's death by melting an image of wax with arts magic and necromantic.[4]

It was wittily said of some person, that he drew on his imagination for his facts; and on his memory for his fancy. Those who believe Harpsfield in preference to Foxe, may draw on Shakspere for their facts, and on Harpsfield, Parsons, and Andrews, for the arguments with which they may defend them. I would as easily believe the "hallowed verge" and the "conjuro te," the "adsum" of the invoked spirit, and the answered "asmath" of Margery Jourdain, as they are so graphically related by our splendid poet;[5] as believe in the legends of the dark age on which his dramatic scenes are written; or depend upon the authority of the papal antagonists of the martyrologist. In the very same page in which Harpsfield accuses Foxe of falsehood and of depraving history,[6] by partially citing authorities in the case of the duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, he dares to accuse him also of making Margaret Jourdemain, the reputed witch of Eye, the supposed assistant, and the supposed sorcerer, in his supposed ceremonies. The indignant answer of Foxe is,[7] "I never spake, nor thought, nor dreamed of the woman, till you yourself mentioned her in your book. So far is it off that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her." But so it has always been. When Rome wishes to usurp domination over others, its claims to that domination always begin with doleful lamentations over the grievances it professes to suffer from heresy and heretics. When Rome accuses its adversaries of falsehood, it generally becomes itself the Cretan it describes its antagonist to be. The world has never witnessed a greater heresy than that of Rome, nor worse heretics than

(1) Vol. i. p. 797, edit. 1684; and vol. iii. p. 704, of the new edition.
(2) Harpsfield condemns Foxe for calling Onley, knight. Foxe confesses he was in error, and calls Onley, priest, in the subsequent editions. See p. 705, vol. iii. new edit.
(3) Parsons and Andrews (who wrote but fifteen years ago) gravely repeat the charge.
(4) See Foxe's unanswerable reply to all the nonsense of his accuser. P. 707, vol. iii. new edition.
(5) Second Part of King Henry VI. Act i. Scene 4.
(6) "Sceleratæ historiarum depravationis." P. 830. (7) Page 706, vol. iii. new edit.

its adherents. Foxe is only called a liar by those who themselves excel in the peculiar accomplishment which they profess to discover in the martyrologist; and which Harpsfield, Parsons, Andrews, and their followers, have found to be so peculiarly useful in producing the conviction that their own falsehoods are truths.

The third alleged falsehood[1] is, *that Cobham and Acton were not guilty of treason. The fourth*[2] *that men were put to death only for reading the Bible. The fifth*[3] *is the repetition of the charge that Foxe acquitted lord Cobham of sedition. The sixth*[4] *relates to an error in a date. The seventh,*[5] *that Foxe denies, excepting in three instances, the heterodoxy of the martyrs.* I quote these instances of alleged falsehoods, because they are more especially pointed out to us in the copious index of Harpsfield, as the peculiar falsehoods of the Book of Martyrs; but they do not appear to require further notice. I might make some remarks on the fourth charge. Harpsfield tells us, that because no man was permitted to read the translations of the Bible in the reign of Henry VI., which had been made by the Wycliffites, without permission of his diocesan, they could not be burnt merely for reading the Bible. They read it, either with or without permission. They would not be burnt for reading it with permission. If they were burnt for reading it without permission, they were not burnt for reading the Bible, but for disobedience to their diocesan; and *therefore*—yes, gentle reader—*therefore Foxe is a liar, for affirming that the perusal of the Scriptures was the crime of the martyrs.* The reader smiles at this folly; but it is the most impressive of all warnings to us. All the controversies respecting religion among protestants, are decided by the holy Scriptures. All the controversies between Rome and the protestants, are to be decided by the church. When the partisans of the two tribunals seem to clash, the two tribunals seem to clash. One tribunal must therefore destroy, or tolerate the other. The Scriptures destroy Rome. Rome tolerates the Scriptures. But in all matters of toleration, the assumption of the power to tolerate, implies the power to remove the toleration, if those who are tolerated, rebel, or appear to rebel against the tolerator. So it is with Rome and the Scriptures. The partisans of Rome are permitted to read the tolerated Scriptures; but if the tolerated Scriptures appear to teach that partisan of Rome to rebel against the church of Rome, then the toleration is withdrawn from the Scriptures. The sanction of the diocesan is withdrawn from the reader, and the rebel is punished, not for reading, but for disobeying the command which forbids him to read. By what name is such reasoning to be called? One of the greatest crimes, one of the most intolerable usurpations of the church of Rome, is the daring claim of intruding itself between the light from heaven and the darkness upon earth; and demanding the power

(1) Mendacia is the word applied by Harpsfield, to describe the supposed errors of Foxe, p. 834.
(2) Page 834. (3) Page 835. (4) Page 856.
(5) Page 877, impudens mendacium.

of granting or withholding to the blind and fallen soul, the Scriptures of the eternal truth of God. If the bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness shine upon the people, it dares to tell that people, who are beginning to emerge from their darkness into that marvellous light,—"You shall not "see at all. You shall not direct your steps to heaven, nor guide them "upon earth, by that light, unless you put on the blue, the green, or "yellow spectacles, which I will give you, to enable you to understand "better the true nature of the light itself; and to see more clearly the "road, through the wilderness, to Canaan."

We are next brought to the story of *Hunne*. No one of the narratives of John Foxe has been so much discussed as this. To repeat the arguments by which one party would prove to us that Hunne was murdered in prison, while another would prove to us that he hanged himself, would occupy too much time and room. No additional evidence can be found in the present day to that which is given by Foxe in his history, by Harpsfield in his reply, by Foxe in his rejoinder to Harpsfield, and by Parsons, who discusses the whole subject at great length.[1] Dr. Lingard, in his History of England,[2] writing of the persecution of the Lollards,—and saying, with the utmost calmness and serenity, of the numbers brought before the primate, and the bishops of London and Lincoln, "almost all were induced to abjure; and *a few of the most obstinate forfeited their lives*,"—adds, in a note,—"I have not noticed 'the legend of Hunne,' who was found dead in prison. To the accounts given by Hall and Foxe may be opposed that of sir Thomas More." The smooth manner in which this historian speaks the sad truth, and prevents the possibility of our declaring him to be in actual error, while he despoils history of its utility by his mode of writing, is peculiarly conspicuous in this account. It forms one of the best illustrations of his mode of so writing history, that the reader, before he is aware, is made to take for granted the very proposition, the truth of which may be under discussion. It is certain that Hunne was found dead in prison; but the question in what manner he died is left undecided. The historian speaks of "the legend of Hunne." What is a legend? It is something read, which is of doubtful authority. It is a narrative, not so certainly true as an authenticated history. It is a story which may be rejected.[3] Contempt of the story, too, is implied in the very word. Lingard, therefore, implies that the account of Hunne, that is, of the usual narrative of his death, is doubtful. Dr. Lingard's work was written to produce an impression unfavourable to the reformers; we may infer, therefore, that he means to tell us that the opinion that Hunne was murdered by the papists, is a legend. If his book had been written on the opposite principles, we should have inferred that he meant to tell us, his suicide was a legend. The account of Hall and Foxe is, that Hunne was murdered. Sir Thomas More affirms that he believes he committed

(1) Parsons, vol. iv. Dec. 10. (2) Vol. vi. p. 364.
(3) The fourth meaning of the word "Legend," in Johnson is—"an incredible, unauthentic story."

suicide. The two accounts are opposed to each other. Dr. Lingard has not told us, as he ought to have done, that Foxe was attacked by Harpsfield, and that the martyrologist has replied throughout to his assailant, in a manner which has been considered unanswerable.[1] Foxe has answered throughout, the whole mass of the reasoning both of Harpsfield, and of sir Thomas More, so entirely, that no abuse, either of Parsons or Andrews, can, I think, produce the conviction that Foxe has been guilty of falsehood in affirming that Hunne was murdered, and did not commit suicide.

I refer the reader to the account given us by Foxe himself; but I submit to him the summary of the narrative as it is compiled by Burnet.

"One Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor in London, was questioned by a clerk in Middlesex for a mortuary, pretended to be due for a child of his that died five weeks old, the clerk claiming the beering sheet, and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his counsel advised him to sue the clerk in a *premunire*, for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign court; the spiritual court sitting by authority from the legate. This touched the clergy so to the quick, that they used all the arts they could to fasten heresy on him; and understanding that he had Wickliffe's Bible, upon that he was attached of heresy, and put in the Lollards' Tower at Paul's, and examined upon some articles objected to him by Fitz-James, then bishop of London. He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked God's mercy, and submitted himself to the bishop's correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoined penance, and set at liberty; *but he persisting still in his suit in the king's courts, they used him most cruelly.* On the 4th of December he was found hanged in the chamber where he was kept prisoner. Dr. Horsey, chancellor to the bishop of London, with the other officers who had the charge of the prison, gave it out that he had hanged himself. But the coroner of London coming to hold an inquest on the dead body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his neck had been broken, as they judged, with an iron chain, for the skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of blood about his body, besides several other evidences, which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had charge of that prison; and by other proofs they found the bishop's sumner and the bell-ringer guilty of it; and by the deposition of the sumner himself,[2] it did appear, that the chancellor, and he, and the bell-ringer, did murder him, and then hang him up.

But as the inquest proceeded in this trial, the bishop began a new process against the dead body of Richard Hunne, for other points of

(1) Vol. ii. pp. 8—17, edit. 1683; vol. v. pp. 183—205. (2) See all the depositions in Foxe.

heresy; and several articles were gathered out of Wickliffe's preface to the Bible, with which he was charged. And his having the book in his possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an heretic, and his body delivered to the secular power. When judgment was given, the bishops of Duresme and Lincoln, with many doctors both of divinity and the canon law, sat with the bishop of London; so that it was looked on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common consent. On the 20th of December his body was burnt at Smithfield."[1]

Such is the summary of Burnet. I refer the reader to Harpsfield,[2] Parsons,[3] and Andrews,[4] for their animadversions on Foxe's defence. They produce nothing new—refute no assertion—overthrow no fact. They abuse Foxe for enrolling him among the martyrs, though Foxe carefully avoids eulogizing the religion of Hunne, and tells us that he was *not* "*a full protestant, but took his beads with him to the prison.*" Foxe relates the history as a proof that the atrocities and cruelties of the papal holders of power and authority, disgusted even their most faithful adherents; and thus contributed to prepare the way for their own overthrow, and for the establishment of the reformation.[5]

As I do not find that Harpsfield has been able to prove that the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are assailable with success, my task may be considered as nearly concluded. The reader cannot be more interested in any discovery of the deficiencies of Harpsfield, than in those of the more modern antagonists of the martyrologist. I might otherwise point out the absurdity of his attempting to prove, by a quotation from Augustine, that every one of the pseudo-martyrs, without exception, deny that Christ has come in the flesh; because such persons have not charity, and he who has not charity makes this denial.[6] Who can reply to such a reasoner?

Foxe places Erasmus among his witnesses against Rome. Harpsfield[7] is very angry at this, and quotes many passages to prove that Erasmus spoke well of the Romanists.

Harpsfield is right in thus affirming; but Foxe is no less right. Erasmus fluctuated much in his opinions. Both parties claim Erasmus as their advocate. He spoke truths which they both received. He denounced errors which they both rejected. But that Foxe was more

(1) Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 21, 22. I might quote here Collier, Fuller, Oldmixon, and others, who all designate the death of Hunne murder, and rely upon the evidence of the coroner's inquest. Foxe indeed copies that evidence word for word, and refers to the bishop's registers as authority for the greater part of the story. Burnet and Strype have both attested that his account, when taken from such sources, is not to be doubted.

(2) Pages 847—849. By an error of the printer in this sixth dialogue of Harpsfield, page 847 follows page 836. The mistake is not rectified throughout the book.

(3) Vol. iv. Cal. Dec. 10. (4) Vol. iii. p. 473.

(5) I add here Fuller's brief view of the case of Hunne:—

"Richard Hunn, a wealthy citizen of London, imprisoned in Lollards' Tower, for maintaining some of Wickliff's opinions, had his neck therein secretly broken. To cover their cruelty, they gave it out, that he hanged himself; but the coroner's inquest sitting on him, by necessary presumptions, found the impossibility thereof, and gave in their verdict, that the said Hunn was murdered. Insomuch that *Persons* hath nothing to reply, but, that the coroner's inquest were simple men, and suspected to be infected with Wickliffian heresies. But we remit the reader to Mr. Fox for satisfaction in all these things, whose commendable care is such, that he will not *leave an hoof of a martyr behind him*, being very large in the reckoning up of all sufferers in this kind."—Fuller, book v. p. (166).

(6) "Quisquis," says Augustine, "non habet caritatem, negat Christum in carne venisse."

(7) Pp. 904—909.

right than Harpsfield in deeming him to be an antipapalist may be proved from other Romanist writers, when they had no such object in view as Harpsfield when he wrote his Sixth Dialogue. Bellarmine,[1] for instance, ranks him among the semi-Christians. In another place,[2] he says, "Quid quæso Erasmus Roterodamus? Annon Luciani impietatem longo intervallo superavit?" And again,[3] he says that "the doctrine of Erasmus was not far distant from that of Wiclif and Luther."

Erasmus himself has amply proved that he was no Romanist. In the Enchiridion Militis Christiani, can. 6. is the following passage.—"Admiror, potestatis et dominii ambitiora vocabula ad ipsos usque pontifices summos et episcopos invecta fuisse.—'Apostolus,' 'pastor,' 'episcopus,' officii sunt vocabula, non dominatûs. 'Papa,' 'abbas,' caritatis cognomina sunt, non potestatis: sed quid ego mare illud vulgarium errorum ingredior? ad quodcunque hominum genus se converterit, multa ubique videbit homo vere spiritualis quæ rideat, plura quæ fleat. Plurimas opiniones deprehendet depravatissimas, et a Christi doctrinâ longe lateque dissidentes."[4] . . . . The whole of his treatise De Concordiâ in Religione proceeds upon the assumption, that the truth of the gospel had been debased by the Romanists, and that it might be purified.

In another place, *Harpsfield condemns Foxe for wishing that in some respects the Reformers were as good as the Romanists.*[5]

Harpsfield ought to admire his candour. Foxe throughout his work seeks peace and truth, and can therefore afford to speak with fairness and candour.

Harpsfield[6] *condemns Foxe for inserting the name of Mirandula in his catalogue of witnesses against Rome.*

Here also Foxe is right. Did Harpsfield never read the language of this nobleman to the emperor Maximilian, in 1500?—"Reliquum est, maxime Cæsar, ut quæ de te fide et pietate possum, deprecor, ut sanctissimum illud propositum tuum vendicandæ in pristinam libertatem christianæ reipublicæ, quam citius fieri potest, adimpleas. Concutitur ab externis hostibus, ab internis laceratur; et J. C. Domini nostri sanguine circumseptum et consecratum ovile pejora multum perpessum est, indiesque patitur a lupis magis sub ovinâ quam propriâ pelle grassantibus. Age igitur jam, optime; et excitis, quâ ratione potes, christianis regibus, te Christo regi omnium, oves suas tam ab hostibus quam a perfidis pastoribus jamjam liberaturo, fidum ministrum exhibe."

In the year 1406 the University of Oxford is said to have honoured itself by giving a solemn testimonial to Wycliffe of their approbation of his labours, zeal, and learning, and to have sealed it with their common seal. Foxe publishes these letters, and believes them to be genuine. *Harpsfield reminds him that letters of the same University condemned the errors of Wycliffe;* and the *inference is therefore drawn, that the letters in question were forged.* The last biographer of Wycliffe is

(1) De Verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. 9, p. 33, edit. Ingolst. 1586.
(2) De Sanctorum Beatit. p. 1971, same edit.
(3) P. 1389. (4) Opp. v. 49, edit. Clerici. (5) Page 905. (6) Page 910.

unable to decide if the evidence is sufficient to convince us, whether the letters of testimonial to Wycliffe were spurious or genuine.[1] "Considerable suspicion," he says, "hangs over the authenticity of the document; and it has been affirmed that one Peter Payne stole the University seal, and wrote the letters." It is not probable that the seal of the University could have been thus stolen; neither is it probable that the University could stultify itself by approbation of a writer, and by disapprobation of his writings. It is possible that, during the vacation, a majority of Wycliffe's friends in the senate may have ordered the writing of the letters; and that this surreptitious use of the seal may have occasioned the subsequent order, that the seal of the university should be decreed to be appended to no document, but in full congregation of regents in full term, or in full convocation of regents and non-regents in the vacation; and that nothing should be done till after one day's full deliberation. We cannot now decide whether the letters were forged or not; but the very fact, that Lewis and Le Bas discuss the doubt, proves to us that the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe are not to be questioned, because he believed in and defended the authenticity of the documents in question.

Harpsfield[2] resumes his attacks on Foxe by deriding the accounts of the dying words, the patience, the zeal, and heroism of the antipapal witnesses, who were burned for protesting against the errors of the church of Rome. He derides them; and a spurious liberality, affecting gentlemanliness, and despising as enthusiastic, or nonsensical, all those higher thoughts and feelings which are peculiar to the sincere and zealous believer in the truths and sanctions of Christianity, despises them also: both are the enemies of the loftier aspirations of the soul of man. Because the martyrs were not papists, this learned but wretched fellow does not or will not see, that their deaths were as glorious as their faith was pure, as their lives were holy, or as their motives were worthy of their christian convictions. I trust that the people of England will never be influenced by the earthborn, creeping learning, which resolves the higher aspirations of the soul after the truth for which it is willing to give the body to death; into the mere ravings of the fanaticism of the blinded or infuriated partizan. I trust that the church of England—the people of England—the *protestants* of England—(long may the antipapal epithet, in spite of our own brethren who would despise it, retain its honourable estimation among us)—I trust that the nation and the state of England will never forget the dying words of the martyrs, upon which such men as Harpsfield would throw contempt and scorn. "See," said Baynham, whom Harpsfield mentions with indignation and ridicule,—"see," said the dying witness, "ye look for miracles. Here is a miracle. I feel, in this fire, no more pain than if I were on a bed of down. It is to me as a bed of roses!"—"I will never pray for thee, thou art a heretic," said the

(1) See Le Bas's Wycliffe, p. 309.

(2) Pp. 959—962, 963, etc.

sheriff to Rogers at the stake. "But I will pray for thee," was the meek answer; and while the flames were consuming him, he waved his hand in triumph.—"The blessed gospel is what I hold," said Sanders, when they offered him a pardon if he would recant; "that do I believe; that have I taught; that will I never revoke." And that blessed gospel, by God's continued mercy, is still taught among us.—"Oh live, my friend!" said sir Anthony Kingston to bishop Hooper, when the queen had requested the knight to induce the bishop to recant; and when he, with many tears, therefore entreated his friend to live. "True it is," said the bishop, "that death is bitter, and life is sweet; but the second death is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet!"[1]—"I have taught you nothing, my people," said Taylor, on his way to the stake, "but God's holy word, and the lessons I have taken from the Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal that truth with my blood!" And he kissed the stake when he came to it. "Merciful Father!" he prayed, "for Jesus Christ's sake, receive my soul!" and the learned, the eloquent, and the facetious, and the pious man (the qualities by which I describe him are not incompatible with each other) dies as the antipapal witness, to the antipapal truth.—"I will give you the stewardship of my palace and forty pounds in money, if thou wilt recant," said the bishop of London to poor Hunter. "I cannot turn from God!" was the victim's answer, and he lifted up his hands to heaven, as his head sunk down in the flames—"Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!"

Is it bigotry, is it intolerance, is it a want of liberality, as even protestant divines are beginning to assert, to remember these fearful scenes, when the very power which taught the people that these scenes were necessary for the honour of Christ, and the benefit of the catholic church, still aspires to rule, and still refuses, up to this very hour, to change one doctrine, rescind one decree, or alter one law of its church:—and, what is still worse, has strengthened and confirmed all the most objectionable errors since the martyrs suffered? If we did not know, that the God of Christianity has declared, that, under the influence of the Holy Spirit of love and of power, mankind shall be taught union among themselves and obedience to his will, we might despair of the destinies of the holy catholic church, and the happiness and peace of the world. *But the time must come, when Rome shall change,* as the heathens were changed, and as England has been changed. It shall become ashamed, not only of the scenes I am relating, but of the principles and the laws which occasioned them. Till that change of its laws is begun and completed, while others may affect to forget, we, who study the history of the past to learn instruction for the present and the future, must never forget the record of the testimony to the truth of our present antipapal form of Christianity, established among us. I, for one, will ever be so bigoted, if the word must be applied to me, as to remember how Farrar, the bishop of St. David's, kept his

(1) I write from memory; but if the reader will refer to the accounts, he will find I am generally correct.

word, in the flames, after he had told his friend, "that if he saw him stir from the pain of the burning, his doctrine might be disbelieved;" and he stood up in the fire, without shrinking, patient to the last. Some may call his language presumption. I deem it to be the faith of a martyr, conscious of Divine support.—"I would gladly accept my pardon," said George Marsh, "if it did not tend to tear me away from God."—"Be of good cheer, brother Ridley," said old Latimer to his more accomplished and courtier-like brother-bishop, "and play the man!" And Ridley suffered with the same heroism and fortitude as the poorer and more ignoble victims, to prove to us, that the witnesses to the antipapal cause were to be alike derived from the gentlemen of the court, as from the loom, or the plough.—"The Bible," said poor Bartlett Green, when he was reproached by his judge with opposing his opinion against those of the ancient fathers and prelates of the realm, "is of more authority than all fathers, all prelates, and all churches; it is the test by which all their opinions must be tried."—And if the people of England, after their great deliverances in church and state, ever forget this truth, they will again deserve to see their holy priesthood changed into an unholy priestcraft; and to have the curse, and not the blessing, of the Inspirer of the holy Scriptures rest upon them.—"That unworthy right hand! That unworthy right hand!" said the still hated, still abused, still calumniated Cranmer; and the weakness of his recantation is still remembered by the papal writer, to the dishonour of the archbishop, when his dying prayer is ridiculed, though he spake it in common with the first martyr, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"—"Be of good cheer!" said the lame man to the blind man, when he threw away his crutch, and was fastened to the stake; "my lord of London is a good physician, he will cure thee of thy blindness and me of my lameness."—"We believe in the holy catholic church," said others;[1] and when one of the bystanders told them that he rejoiced at this part of their faith, "We believe not in the papal catholic church," was the answer, "but in the catholic church of Christ."—If it be said that many of these persons died for their own general, undefined, and sometimes therefore erroneous views of the conclusions derivable from the word of God,—it is true, I answer; *but the greater part*, like Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Farrar, and others, *died for the very church which still remains*, by God's great and undeserved mercy upon us, still established, in their blood, by our protestant laws, among us. Many of them, like Hillier or Hullier, who pressed the prayer-book to his heart, when it was scornfully thrown to him, thanked God in the flames for bestowing on the kingdom that precious gift.—I feel, however, that I need not proceed to relate their dying committings of their souls to God, their prayers for mercy, their ejaculations of praise, their hosannahs and their hallelujahs to the God of Christianity, who accepted the oblations of their

(1) See the martyrdoms of Spicer, Denny, and Poole.

martyred bodies, upon the altars of Smithfield, Oxford, and Colchester, and other towns, honoured by their noble deaths, for the cause of the catholic church, and for the religion now established in England.—Harpsfield could not forget them. He lived among the eye-witnesses who beheld these things. He rejoiced with his brother, the chaplain of Bonner, to do God service, by putting the protestant members of the church of England to death; and he laughed in triumph over their agonies, and derided, when he could not deny, the mournful narratives of John Foxe. He despises them all; but he is more especially angry with the story of Baynham, and with the exclamation, that the fire that consumed him was as a bed of roses. These words, as well as all the other expressions which I have cited, appeared to Harpsfield—and they may appear to others also—to be only the result of enthusiasm, boasting, or mockery. But the same power of the mind to conquer the agonies of the body is the wonderful phenomenon which was, and is, common to the American Indian, the Hindoo devotee, the papal sufferer for the supremacy of Rome, the primitive martyrs, and to the claimant of the honours of a warrior among the rude tribes of the West. Is there any philosophy in imagining that the protestant martyr alone is to be exempted from the universal law, by which the spirit conquers the pains of the flesh, and triumphs over agony and torture? "They boasted," says Harpsfield, "that they felt no pains in the fire."[1] If the expressions be literally interpreted, Harpsfield is right, and Foxe is wrong: but they are not to be so considered. They are to be regarded as the proofs of that heroic patience, that stubborn fortitude, with which the Creator has endued the human soul, for the best and wisest purposes. Such fortitude is at once the proof of the independence of the soul upon the organs of the body—the pledge that consciousness does not necessarily depend upon organization; and the demonstration, therefore, of the possible, the probable, and the certain immortality of man.

Much railing, also, is vented against Foxe,[2] which requires no notice. He is abused, after much irrelevant matter, for admitting that the supreme power over the church, might be in the hands of a layman.[3] As this question must be decided by the meaning of the two words—"church," and "head of the church," it may not be advisable to discuss its details at present. Harpsfield is scandalized at an erroneous assertion of Foxe, that eight only of the Romanists died for their faith; whereas many more could be enumerated, whom Harpsfield mentions and eulogizes. Foxe would have said, that many whom his antagonist praises as martyrs, suffered rather as traitors and rebels. But into this sad and painful recrimination I shall not now enter. The differences in religious opinions are always identified with political controversies, when they are involved in the discussions of obedience or disobedience to the public law:

(1) Jactitabant se nullos in igne dolores sensisse.
(2) Especially in page 977. (3) Page 989.

and the only mode of preventing the fearful struggle between our duty to Cæsar and our duty to God, is—that Cæsar take care, in all matters of religion, to exact that only which God has empowered him to demand. Our fathers identified heresy with treason, and treason with heresy; because the rulers of the people imagined themselves to be unsusceptible of error in religious opinion, and of folly in political legislation. The rejection of their religious opinions, therefore, was made heresy; and because their political legislation was founded on their religious opinions, that rejection was denominated treason. The only great division among Christians is occasioned by the difficulty of so directing and forming the opinions of our rulers, that their laws should be consistent with the conclusions of reason, and with the discoveries of revelation. The former are discoverable only after long experience, and the latter are continually made more plain and more satisfactory by continued improvements in knowledge. Because such experience and such improvements imply imperfection on the part of rulers and of subjects,—therefore it is that the consciousness of such imperfection, rendering both rulers and people jealous over themselves, and anxious for progressive perfection, is the only source of mutual confidence,—the only banisher of all intolerance,—the only reconciler of the claims of the civil power, the authority of the ecclesiastical power,—the love of truth, which appeals to Scripture, and the love of freedom, which appeals to reason. All, all, these will be united when the several nations which constitute the states and churches of the one catholic church, and the one confederated civilized world, shall learn mutual self-distrust from the long records of the past. Then, and then only, the mighty controversy will cease, which has so long convulsed the world by the collisions between power assuming infallibility, and subjection demanding the extension of greater privilege. Then, and then only, will the lesson with which John Foxe concludes the melancholy history of the persecutions which disgrace the reign of Mary, be learned by states and churches. Then, and then only, will the prayer with which his antagonist Harpsfield concludes his last chapter, be heard and answered. The conclusion of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe is,—that when those who are in authority, acting upon the union of zeal and opinion, stir up persecution in christian churches, to the effusion of christian blood, they are in danger, while they think they only punish heretics, of stumbling at the same stone on which the Jews of old fell, to their own confusion and destruction.[1] The prayer with which Harpsfield concludes his attack on the martyrologist, is—that the dissensions among Christians may cease, and that we may all live, and receive a blessing, in the unity of the catholic church.[2] I interpret the the words "catholic church" in a different sense from that of Harpsfield. *He would make the centre of unity to be submission to papal Rome.*

(1) Vol. iii. p. 801, col. 1, edit. 1684; vol. viii. p. 628, new edit.
(2) "Videor mihi videre Babylonicam hanc turrim per hæreticos arroganter constructam, dispersis vanis et insolentibus ædificatoribus, collapsuram," etc. P. 999. "In catholicæ ecclesiæ unitate, mi Critobule, vive, vale, flore." P. 1002.

I would make the centre of unity to be the primitive episcopal communion, in which there might be friendship with, but no submission to, reformed and antipapal Rome. In this sense of the words "the catholic church," I join in the prayer of Harpsfield, and desire to enforce the lesson inculcated on the world by John Foxe. The cessation of all persecution, and the cultivation of christian unity, in the communion of the holy catholic church, is, or ought to be, the twofold object of all christian controversialists. Papists and protestants, states and nations, churches and individual believers, are beginning over the whole civilized and christianized world to join in the prayer that we learn from the lessons which John Foxe has recorded—that the general detestation of persecution is the first and best foundation of all our hopes of union; and happy shall we be if we gather from the unanswered and unanswerable pages of John Foxe, the one holy conclusion, to which all the pages of the history of the past should lead us—that the sad record of the infliction and endurance of suffering should teach Rome to repent, and protestantism to distrust itself, and all churches to reconsider their foundations and their superstructure, till their mutual exasperations and angry jealousies be forgiven, and past persecutions terminate in the cessation of mutual hatred, and the establishment of christian love. The basis of such union must be catholic episcopacy, well-considered discipline, the reception of the holy Scriptures as the rule of the creeds of the churches, and the total annihilation of all laws which enforce and compel the adoption of a religious opinion, because it is the opinion of the civil or of the ecclesiastical rulers. I may seem to be speaking of a dream: but if the prayer of Christ be answered, (and heaven and earth shall pass away before his word shall fail,) the dream will become a reality; and the mode in which it may be accomplished may possibly be obscurely shadowed out. The study of the history of the past may possibly be the guide to the safe anticipation of the future. So may it be! May God's kingdom of peace and love come! may Christ's will, as Christ expressed his will in his own solemn prayer, be done, in union among Christians upon earth, as we believe it is done in union among the angels of heaven!

CONCLUSION.

HERE, then, I end my review of the assailants on the "*veracity and fidelity*" of John Foxe. None of them, whether ancient or modern, have proved him to be an unfaithful or unfair historian. None have demonstrated that our ancestors acted unwisely in deeming the martyrologist to have been the most useful servant, which the *university of Oxford* ever yet produced, without any one exception, to warn the people against the consequences of the papal supremacy over the laws of England, and

over the consciences and persons of the people. None have disproved his incalculable value in warming the hearts of his countrymen to meet the dangers which threatened them in the reign of Elizabeth; in animating them to meet with bold and unquailing resistance the sabbath-breaking, press-persecuting folly of Laud,—or in preserving the fire on the altar of God, and on the hearth of true liberty, when the last of the Stuarts dispensed with the protestant laws, and aimed at the restoration of the ascendancy of Rome. None of his assailants have appreciated his real value, even at this moment, as the bequeather of a solemn warning to us, and to our children; never to permit the domination of the unchanged papal party, or the influential revival of the unchanged papal principles which our ancestors so justly condemned. That same unchanged power would now hope to succeed, by courtesy, flattery, and an assumed liberality; which once ruled by severity, terror, and fear. It still aspires to govern us. It must necessarily, therefore, be still watched. It must be ever guarded against, with jealousy, vigilance, and courage, whether it wage its open war upon us, or whether it creep silently, slowly, and invisibly into the paradise of our reformed church and free state, among the fogs and mists,[1] of our liberal opinions, foolish divisions, or revived appeals to the spurious traditions which our fathers rightly undervalued, as unworthy of comparison with the holy light, "offspring of heaven first-born," of the written and inspired revelation. None of his assailants have convicted John Foxe of intentional mistakes, or of any error but such as might have been anticipated in volumes so numerous and extensive; and such as are common to every author and historian who has ever attempted to instruct the world. The result of every attack we have considered, has served to demonstrate some excellency in his invaluable pages. *Churton* has enabled me to prove that he is more accurate and more fair than his critic. *Tyler* elicits the fact that the ascendancy of the priesthood was the disgrace to the conqueror at Agincourt. *Tytler* has brought out more fully the undoubted truth, that the religious bigotry of Mary ruined great and good qualities. *Maitland* has induced the demonstration, that the pages of Foxe will endure minute criticism, even in his relation of the periods in which I agree with Burnet, "that he is not always a safe guide." *Andrews*, copying from *Parsons* and *Harpsfield*, has so exhausted the language of abuse and hatred, that he unavoidably produces a love and esteem for Foxe by the inveteracy of his anger, united with the total absence of any proof of the truth of his assertions. *Milner* has been more influential than his other antagonists, as he is more courteous, and therefore more plausible; but the effort to enforce the conviction, that some of the victims whom Foxe places in his list of martyrs were unworthy of eulogy, strengthens the painful consciousness, that the greater number, whom *Milner* cannot assail, were burnt without any

(1) "So saying, through each thicket dark and dry,
Like a black mist low creeping, he held on
His midnight search," etc.—Paradise Lost, b. ix. line 179, etc.

possible charge of immorality, treason, or crime. He unwillingly proves that the church of Rome is indeed guilty of the innocent blood, and that she must therefore remove, not palliate, the crime; *she must repent, and not apologize.*—The pollution of books of devotion, as in the example of *Haydock*, excites only greater veneration for Foxe. For God is the God of love; and when we pray, we approach to Him as to our Father. The pages of John Foxe relate the sad story, how some of the professed children of our heavenly Father burnt and tortured their brethren; and the preface to the devotions, which denounces Foxe as the historian of such transactions, serves only to remind the Christian, before he prays, that he must hate, either Foxe who records, or the persecutors who inflicted, the cruelties. In either case, the offerings of the heart are intercepted in their way to heaven by the ruder feelings of hatred, which are incompatible with the spirit of acceptable prayer. *Collier*, *Heylyn*, and *Laud*, like all other protestant objectors to the martyrologist, shrink and recoil from the attempt, which their more daring papal coadjutors have made, to defend the practices which Foxe assails, or the opinions which Foxe condemns. They are compelled to regard him as their fellow-soldier in the war against Rome; but they condemn his zeal and courage, as those of an undisciplined volunteer, rather than as the subdued effort of the more disciplined warrior. Their inefficient censures render his valour and success more evident. They are the martinets of the church; valuing the uniform and the drill, the feather and the button, in the day of peace; more than the fortitude and the courage exhibited in the day of battle. *All the three belonged to that school, which is again very partially reviving among us, to be derided eventually with the contempt it deserves*—the school, which is guilty of popery, while it is innocent of papistry—the school, which undervalues the Scriptures, to exalt tradition—while it teaches, as doctrines, the commandments of men, and demands the submission of the soul to ordinances, which cannot be demonstrated to proceed either from Sinai, or Zion. *Popery is that one crime to which all churches, classes, sects, and individuals, are alike prone, and alike tempted.* It is the enforcing upon another an uncommanded opinion, by uncommanded means. It is the requiring the reception of a proposition, whether it be true or false, by some other means than those of evidence, persuasion, and conviction. *Papistry is only the papal form of popery. Collier*, *Heylyn*, *Laud*, and all their followers, would have used the authority, which was only granted as the means of more effectual moral persuasion, to inflict pain on the body for the benefit of the soul; and all, therefore, had a "*personal dislike*" to Foxe, whose labours were felt to be a warning against all persecution, and all temporal punishment, for the sake of an opinion—whether such persecution proceed from the popery of high-churchism, low-churchism, presbyterianism, or dissent; or whether it proceed from the peculiar and more gigantic popery, the papistry of the church of Rome. They too have raised the value of John Foxe, for they have taught the country that he

is the enemy of persecution, from whatever quarter it may emanate, whether from Lambeth or Geneva, from Oxford or from Rome.

Parsons rendered the labours of Foxe more intensely beloved by his countrymen, because they saw in the critic the domestic traitor, who identified Christ with the pope, and the catholic church with Rome; and who, therefore, sent the Spaniard with the thumbscrews and irons of the Armada, under the patronage of the Virgin, to the overthrow of the church and state, of protestant antipapal England. *Harpsfield* increased the love of the people to the pages of the martyrologist, because they remembered, in the name of that critic, the chaplain of Bonner, the favourite archdeacon of that bishop, the most persecuting agent of that persecuting prelate,[1]—the questioner of Ridley,[2]—the assertor (with our tractarian brethren at Oxford, even at the present hour) of the great error, which was perverted to the upholding of every corruption of Romanism—of the necessity of submitting our judgment to the holy catholic church, instead of submitting it to the reasoning, and to the Scriptures, which directed the holy catholic church,[3]—the examiner of poor Hawkes,[4] the victim who promised to give his friends a token, when he was in the flames of martyrdom, that the mind could so conquer the effects of the pain of the body, as to be quiet and patient in that great agony; and who kept his word, by suddenly lifting up his hands above his head, when his speech was gone, his skin contracted with the violence of the heat, and his fingers partially consumed. The name of *Harpsfield* reminded the people of the shouts of joy among the spectators, which followed the moral miracle, as the dying martyr sank down and perished in the flames. These, and similar scenes,[5] were brought to the recollection of the people by the contemporary opponent of John Foxe; and the bitter animosity against the martyrologist, which breathes in every page, when his name or his book is mentioned, rather confirmed them in their love for Foxe, than induced them to sympathize with his antagonist. Thus it ever was, and thus it ever will be, with the advocates of eternal truth. Continued misrepresentation, from various motives, by opposite parties, from the time of *Harpsfield* to that of *Churton*, in spite of such upholders and friends as archbishops Grindal and Whitgift, down to archbishop Howley, had at length, in our day, succeeded in momentarily depressing among us the value and authority of Foxe. The attempt to revive an impression of his Acts and Monuments in a new and more popular form, was derided as an absurdity. The protectors of the effort were ridiculed as bigots; whom the march of intellect had not reached, whom liberal feelings had not touched, on whose dark souls the light of the

(1) It is true that Nicholas Harpsfield was the critic, and John Harpsfield the persecutor. I, therefore, say, that the name Harpsfield reminded the people of the past. Dodd says of John Harpsfield that his place obliged him to be active, and therefore John Foxe bestows some rough compliments upon him.—Dodd's Ch. History, folio edit. vol. ii. p. 63, 64.

(2) Vol. iii. p. 59, col. 1, ed. 1684; vol. vi. p. 486, new edit.

(3) Foxe, vol. iii. p. 70, col. 1, ed. 1684.

(4) Vol. iii. p. 214, col. 1, ed. 1684; vol. vii. p. 114, new edit.

(5) See the curious conversation between Harpsfield and Phillpott, before bishop Bonner, where the victim and the chaplain seem to dwell with complacency on the days when they were schoolboys together. The reader will remember a parallel scene in one of sir W. Scott's novels. Foxe, vol. vii. p. 653, new edit.

spirit of the age had not dawned. The *perseverance* of the renegade protestant, and the papal partizan, had imbued the minds of the public with the conviction, that Foxe was a liar, and his work a collection of lies. The accusation has now been met. The accusers have been confronted with the accused. Whatever be the defects of the humble agent who has arranged the witnesses against him, and enabled the reader to examine their evidence, to compare it with the defence, and to decide on the merits or the demerits of the martyrologist; the labour will, I trust, be so far deemed to be successful, that no man from this time forward will dare to impugn the "*veracity and fidelity*" of Foxe, nor call him by the opprobrious epithets which designate the affirmer of deliberate and wilful falsehood. To produce this effect is the task which was now undertaken, and I hope it has not been unsuccessfully accomplished.

But are there no errors, no faults in the volumes of John Foxe? Is he to be ranked among our historical authorities, and enrolled among our standard authors? Is not his book essentially a controversial book, and is this great controversy between the churches of Rome and England never to end? The three questions naturally or unavoidably present themselves on the conclusion of this treatise. I will answer each question briefly, and bid my reader farewell.

Are there no faults in Foxe? Ay, truly are there; and many more than his most inveterate antagonists have mentioned. But he has done his best, and there is not one wilful misrepresentation of a fact. His faults are these:—too great carelessness in the printing of the titles of men and the names of places—too careless revision of the translations, which he tells us in his reply to Alan Cope, or Harpsfield, were frequently left to others, while he prepared fresh materials for new editions. The Greek epitaph of Foxe on Jewell,[1] and the various Latin compositions which have given him a high rank among scholars, prove to us that the inaccuracies which may have been discovered in his translations must have proceeded from carelessness, and not from ignorance. Still that carelessness is indefensible.—He has other faults. He is too credulous. He speaks of Hildegardis, for instance, as if she was endued with the miraculous gift of prophecy.—He expresses himself incautiously respecting many things which the church of England has sanctioned, and which, like the Lord's prayer, were common to the early church, and to the church of Rome, such as church music.[2] He speaks too disparagingly of such eminent men as More and Fisher; though it must be remembered that both these men were guilty of the common crime, the persecution which Foxe abhorred.—He mentions the crucifying of children by the Jews, as if he believed the common fables; yet it is not impos-

(1) There is a very pretty, or elegant thought in the lines to which I refer. They are printed at the end of Laurence Humfrey's Life of Jewell (4to. London, ap. John Day, 1573). Fortune, nature, grace combined to bestow their various excellences on Jewell. Fortune gave him honours. Nature gave him accomplishments; but these gifts were mortal, and have perished with him in the dust. Grace gave him gifts more excellent, more divine, and with his soul, immortal.

(2) See the examination of Thorpe, vol. i. p. 610, col. 2, ed. 1683; vol. iii. p. 269, new edit.

sible that some fanatical Jews may have sometimes given cause for the popular conviction.—He is said to have received the account of martyrdoms, without sufficient caution; yet the accounts were addressed to his contemporaries, who might have refuted them if they could have been refuted.—It is difficult to vindicate him from the charge of puritanism. It is certain that if he could have effected a further reform in the church of England, he would have conducted it much too far from Rome. It is difficult to distinguish between his opinions, and those of the persons of whom he is speaking. This is a great defect. These are the chief popular objections; yet these are not insisted upon by the assailants whom I have noticed. I have heard these mentioned in conversation, and have seen them suggested in various notices of his merits or demerits. They are all great faults; yet they affect neither his "*veracity, nor his fidelity,*" and may be dismissed therefore without further notice.

But the second question is—*Ought John Foxe to be regarded as an historical authority?*

Mr. Maitland speaks of the idea as absurd. Let us consider as our best answer to the question, neither his opinions, nor his motives, nor his objects, but the vast storehouse of materials he has collected, and the mass of undisputed facts which he has related, and which are not to be found in the volumes of any other book. We shall then, I think, come to the conclusion, that he still is, what our fathers esteemed him to be—one of the first, most valuable, and unsuperseded authorities in the English language.[1]

John Foxe then was the first publisher of the Saxon Sermons, which prove the peculiarities of Rome to have been unreceived by our Saxon ancestors. These sermons were deemed so valuable, that they have been separately printed, with the attestation of many competent witnesses to their accuracy. The early history of the language is illustrated by this part of the labours of Foxe.

John Foxe first made generally known to the public, the value of the historical manuscripts, which he consulted before they were printed. The first English edition of Foxe was printed in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. He makes constant use of Matt. Paris, which was first printed in 1571; of William of Malmesbury, William Huntingdon, R. Hoveden, Ethelward, and Ingulphus, which were first printed in 1596; and of Matt. of Westminster, which was printed in 1567. He quotes from manuscripts the epistle of Boniface or Winfrid;[2] the letter of Charlemagne;[3] the letters of Alcuin;[4] the laws of Athelstan;[5] the laws of Egelred;[6] the oration of Edgar.[7] All these were printed for the first time, and

(1) I omit the references to Foxe as an undoubted historical authority, which are to be found in Strype (Memorials, vol. iii. folio edition), with the testimony of that writer to his accuracy, p. 401; his diligence, p. 458; the citation of Foxe's MSS. pp. 60, 79, 102, 104, 138, 259, 273, App. pp. 66, 19. 28, 91, etc.; the specification of his materials, pp. 66, 145, 457; his impartiality, p. 258, etc. Strype's Memorials ought to be in the possession of every student.

(2) Vol. i. p. 143, edit. 1683. (3) Vol. i. p. 145, col. 1, edit. 1683.

(4) Vol. i. p. 146, edit. 1684. (5) Vol. i. p. 166, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 44, new edit.

(6) Vol. i. p. 181, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 78, new edit. (7) Vol. i. p. 189, edit. 1683.

were added to the public store of our literature. We cannot be surprised that all, every one of the antagonists who assailed him, excepting those who live in this more liberal age, venerated his researches and his learning, and always quote him on every point (but that to which their controversial discussions may have led them) with respect and deference as an undoubted authority. Foxe printed from the records in the Tower the charters of king William.[1] He confirms his statements from the registers of Hereford.[2] He analyses the manuscript account of the miracles of Becket.[3] He refers to the manuscript account of the pacification between pope Alexander and the emperor Frederic,[4] and to letters printed from the Tower.[5] The French chronicle of Thomas Grey is cited (in the same page with the letter of king John to the pope from the Tower rolls);[6] and one copy only of this manuscript now remains, in the library of Christ Church college in Cambridge. It was not printed till the year 1838. The eulogium of the monk of Canterbury, quoted by Foxe in the same page, is not yet printed. All these, as well as the extracts from the episcopal registers,[7] might not have been printed to illustrate the truth of our common histories, to this very day, if John Foxe had not collected or transcribed them for the general use.

The history of the rise and progress of the Reformation is more fully and clearly illustrated by the labours of John Foxe, from the most unexceptionable contemporary authorities, than by any other writer on that ever-interesting subject. He has collected and printed numerous original documents from the registers of the bishop of London;[8] from those of the bishop of Lincoln;[9] from those of the archbishop of Canterbury,[10] and, what are more valuable still, from the registers of the archbishop of St. Andrews. No one episcopal register of that period is to be found in all Scotland; so complete has been the devastation of such records in that part of the empire. When Foxe wrote, that devastation had not destroyed the registers. Foxe refers to them. "We express here," he says, "the articles against Hamilton, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers."[11] Very curious are some of the documents which Foxe has thus collected. Among the most so, are the letter of thanks from Louvaine to Scotland,[12] Hamilton's treatise on Justifying Faith,[13] Sir Ralph Sadler's Oration to the king of Scotland on the Papal Supremacy,[14] Articles against Borthwick and others.[15] Many other records

(1) Vol. i. p. 192, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 51, etc. new edit.
(2) Vol. i. p. 211, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 150, new edit.
(3) I commend to the modern apologists of this sainted traitor, vol. i. p. 255, col. 1, edit. 1683; vol. ii. pp. 250, etc. new edit.
(4) Vol. i. p. 257, col. 2, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 257, new edit.
(5) Vol. i. p. 283, edit. 1683; vol. ii. p. 322, new edit. (6) Vol. i. pp. 287, 887, col. i. edit. 1685.
(7) Vol. i. pp. 571, 563, 531, etc. edit. 1683; vol. ii. pp. 131, 192, 226, etc. new edit.
(8) Vol. ii. ed. 1683, in pp. 4 et seq. 212, 217, 225, 235, 239, 246, 247, 260, 203, 485, 486; vol. v. p. 399, new edit.
(9) Pp. 22 et seq. 195, etc.; vol. v. p. 454, ect. new edit.
(10) Pp. 497—509, 531, 532; vol. v. pp. 648, 649, etc. new edit.
(11) Vol. ii. p. 182. col. 2, ad fin. edit. 1684; vol. iv. p. 560, new edit.
(12) Vol. ii. p. 183; vol. iv. p. 561, new edit.
(13) Page 184; vol. iv. p. 566, new edit. (14) Page 295.
(15) Page 512, ex regist. et instrumentis a Scotiâ missis. See also pp. 528, 529; vol. v. p. 625, new edit.

of the same date are cited by Foxe alone, which are essential to every student of history, and which assist in making his work what our fathers esteemed it to be—the completest ecclesiastical-historical library we possess. Among these may be enumerated the conferences between the cardinal and the almoner of queen Catharine ;[1] the oaths of Gardiner, Stokesley, Lee, Tunstal, etc. renouncing the papal supremacy. These are printed from the originals, and were probably taken from the proceedings of the convocation, which are now lost.[2] Foxe prints, too, many letters of Henry VIII. and Wolsey,[3] which would have been otherwise lost. He has omitted many on account of the size of his book, which can now never be recovered.[4]

This brings us down to his own times. Much of the history of that period was founded upon written contemporary authority. The story of the three men, *King*, *Debenham*, and *Marsh*, who were hanged for burning the rood at Dover Court, was taken from the letters of a living witness, who might therefore be referred to when Foxe's book was published.[5] Tindal's letters to Frith ;[6] Bonner's letters to Cromwell ;[7] the characteristic conference between Brusierd and Bilney on image-worship ;[8] the highly important document from Bonner's own handwriting against Gardiner, and the letters of Lambert, were all in the possession of Foxe, and all were printed from the originals. The story of Garret,[9] of Barber,[10] of Brown,[11] were all printed from the affecting narratives of eye-witnesses. In the paper respecting priests' marriages from Parker,[12] he cites[13] very many old charters from their originals ; which demonstrate that the marriages of priests were allowed by the ancient laws of the kingdom. Foxe is no less to be considered still useful also to the reader of history, for the information he has given to us from original sources, of the foreign affairs of the kingdom. His information from Œcolampadius,[14] and from Spain,[15] appears to have been from manuscripts. He communicated also with Calais before it was lost to England ; and collected from thence many interesting narratives.[16] In these memoranda I notice only those documents respecting which Foxe himself has given us any details ; and as he generally quotes his documents without informing us of the particular sources from whence they are derived, they form but a very small portion of the invaluable and original matter, which is scattered through his laborious pages. Burnet, Strype, and all our best historians have derived their principal information and documents from John Foxe ; and many hundred letters, all derived from authentic sources, and only now to be found there, illustrate the period of which he writes ; and prove his work to be indispensable to every one who desires both genuine and accurate knowledge of the painful subjects of his history.

(1) From a MS. in Foxe's own possession.
(2) Pages 279, 280 ; vol. v. pp. 71—73, new edit.
(3) Page 202 ; vol. iv. pp. 600—608, new edit.
(4) Page 201.
(5) Page 250 ; vol. iv. p. 706, new edit.
(6) Page 307 ; vol. v. p. 131, etc. new edit.
(7) Page 315 ; vol. v. p. 150, etc. new edit.
(8) Page 215 ; vol. iv. p. 628, new edit.
(9) Page 428 ; vol. v. p. 421, new edit.
(10) Page 453.
(11) Page 551.
(12) Page 393 ; vol. v. p. 312, etc. new edit.
(13) Page 407 ; vol. v. p. 340, etc. new edit.
(14) Pp. 89, 90 ; vol. iv. pp. 369, 371, new edit.
(15) Page 185 ; vol. iv. p. 594, new edit.
(16) Page 477, col. 1, and p. 476, col. 2.

Raw-head and bloody-bone stories, are supposed to be the subjects of his Acts and Monuments, by the thoughtless and ignorant alone. Those who have studied his pages, will never dispense with his book.

As this statement may appear strange to many, in spite of all I have said, I will still confirm my opinion of the value of John Foxe, by referring to other original and most valuable documents, which are indispensable to the right understanding of the times in which he lived; and to the general illustration of English history. The record of the proceedings of the convocations in England, for instance, were destroyed in the fire of London, 1666. Foxe gives us extracts from them, of the utmost utility.[1] The speech of queen Mary, at Guildhall, was taken down by one who heard it, and given to Foxe.[2] The documents connected with the history of lady Jane Grey, are original. The curious oration of Bonner to the convocation, on the dignity of the priesthood,[3] was reported to Foxe by a hearer. Ridley's manuscript account of his discussion with Feckenham;[4] the documents exhibited by Cranmer on his examination;[5] the papers prepared by Ridley for his defence;[6] Ridley's own account of his treatment;[7] were all committed to Foxe, and used by him in the compilation of his work. So also the account of Bonner's actually striking, in his passion, a gentleman of rank,[8] with other extravagances of anger, were testified to Foxe, by those who were present. The oration of cardinal Pole, the proceedings of the council, and the submission of England to the pope, on the absolution of the lords and commons on their knees before the cardinal, are most graphically related by Foxe;[9] who gives us also the autograph letter of Philip to the pope, with the letter of the cardinal. The sermon on the following Sunday at Paul's Cross, by Gardiner, are also given[10] from manuscript notes, "as they came to my hands," says Foxe, "faithfully gathered." Those who speak slightingly of the "*veracity and fidelity*" of John Foxe cannot have studied these things. They cannot have read his constant references to original documents, and his no less constant appeal to the contemporary testimonies, by which, or by whom, the truth of his narratives was confirmed. Accumulative proofs of his "veracity and faithfulness" of this nature, will not be valued by some. Others will demand still more proofs of his diligence, and anxiety to give relations of the events which took place in the reign of Mary; and on their account I will still continue my observations.

The accounts then of the examinations of some of the prisoners, drawn up by themselves, "left in writing, to remain for a perpetual testimony, in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth, recorded and testified, by his own writing."[11] The memoranda respecting bishop

(1) Vol. iii. p. 16, edit. 1684; vol. vi. p. 395, new edit.
(2) Vol. iii. p. 25; vol. vi. p. 414, new edit.
(3) Vol. iii. p. 33; vol. vi. p. 433, new edit.
(4) Vol. iii. p. 34; vol. vi. p. 434, new edit.
(5) Vol. iii. p. 39; vol. vi. p. 445, new edit.
(6) Vol. iii. p. 55; vol. vi. p. 470, new edit.
(7) Vol. iii. p. 74; vol. vi. p. 532, new edit.
(8) Vol. iii. edit. 1683, pp. 86, 87; vol. vi. p. 563, new edit.
(9) Vol. iii. pp. 89—91; vol. vi. pp. 568—574, new edit.
(10) Vol. iii. p. 92; vol. vi. p. 577, new edit.
(11) These are Foxe's words spoken of Rogers; other prisoners also gave their papers. Vol. iii. pp. 98, 103, 107, 110, 111, 114, 115; vol. vi. pp. 591—636, new edit.

Hooper, who was "spare of his diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time,"[1] are given to Foxe by those who knew him. The original of Ridley's letter to Hooper,[2] the originals of Hooper's examinations,[3] and of Hooper's letters,[4] with the manuscript letters of Taylor,[5] Phillpotts,[6] Cranmer,[7] and Careless,[8] were all in Foxe's possession. Other proceedings against the supposed heretics were copied from the registers.[9] The public records also are cited.[10] The letters of Farrar,[11] of Bradford,[12] of Ridley,[13] and of Latimer,[14] were collected by Foxe. The examination of George Marsh, who read the English Litany every morning with his friends on his knees,[15] the process against Bland,[16] the final examinations of Ridley and Latimer,[17] were all communicated to the martyrologist, who anxiously endeavoured to collect original and authentic documents from all quarters. He proves his extreme candour, in his estimation of the value of these documents, by the manner in which he speaks of the account given of Cranmer by his friend Dr. Martin. "Such as that report is," says Foxe, "I thought good to let the reader understand, that he may use therein his own judgment and consideration."[18] His frequent appeals to eye-witnesses of the things he relates,[19] the manner in which the declarations he received from the persecuted of their examinations and sufferings, are affirmed by him, not to be credited for their own words only,[20] even though in one remarkable case the narrative of their sorrows was written with their own blood, and not with ink.[21] All these things prove to us that Foxe is worthy of our confidence, and that his "*veracity and fidelity*" cannot be assailed with either truth or honour. Disgrace has followed every attempt to destroy its value. *If Foxe's Acts and Monuments had not been written*, and this is the best criterion of its merits, *no book in the English language can be mentioned, which could supply its place.* Whoever will but impartially and candidly consider the mass of the materials collected, and remember that this work was the first attempt to give to the common reader a history of the church of Christ, as well as a narrative of the evil consequences of the one false principle, that the soul of the Christian is to be governed by authority that is fallible, on the supposition that such authority is infallible, unchangeable and divine,—must, I think, acknowledge, that the work of John Foxe is one of the most useful, most important, and most valuable books we still possess. It has never been superseded. Its loss could not have been supplied. He will

(1) Foxe. See the beautiful character given of Hooper, p. 120, vol. iii.; vol. vi. p. 637, new edit.
(2) Page 121; vol. vi. p. 640, new edit. (3) Page 123; vol. vi. p. 644, new edit.
(4) Page 129; vol. vi. p. 659, new edit. (5) Pages 140, 141; vol. vi. p. 685, new edit.
(6) Pages 459—499; vol. vii. pp. 681—711, new edit. (7) Page 563; vol. viii. p. 91, new edit.
(8) Pages 599—615; vol. viii. p. 171, new edit. (9) Pages 155, 208; vol. v. p. 715, new edit.
(10) Page 184, col. 2. (11) Page 178; vol. vii. p. 26, new edit.
(12) Pages 255—301; vol. vii. pp. 196—268, new edit. (13) Page 368; vol. vii. p. 424, new edit.
(14) Page 386; vol. vii. p. 473, new edit. (15) Page 185; vol. vii. p. 39, new edit.
(16) "Seeing," says Foxe, "we have his own testimony concerning his whole life and doings," p. 301; vol. vii. p. 287, new edit.
(17) Page 416; vol. vii. p. 540, new edit. (18) Vol. iii. p. 549; vol. viii. p. 54, new edit.
(19) *E. g.* pp. 591, 629, 637, etc.; vol. viii. p. 159, etc.
(20) Page 663; vol. viii. p. 315, new edit.—Case of Gratwick; and p. 672; vol. viii. p. 334, new edit.—Narrative of the Trouble, etc. of Richard Woodman.
(21) See the case of Ralph Allerton, p. 705; vol. viii. p. 406, new edit.

also, I think, confess that our ancestors were justified in their admiration of the volumes of Foxe; and that we can name no other work, on the subjects treated upon by John Foxe, which so certainly deserved their favour, and which still continues to deserve the approbation of their sons. To appeal to the decisions of our fathers,—to speak to the present age of the "wisdom of our ancestors," I well know to be, among many, the undoubted criterion of narrowness of intellect. The very expression—"the wisdom of our ancestors," is ranked by Jeremy Bentham, among the fallacies which prevent the free exercise of our judgment, in matters both of political or religious inquiry. I cannot say how this may be. I am too unlearned to fathom the wisdom o. our ancestors; but I am sure that their folly in abhorring and disfavouring papistry, was much less than the folly of their sons, who, in spite of the experience of the past, are once more employed in reviving its power, in encouraging its usurpations, and pretensions; and in depreciating and deriding the value and estimation, the "*veracity and fidelity*," of the martyrologist, John Foxe.

The third, last, and chief question resulting from this survey of the assailants on the "veracity and fidelity" of John Foxe, and the consequent value of his work, relates to the cessation of the mighty controversy between the church of Rome on the one hand, and the church of England, in conjunction with the holy catholic church, on the other.

How long—how long, it will be demanded, is this great controversy to continue? How long will it be, before the records of the past are forgotten, and the christian world is at peace? When will the union of Christians begin, and the prophecies be all completed, which declare that the one fold of the church shall be obedient to the one Shepherd, Christ? I answer again and again,—the time shall come, when civilized and christianized men, and the whole catholic church of Christ, shall take up the response,—all this shall be "*when Rome changes.*" Then, and then only, the controversy between Rome, and Christ's church, shall terminate—"*when Rome changes.*" This, it is said, will never be; for the assumption of infallibility in doctrine, and of unchangeableness in government, is the secret of its strength, the source of its continued existence, the bond of its unity, the sceptre of its dominion over states and churches. Cannot change! is it said? Cannot the same God who destroyed heathenism, destroy popery? What is Rome? What is popery? The church of Rome is not the church of the Roman nation only. The church of Rome is that one great aggregate of nations, with their churches, submitting to the canon law, which assigns an ecclesiastical supremacy to the bishop of Rome. England was once one of those nations. The time came when the English people were induced to say to the bishop of Rome, "You shall rule us no longer." England was the firmest, the most devoted, the most servile, supple slave of Rome. Kings were scourged by Rome, at the tomb of traitors to the monarchy. Subjects were burnt for centuries, who dared to question its supremacy.

The time came when the yoke of this slave was broken; and can we imagine that the day shall never, never come, when the other vassal slaves shall break their fetters, and rejoice in the light of the gospel of God? Is it to be imagined that century shall succeed to century, and one thousand years roll on after other thousand, and the saints-mediators still for ever share the throne of the Son of God, because Rome placed them there? Shall the holy word never become the unfettered inheritance of the peasant and mechanic? Shall there be no reform, no improvement in the religious condition of the nations who hold communion with Rome, and profess subjection to Rome; because the spurious decretals, the ancient canons, and the doubtful traditions of an ignorant antiquity, have woven the bonds of the conscience, and allowed Rome to fasten the chain, and snap the lock? That which England was, Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy are. That which England is,—possessed of the religion which God, and not man, has revealed,—possessed of liberty, which is one fair offspring of its inquiry,—the nations of Europe will one day become! *Rome resolved to maintain an unchangeable dominion over England. It resolves to maintain an unchangeable dominion over them.* England submitted. They submit. But is it possible for us to believe that the cry for reformation and reform shall go forth, as in England—that the demand for constitutional governments shall go forth among the people of the old states on the continent—that the commerce of all nations, the uniform forerunner of knowledge, inquiry, civilization, and Christianity, shall be extended among the people of the four quarters of the world,—and no change, no amelioration, ever take place among laws which originated in the period of barbarism, and are suited only to the ages of ignorance? I remember in the course of the late war to have read a despatch from the field of battle at Leipsic,[1] which began with the memorable sentence, that "*England had saved itself by its firmness, and Europe by its example.*" So it will be in this great controversy. England has saved itself from the yoke of popery by its firmness, in enduring the scenes which John Foxe has related. England, if it still abhor that old yoke, will save Europe and the world by its example. It is impossible, that the providence of God shall have given to this empire one hundred and forty millions of subjects,—an empire on which the sun never sets,—a commerce which influences the exertions, and stimulates the mental efforts, of as many millions more,—a language which is the only language upon earth fit to be the classical language of posterity, and the only language also in which the holy Scriptures, and the sacred liturgy, are among the chief of its classical books,—it is, I say, impossible that these things should be (God grant, at least, that it be impossible!) unless the antipapal religion of England was intended to diffuse its pure light over the sons of men, and prevent the extension of papistry, when it has overthrown the temples of heathenism, and

(1) Written by sir Charles Stewart, the present marquess of Londonderry.

withered the growth of infidelity. Even if nothing else would change Rome, the influence of England and America in extending among so many millions an antipapal Christianity, will, we may hope, be the commencement of that gradual establishment of the light of the Sun of righteousness; which will leave the church of Italy and its province-kingdoms of Europe, extinguished by superior brightness, as the beams of the burning taper are extinguished in the midday sun.

But Rome will change or be powerless before the era of the establishment of the anti-papal Christianity by means of the commerce and the religious zeal of England. The remarks of one of our last and best historians is true. As the waning power of the crescent of Mahometanism is at this moment upheld by the mutual jealousy of its neighbours, and for its convenience and utility, to those who maintain its despotism, and not on account of its own truth, or strength; so also it is with popery. The sovereigns of the continent uphold it as the best supporter of their own temporal authority, by its dominion over the heart, the reason, and the conscience; and *they will uphold its despotism so long as that despotism maintains their interests.* But their reciprocity of benefit is every day diminishing, in the changing state of the feelings and relations of Europe; and the popedom, therefore, even from this cause of its decline, will ere long be left to its pleasing dreams of past magnificence, in the insulated inferiority of unlamented decay.[1] It must decay or change.

No! no! it may be replied. Popery, according to the acknowledgment of its avowed enemies, and according to the anticipations of the protestant interpreters of dubious or difficult scriptures, and by the progress of its influence, which is evident to the commonest observer, is increasing, and will increase; till it again grasp the sceptre, and govern the civilized world.

It does—it will increase, I answer, because England has said to its votaries, Come up into our high places, and sit there in our senate as the advisers of sovereigns and people. It will increase in influence, till it once more dare to outrage the feelings of the nations who resolve to progress, and not to retrograde; and the very claim to unchangeableness, which enables it to persevere at present, with unity among its zealous, active, crafty partisans, will be felt in an age of improvement, to be the most intolerable of its insults. For improvement implies progression, and progression implies change, and the institutions which cannot change, cannot progress, and cannot improve; and must therefore become obsolete, and useless, or hateful and offensive.

I have answered the question, What is Rome? All I have now said will be justly deemed to be mere declamation, unless we answer the second question in connexion with the contemplation of the claim to unchangeableness on the part of the church of Rome. *What is popery? What is the papistry, of which we are speaking?* Popery, then, is not painted glass, nor pompous worship, nor laboured forms of devotion,

(1) Sharon Turner, History of England. Eliz. c. xxvi. ad fin.

nor splendid vestments. It is not lights on the altar, pictures to adorn, nor pompous ceremonies to impress, and to astonish, and bewilder the mind of the worshipper. Popery is the enforcement of the reception of all these, by identifying such reception with the religion of Christ, and refusing the blessedness of the sacraments, and the communion of saints, to those who esteem them lightly. Popery is the assumption of the power to withhold the Scriptures from the people, and of the power to compel the submission of conscience to authority, instead of appealing to the evidences by which authority itself is convinced. Popery is that which demands the prostration of the reason to the ordinances of human origin; instead of requiring such prostration to those discoveries only, which the God of reason has made of his nature, his commandments, and his will. *Popery is that unendurable usurpation, which says to the human intellect, "Think as I command,—reason as I direct,—come to my conclusions, and no other. I am infallible and unchangeable. The blessing of God rests alone on those who are the upholders of my supremacy, the maintainers of my decrees, the believers of my doctrines."*[1] Such is popery. From the day of its earliest usurpation till the hour when it refused toleration in Belgium,[2] and published a bull against Bible Societies, it has remained the same. Yet even now, one symptom of its incipient change has begun. All who have demanded the removal of laws which restrained it, or the restoration of privileges which had been withdrawn from it, founded alike their demands, their petitions, and their reasonings, on the solemn declarations, that popery abhorred persecution, and that the consciences of men were free. Laws in every country are, or ought to be, the regulations which encourage, strengthen, and represent, the moral virtues of the people. The controversy will then begin to lose its bitterness, when the first desirable *change takes place in the laws* of Rome; as it has already taken place in *the professions of its people;* and when toleration shall be declared to be *the law of the church*, because it is *the privilege of the Christian.*

This will be the beginning only of the cessation of this great controversy. The controversy may lose its bitterness, but it cannot terminate, till that further change is made, by which all the christian world may join as one family in the song of the ministering spirits at the coming of their common Lord, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace—good will towards man.* Glory cannot be rightly given to God, till the saints-mediators and the Blessed Virgin are deposed from the throne of worship; as they would themselves most earnestly desire to be. Peace cannot be on earth till the Prince of peace be the sole giver of the faith which his brethren believe; the sole author of the laws which his brethren obey; and the sole Redeemer in whom his brethren shall trust. Regulations of men, and

(1) I might multiply here the quotations from the unrescinded laws of Rome, which prove the truth of this representation; but I refrain from doing so, because I have never heard the denial that these pretensions are made by Rome.
(2) 1816.

of churches there must be: but the regulations of man must ever be distinguished from the commandments of Christ, if union be sought by Christians on the foundation of their allegiance to their common Lord. *Good will to man* can never be the mutual motto of the churches of the holy catholic church, till the claim of compulsory submission to the papal supremacy be utterly and totally withdrawn. Till these usurpations cease, till Rome thus far also changes, the controversy with Rome must continue, though the bitterness of dispute be lessened by the cessation of persecution.

But how can this change be anticipated? How shall it begin? Who will be its influential proposer? What shall be the commencement of that future and most unheard-of movement, which shall end in the change of Rome, the communion of Christians, and the end of persecution? Who shall live when God doeth this? *My only general answer now shall be*—God's thoughts are not as our thoughts. All things are possible with him. His people shall be made willing in the day of his power.[1] My *more particular answer* must be deferred till I have completed my survey of the history of the past, and till I have excogitated those general principles, from the study of the holy Scriptures, the ancient canons, the decrees of councils, the decisions of churches, the bulls of popes, and the laws of nations, which may demand the universal agreement of Christians as the foundation of their union. Much and deeply have I laboured on the Theodosian codes, the canon law, and the lessons of experience afforded us by the history of the past; when considered with reference to the civil power, the ecclesiastical power, the perversion of the appealing to the Scriptures, and the present fourth influence, the age in which we live, the age of presumptuous and perverted reason. This only I shall say, *that the great reformer of all—the originator of the future union*—the man whose interest, privilege, honour, and duty, it will be, to commence, under the combined sanction of the imperial, royal, ecclesiastical, and other powers of the empires and kingdoms of the holy catholic church—the *chief individual who shall take* part in this high subject, will be, and must be, *the bishop of Rome himself*, yielding to the demands of all catholic Christians, and acting according to the known laws, and express privileges, of his own church. The bishop of Rome does not understand his own powers, nor appreciate the privileges of his peculiar rank, nor accomplish that object for which the great Head of the church, who is in heaven, has permitted so much evil to afflict his brethren upon earth; if he shall not eventually so meet the desires of the holy catholic church, that he seek to promote the cause of Christianity rather than of papistry; and, by the authority entrusted to him by his predecessors, make those changes which shall reform the church, restore the primitive discipline, and destroy the offensive and unscriptural peculiarities of his church, which were gradually established in the middle ages, but which were most vehemently

(1) Ps. cx.

urged against Rome by Wycliffe, Luther, Cranmer, and their Anglican followers. He may be assured that this position can be established—that the *chief reformer of the divided church of Christ, may be, and will be, the bishop of Rome himself.* The change which shall terminate the controversy, if it is not begun by him, will be sanctioned and promoted by him; or his church will be forsaken by its votaries, and himself, like Marius, in the ruins of Carthage, become at once a deserted and desolate magnificence.[1]

Thus, then, is the question answered—How long shall the controversy between Rome and its opponents continue? It shall continue "TILL ROME CHANGES." We want not victory. We cannot know defeat. We require only, vigilance continued, learning cultivated, truth spoken, toleration secured, and the freedom of religious inquiry permitted; till the leaven of the desire of union, upon the foundation of truth, holiness, discipline, and liberty, shall have so leavened the whole lump of the rulers and the people of the holy catholic church; that they demand and insist upon the cessation of persecution, the establishment of a better, that is, of the primitive, Christianity, and the general union of believers, in the religion of "Christ the Lord." That day will come! The outpouring of the Holy Spirit from on high shall sanctify our literature, change the hearts of our rulers, subdue the asperities of controversy, and make the papist, the dissenter, the presbyterian, and the episcopalian, passionately long, and earnestly pray, that, as they desire the union of their departed spirits in the church triumphant above; so they may meet at one altar, united in one bond of doctrine and discipline, upon earth; before they blend in one common grave, meet together in one general resurrection, or cast their crowns of humble praise before God, who has delivered them from the troubles and the sins of life. *Oh, merciful God! hasten the day when the prayer of thy Son, who died for thine holy catholic church, shall be answered in the union and love of His disciples!* May the churches be one on earth, as they shall be one in heaven; as thou, Father, art in Christ, and Christ in thee!

I add but one word more. The question—When shall the controversy between Rome and its opponents terminate?—is answered by the reply, "*When Rome changes.*" One question further remains, and a

(1) I shall merely quote here two other passages from the Bullarium Magnum, to prove that the bishop of Rome has ever claimed, at least in later ages, the power of altering the decrees of his predecessors. Therefore the future bishop of Rome, who will eventually be compelled by the powers of Europe to act with them in endeavouring to promote union, and to secure toleration, will be justified by the laws of his own church in rescinding that bull, for it is only a bull of pope Pius IV., which enacts the twelve additional articles of the council of Trent, as the creed of that council. All this, however, is reserved for the labour which has been suggested to me by the request, that I would consider the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. The argument will be more evident if I select my proofs from the bulls of the immediate successor of Pius IV., namely, Pius V.:—

"Romani pontificis circumspecta providentia nonnunquam gesta per Romanos pontifices prædecessores revocat et moderatur, prout in Domino salubriter expedire conspicit."—Bullarium Magnum Romanum, vol. ii. folio: Lugduni, 1692. Page 289.

And again. "Ad Romanum spectat pontificem sua sollicitudine diligentur providere, ut sacrorum conciliorum decreta ita suæ declarationis adminiculo delucidentur, quod nulla desuper dubitanti occasio cuiquam relinquatur."—Page 257.

"Sacro sanctum ecclesiæ Dei statum integrum et incolumem præstare officii nostri cum sit, quæcunque illi detrimentum afferri noscuntur, nostra nos decet consideratione movere."

And innumerable other quotations might be made to the same effect.—See also Barbosa de Romano Pontifice.

more brief reply shall be given to it. When shall the labours of Foxe be forgotten? When shall the Acts and Monuments of the martyrologist be obsolete? I answer,—never! never! While the controversy between the churches continues, the pages of Foxe are a warning; when the controversy is decided, they will remain as a beacon. The experience of the past will never permit his labours to be considered useless. Rome itself, when it repents and changes, will see in the martyrology of Foxe, the portrait which it once presented to an astonished and afflicted world. It will itself perpetuate the memorial of its cruelties and errors, as a pledge that it will never again be guilty of the crime of persecution; and of the enforcement of unscriptural, and therefore of untenable doctrines. I may seem to speak foolishly; but brighter days are prepared for the holy catholic church. Christ has prayed for them. The prophets have predicted them. The progress of society is anticipating them. Our missionaries are preparing the way for them. Commerce is assisting the efforts of the Christians of America and England. The fields are nearly white for the harvest. O Lord! accomplish the number of thine elect; hasten thy kingdom; give peace to the catholic church; bring home the whole race of mankind to thy flock; convert the church of Rome, that it repent and change. "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven!" Such is my prayer: it is the Lord's prayer. *The prayer of Christ himself can only then be answered,*—"WHEN ROME CHANGES."

SECTION II.

THE DEFENCE OF THIS EDITION BY THE EDITOR.

WHERE the trenches are deep and wide, and the fortifications secure and strong, the garrison within and the foes without, need neither raise their hopes, on the one hand, nor give way to despondency on the other, for a few trifling disfigurements or injuries which the face of such fortifications may have received, provided they do not affect the safety and security of the place. So, too, with regard to this edition of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe; there is enough intrinsic worth, enough confutation, enough weight of matter and of argument, enough of common sense and convincing facts, to satisfy the world of their superiority over any other church-defences attempted in the same age, and after the same style and fashion; and, though certain *sappers* and *miners*, employed in the literary *magazines* of the day, have vaunted much about blemishes and errors which, in so large a work, may still have some place in its pages, yet the Editor contemplates that, in consequence of these things, no dishonour will be suffered to John Foxe's memory and name; while, for himself, the Editor cares but little, convinced that, in the opinion of all fair, reasonable, and honourable men, he will stand where he desires.

The origin of the present edition was this. The Editor contemplated a reprint of the Acts and Monuments in weekly parts; but before his plans were matured the conduct of the present work was committed to him. He abandoned his own edition, therefore, and acceded, too readily, to the urgent request of the Publishers, to commence, without delay, and with little counting upon the magnitude of the work, a reprint of the several authentic editions of Foxe, concentrated in one. That one is now produced. The Publishers and the Editor were influenced but by one motive—namely, to benefit the church and to glorify God. That the Publishers had no personal or pecuniary expectations derivable from it is evident from the low price set upon the work. That the Editor had no such motives might be inferred. He was well aware that to him little honour would accrue; little compensation, compared to the immensity of the task; and, although he commands the esteem of hundreds of good men for the work which he has done, yet he has no less brought upon himself the displeasure of many of the leading ecclesiastics of the church for editing a work of this nature.

The manner in which the announcement of this new edition of the Acts and Monuments was received by the *protestants* was three-fold. Some declared that it was lighting fires of disunion which had better

never be rekindled.—The Dissertation which prefaces this edition confutes such a charge. Others, and the list of nearly two thousand subscribers bears testimony to the fact, received it with far different feelings—as a warning to the church; as a practical lesson suited to the days in which we live; and as a check to papal domination in this reformed, but thankless land. Others feared that the overbearing character of the hierarchy of the church in past ages might induce men to cast reflections upon the hierarchy of this our day—a feeble and timid argument, little creditable to common sense and reason.

But the *papists* were not backward to feel, and to confess their feelings, upon the announcement of this edition. In "A Prospectus of an enlarged and improved edition of *a Review of Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, by William Eusebius Andrews," we thus read: "The year 1837 will stand distinguished, above all its predecessors, by the efforts of the dealers in fiction, and especially for the royal and plebeian patronage given to that most notorious and ponderous compound of mendacity, originally called *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, but now recognised by the titles of *An Universal History of Christian Martyrdom, etc.* and *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. In May last an edition was announced, under the patronage of his Britannic majesty, the head of the law-church of England, in eight volumes, at ten shillings and sixpence each, which, in the course of three weeks, obtained upwards of four hundred subscribers, one half of the number being parsons. The second volume of this edition, the first in the course of publication, has made its appearance, dedicated to his majesty. That such a work should be patronized by royalty, in these days of intellectual improvement, and that it should be ushered into the world under the tender care of a Norfolk parson, and a Durham prebendary, reflect but little credit on the boasted intelligence of the age," etc. Such are the fears, such the language, and such the measures adopted to check, in the Romish church, the power of that record of Romish tyranny, under the lash of which the Roman-catholic church is now writhing.

The plan of proceeding adopted by the Editor was to collate together the original Latin edition of Foxe's history, and the five authentic English editions. No time for delay or for verification of facts and authors was allowed,—none indeed seemed necessary in that which was professedly to be a mere *reprint* of an ancient book. When the work was announced, many gentlemen kindly offered their assistance in the prosecution of it, which was declined. The reason was, that if the mere *reprint* had been adhered to, such aid was unnecessary. The new edition would have been retarded in its progress had many editors been employed, and the same tedious delay would have attended the publication of each of the early volumes as has attended the one just produced. But had the Editor, when his second and third volumes first appeared, been aware that any of the public would have exclaimed—"True, we subscribed to a reprint of Foxe, but upon perusing this portion now

before us, we think we should have preferred a corrected edition, an edition illustrated with numerous notes, explanatory and critical"—the Editor would indeed have been glad to have secured the aid which was kindly offered him.

What then was to be done? It was clearly seen that the errors of Foxe should be detected and amended; but was the press to be stopped, the whole plan of the work to be changed? Was half the book to be Foxe, and half a retranslation of document after document, and history after history? Was the reprint to become a republication? No. All that could be done was to adopt the line of conduct now pursued; namely, to proceed with the work, and, as time and opportunity allowed, to amend it as it proceeded; to give cancel leaves of erroneous portions of the original; to explain every difficulty, and to correct every error in the voluminous appendices which have yet to appear; and to compare all the pages of the first volume, and to correct them by the authorities to which Foxe referred. But the Editor should state the difficulties under which he laboured. He procured the assistance of a gentleman, Mr. Benjamin Jowett, to whom he takes this public opportunity of acknowledging his warmest thanks for his constant attentions, by day and night, during the prosecution of his labours. Whilst this gentleman was verifying facts from original authorities, punctuating the old copy, remodelling the spelling, reviewing the sheets for greater security, reading with the Editor the printer's copy, and assisting in correcting it to the edition of 1583; the Editor, as occasion allowed him, was carefully collating first the Latin edition with that of 1583—then selecting passages from the five English editions, and inserting them into the new one—comparing even words, dovetailing in sentences, correcting omissions in one or more editions, which another supplied, and thus prosecuting a labour which they alone who have attempted it, can really understand.[1] The Editor having thus selected and marked off his insertions was frequently obliged to add them with his own pen to the printer's copy. But the longer documents and sentences to be supplied to the text he committed to the hands of amanuenses, who were mere copyists, and who claimed no knowledge of the history about which they were writing. These amanuenses had strict orders to note with a *query* any thing which they thought obscure; and some of these queries were allowed, in the extreme hurry of printing, to pass into the hands of the compositors unobliterated from the copy, already disfigured and rendered almost unintelligible by the thousands of corrections marked upon it. This circumstance will account for some few isolated, but very extraordinary addenda, which have slipped, by way of tail-notes, to the foot of the

1 The reader is invited to observe the result of this labour in those portions of the work which illustrate it. A few instances out of some hundreds are added. Thus, where documents differed they are given from all the editions; see vol. ii. p. 200, and vol. iii. p. 12. Ample collations were made in the historical portions of the work; see vol. ii. pp. 278, 279; and pp. 348, and 349. This extended to single words; see vol. ii. p. 351, note 1; and vol. iii. pp. 292—307. Remarkable omissions are supplied; see vol. ii. p. 733, note 3, and p. 744, note 1; also p. 770, note 1. Careful collations are made with the Latin editions, see vol. ii. p. 791, note 2; also p. 795, notes 1, 2, 3, and p. 301, note 1.

pages. A singular instance of this occurred in an ancient prophecy, somewhere in the body of the work, which seemed to refer to *Napoleon;* and the name of this illustrious hero actually stepped from a *query* in the side of the copy, and took up a position in the letter-press in a square parenthesis, till removed by the Editor's pen!

The Editor had no easy duty to fulfil. In the five original black-letter editions of the Acts and Monuments, there were nine thousand nine hundred pages folio to collate, and pass repeatedly under his eye, with side-notes, dates, and head-lines; add to these, seven hundred pages of the Latin folio edition, making in all *ten thousand six hundred folio pages;* he had also two thousand five hundred pages of folio to prepare for the printer's hands, producing six thousand one hundred pages of closely-printed large octavo, independent of prefaces, contents, and supplements, etc.; he had therefore *thirteen thousand one hundred pages of folio to collate*, and, during that collation, six thousand and one hundred pages of large octavo to attend to with care and assiduity during the printing of the work. Some seasons of relaxation were necessary, and the Editor is not unwilling to confess that more than once he ceased, from illness, to take part in his duties, and almost retired from his work.

The pledge given to the Publishers and to the public was, that no typographical alteration should be made in the matter or style of Foxe, but that he should appear precisely in his own shape, however rude, and in his own words, however characteristic of the age in which he lived; that no roughness should be smoothed down, and no names altered. And it was not till long after the Editor had lost his patience, and feared that he should lose his credit, that he was constrained to emancipate himself, in some degree, from the trammels in which his own admiration of Foxe and that of others had unhappily chained him.

He had not proceeded far in the work, before he felt that, in justice to the readers of the nineteenth century, something should be done. To alter Foxe was to break his pledge. To change an uncouth to an intelligible name was said by some to be enough to startle the antiquaries of the day, and to shake the credibility of the edition which it was his great aim should be stamped with fidelity to Foxe's memory and name. Loud, however, as were the claims made for a literal reprint of Foxe, it was in some few respects deemed impossible to comply. Names the most extraordinary occur in the first three volumes. Some of these have been altered in transcription, collation, or in preparing copy for press; others have either been allowed to stand in the text, or to be explained in the foot notes or the appendices. Upon the first volume considerable time and labour has been expended, because the Editor had some leisure, while the Preliminary Dissertation was being prepared; and he feels it due to the public, and to the character of the works from whence John Foxe procured his materials, to state, that while the author's text remains in its pristine state, many of the documents and quotations cited by him, have been carefully collated, amended, and, so

far, altered. That some or many errors may have escaped unnoticed even in this short portion of the work, the Editor would feel it absurd to deny;—all that his experience has taught him is this: that usually three folio pages was ample matter to work upon single-handed for one entire day, in a portion of the history wherein the most interesting incidents of church history were discussed at large. And here the reader will understand why the second, the third, and fourth volumes, particularly, should have their illustrations and addenda thrown so much into their respective appendices, rather than into the body of the work. With the time so limited, the labour so immense, the Publishers so anxious to answer the earnest inquiries of more than fifteen hundred subscribers, by a manifestation of their own honourable zeal in the cause, and with the Editor's ready, *too ready*, acquiescence in their plans, it was not to be supposed that every date, and name, and circumstance, and quotation, and reference, and authority, and error, could be respectively amended or verified; the Editor therefore took the only course left him—to proceed, on his own responsibility, with the printing of the work, and to depend upon future leisure to explain to the world why Foxe was not amended in his own text, as it was worthy that he should be, and why those things, which by some are termed blemishes, by others interesting emblems of the antiquity of the author, were not expunged from his pages. It was not possible to complete in three years the labour of ten.

But after the manner in which the inaccuracies of Foxe's own hand, and the errors which were committed, or which were allowed to pass unnoticed by the Editor in the second and third volumes of this edition, were enlarged upon by some of the public journals, he feels that no apology is necessary in defence of the manner in which he has been constrained to treat the first volume of this great work. Many of his friends exhorted him still to persevere and print Foxe as he was, with the harmless, but awkward and contradictory, blunders of his transcriptions, and names, and dates. Others proposed a close investigation of every fact; and upon this latter course the Editor decided. He secured some able assistants, and willingly undertook the task. The reader, therefore, must not apply to the matter of the first volume the substance of the notice appended to the second. Here every fact has been investigated, every reference verified. In many places retranslations by able scholars, or from received printed authorities, have been substituted for the less correct, but still unintentionally mutilated documents of John Foxe. These passages are usually acknowledged in the notes as altered. But other minor changes are made in the course of the history in the first volume, in names and dates, to which the Editor did not think it necessary to append a note. The reader, therefore, must be informed that if he considers that the Editor of these pages has broken faith with the public and the publishers, in not reprinting Foxe exactly as we find him, in this first volume, it is not to be laid to

his charge; but to those ready writers, those critics who are more witty than wise, more sarcastic than just, whose views are such as to have induced the Editor to adopt this plan. In the first volume, now before the public, are the Prefaces, the Addresses, and the Dedication, set forth in the folio editions. There is also the Calendar, reprinted from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, in red and black ink, which gave such offence to the Romanists of Foxe's day, because certain ancient saints were displaced, as it was said, and the name of English heretics substituted in their room. "But," says the author, "this calendar was placed there "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."[1] Another document from the first edition is also given, namely, an address "To the Persecutors of God's Truth, commonly called Papists."[2] This was probably suppressed by queen Elizabeth, as being too impetuous and irritating to the Romanists. It may now justly be read with interest.

In the comparison between the primitive church and the latter church of Rome, John Foxe enters upon a lengthy discussion, which the Editor has denominated the "Exordium" to the whole work; proving that there was nothing in the purity of the doctrines of the primitive church to warrant the errors and heresies of the then corrupted, and the still corrupted, communion of Rome. The authors and documents to which John Foxe alludes have been consulted and compared; and the reader may rest assured that the most careful attention has been bestowed upon them. The result is, that although the martyrologist is fully borne out in all his statements, yet that, without shaking the credibility of his history, many improvements in the translation of passages have been made; and these do not tend so much to weaken the force of his arguments, as rather to confirm his statements—although, in language, more in classical accordance with the authors cited. The probable origin of these discrepancies, and the proofs that they bear upon them of not being introduced to deceive the reader, will be noticed in the Appendix.[3]

The opening of the first book, and the succeeding history of the ten persecutions in the primitive church, was a portion of Foxe's book which required peculiar care. In this the Editor was favoured with the able assistance of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, jun., and the Rev. H. Mendham. The reader will perceive the result of these labours, and the general correctness of our author's history; confirmed as it is in some passages, and illustrated in others, by notes and emendations. In these notes, however, the greatest impartiality is employed. Where Foxe is wrong or mistaken, the reader is informed of the fact. Where correct, his

(1) See vol. iii. p. 385. A trifling variation from the original occurs in "June" and "July," to adapt the Calendar to the octavo edition.

(2) From the rareness of any thing like a perfect copy of the first edition, this document may be considered as nearly unique.

(3) See Appendix to vol. i.

assertion is attempted to be proved by quotations and references. In many places, the notes being too lengthy to retain at the foot of the pages, the reader is referred to the Appendix.

In the second book the martyrologist announces his intention of "leaving awhile the tractation of these general affairs of the universal church, and to prosecute such domestical histories as more nearly concern this our country of England and Scotland, done here at home."[1]

He enters with much labour and spirit upon the early church history of Britain, and gives the conflicting and difficult opinions respecting the planting of Christianity in this land. His narrations have been minutely compared with his authorities, and they may be pronounced, in the main, correctly given. As this was an interesting portion of his history, additional notes and emendations have been added, which will, no doubt, be appreciated, and considered useful to the general reader. It is a source of regret, however, that Foxe arranged his work so imperfectly that he often fails, in consequence, in giving a continued and connected history. This is remarkably the case in the portion of his labours of which we are now treating. Ecclesiastical and civil, English, foreign, and domestic matters, are all mingled together, till he brings his reader through "the confused and turbulent reigns"[2] of the Saxon kings, to the time of Egbert the Great. Thus much, however, may be said, that all the insinuations of those whose custom it is to charge Foxe with mistranslations of Bede, crumble into nothing, upon a careful examination of this part of his work. The charge cannot be maintained. Foxe may challenge all his carpers and railers of olden days, and his slanderers and libellers of a more modern school, to substantiate the charge. And the reader cannot be too repeatedly or too positively assured, that even where a more correct translation than Foxe's was deemed desirable, yet, in adopting it, however his history has been improved in minor points, or in historical incidents, or in correct data, not one single instance can be given where Foxe can be said wilfully to have adulterated an author for the sake of establishing a false argument, or giving undue force to his declamation. These incorrect and careless quotations, and a great mass of the information contained in his book, come, as he informs us, from the pen of numerous correspondents, copying, in different countries, from various authors, differing, as we may naturally expect, in their several views and narrations; and from this undigested and ponderous accumulation of manuscripts he compiled his Acts and Monuments. Is it, therefore, a matter of surprise that a work like his, written with the greatest rapidity, should contain some discrepancies, or contradictions, or positive errors? No man has written such a work, though some may have attempted to imitate it; and is it surprising that under a rapid reprint of such a book, taking into consideration the foregoing observations, some errors may yet be perpetuated, while thousands more have been detected and amended?

(1) See vol. i. p. 305. (2) See vol. i. p. 378.

Having said thus much, the Editor has only to add, that the first volume of this edition needs no defence. That it is perhaps open to attacks by some critics, that it will be attacked by others, is a subject which concerns him not at all. And now, without taking a survey of each individual volume, he would rather turn his attention to some of those observations which have been offered by certain ready scribes, touching the errors and oversights which exist in the second, and succeeding volumes. The first attack may be briefly disposed of. The Editor refers to a letter in the British Magazine of October, 1837. In this, a writer signing himself "W. B."[1] brings a direct charge of carelessness in collating the various editions, nay, of actually omitting some of the text of Foxe. The charge made is relative to the history of John Browne, a martyr. Now there is no point which has been more attended to in the editorial department, than that of collation. The Editor is ready to adhere to this as his stronghold.[2] He therefore felt at once that there was a positive falsehood, a wilful error, contained in this correspondent's remark.

Few men who had so patiently and minutely investigated, collated, compared, and reviewed, the thousands of pages of the six standard editions of Foxe, including the Latin one, as the Editor has done, can read with equal patience, so careless and wilful a calumny as the one now referred to. The history of John Browne being given, this correspondent ventures to inquire—"Can this new text be as Foxe penned it?" Moreover, he asserts that he has compared the specimen page of the Acts and Monuments containing this story with the original, and that it does not tally with Foxe. Well indeed might this gentleman be an *anonymous* correspondent. Well might he only be known as Mr. "W. B.;" for can any man of honour,—can the editor of the British Magazine, in common justice, admit such a direct false charge as is contained in this statement? If the Editor of Foxe is to be held responsible for all the slips and errors of his amanuenses, scattered over so vast a field, is not the editor of a monthly journal responsible also? Shall the British Magazine go forth as an organ of the christian church, and shall this falsehood be detected, as it has doubtless been by many, and shall it be three long years and a half before it be contradicted? Does the writer now ask, "Is this *new* text as Foxe penned it?"—If he does, the Editor asserts that *it is*—verbatim et literatim; yes, Foxe's old, faithful, text; that it is *no new text;* that it is found precisely where this cavilling correspondent might have found it had he looked in the proper place, and with honest eyes, in p. 805 of the edition of the Acts and Monuments of 1583-4, and not only so, but in all the five editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised, in its respective and corresponding place in the text.

This correspondent has *taken the pains* to compare *one specimen page*

(1) Page 404 of that journal.
(2) This excepts the first volume, for reasons before alleged, and other acknowledged alterations.

of the new edition with his own edition. He gives the *Editor* no credit for *taking the pains* to compare *ten thousand pages* with each other; and there is a question whether it was not *possible* to overlook *something* in that vast field of type. No, *he* compares *one* page—and what is the result? Why he is guilty of a direct violation of truth and honesty, in turning to *another account* of the same martyr in a subsequent portion of the Acts and Monuments. Yes, he carefully conceals the page, but he turns *four hundred and eighty-seven pages forward*, in the edition of 1584, and he extracts from thence an incident of a "graphic kind," which he would lead the reader to believe that the Editor had omitted, and that Foxe had retained, in this first account of John Browne. Nor could this correspondent be mistaken in the existence of two slightly varying copies of the same story, since the second insertion of it, and almost its verbal variations, are carefully noticed by the Editor in vol. v. page 694 (note 2) in the new edition. But, that every facility may be given to the reader to have Foxe, and the whole of Foxe, and a corrected Foxe, carefully reprinted, John Browne, and, it may be, Mr. "W. B.," shall have another place also in the Appendix.

This then is one of the puny, and false, and crafty insinuations with which this new edition is assailed. The Editor now turns to no anonymous correspondent, but, in fair and intelligible characters, to the remarks of the Rev. S. R. Maitland. No sooner does this able but uncourteous scholar perceive a writer of sentiments uncongenial with his own, fairly afloat in the troublous whirlpool of literature, and struggling against difficulties, than he takes his station upon the banks, and away goes one of his well-directed and unfriendly missiles. But Mr. Maitland's success is not so constant as his assault; and this is exemplified in the instance of his attacks upon Foxe and his Editor. Foxe's memory is still sacred, and Foxe's Editor is still unharmed!

Mr. Maitland commenced his attack upon Foxe and his authorities, in a review of Foxe's history of the Waldenses in the Acts and Monuments; which review was published in 1837. As the Editor is not defending the Waldenses, but vindicating Foxe in his new edition but old costume, it is not his intention to enter upon the general question, but to confine himself rather to more concise and less lengthy matter. He is willing to allow Mr. Maitland the palm to which he is justly entitled, as being an acute scholar and an able and sarcastic critic. But Mr. Maitland overreaches himself. In the above review,[1] he gives Foxe's account of one Arnulph, in the time of pope Honorius II.[2] He calls it "a fine story," and refers to a "plain tale," which Mr. Maitland takes from Trithemius. He calls this latter a "poor foundation" for Foxe's story, and charges him with quoting Trithemius, while in reality he is translating a book of Illyricus, whose name, as a historian, he was backward to acknowledge. But, was the Editor of this edition to write critical notes upon every extract from the history of the church contained

(1) Page 46. (2) Page 182, vol. i. Foxe's new edition.

in divers ancient and divers different writers, all embodied in Foxe's work? As well might the Editor suppose that Mr. Maitland was conversant with every author, and every edition of every author, extant in Foxe's time. Mr. Maitland, with all his erudition, has entrapped himself in his own snare; *he* is not conversant, nor can the best scholar be supposed to be conversant, with every edition of every author; and before he brings such charges as those which are heaped upon Foxe, his authorities, and his Editor, the latter would tell Mr. Maitland that the "fine story" at which he sneers, and the "poor foundation," which he expects he has crumbled beneath his literary tread,—yes, that this whole story which Foxe is charged with having unwarrantably amplified, is found, almost word for word, as Foxe and his Editor have perpetuated it, in "Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles,"[1] by whom it is also extracted from the "Chronicon" of *Trithemius*.[2] But in the same review,[3] Mr. Maitland again charges Foxe with suppressing the name of Illyricus.[4] Foxe had no need to mention Illyricus here, any more than he had in the case just cited when he quoted Trithemius; for, excepting the parenthesis, "for he took away the marriage of priests," which has given Mr. Maitland so much offence because of its inadvertent removal, or rather of its being merged into the text, in this new edition, the whole passage which is derived professedly from the "Chronicon Abbatis Urspergensis," will be found *there*.[5] Now when the tartness of Mr. Maitland's remarks is coupled with the evident partiality of his statements,—not to say the unfairness, and, in some instances, the incorrectness of his criticisms,—the reader will be better prepared to judge of the merits of the case, and to allow a due proportion of praise to the acuteness of the reviewer, and another due portion also to the Editor of Foxe, for his labour and travail.

Mr. Maitland resumed his observations in Number LXVI. of the British Magazine, published in June 1837. He expresses his dissatisfaction that, at least, a table of errata was not published in the third volume, correcting many of the grosser errors of the second; he regrets that the Editor expresses no apologies for the past, and promises no amendment for the future! But Mr. Maitland must again be told, that, while the Editor was actively employed in conducting his department, and urging the work through the press, he had neither time nor inclination to direct his attention to that portion already published. If he

(1) Tom. i. pp. 805, 806, edit. 1671.

(2) It appears from Fabricius, ("Biblioth. mediæ et inf. Latinitat." tom. iv.) who has devoted rather a larger space than usual to the account of Trithemius, that there were two editions—the second much enlarged—of the "Annales Hirsangienses;" and it is not probable that both Flaccus and Wolfius would derive their information from a fabricated source. There was no necessity for invention; materials were abundant both to them and for Foxe. We may add another testimony upon this Arnulphus of Brescia. "Pro quâ doctrinâ non solum ab ecclesia Dei anathematis mucrone separatus, insuper etiam suspendio neci traditus. Quin et post mortem incendio crematus, atque in Tybrim fluvium projectus est." "Gerhohus Reicherspergensis," anno 1155, lib. i. etc. "Investigatione Antichristi," quoted in "Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus studio C. du Plessis d'Argentre;" (Lutet. Paris, 1724,) tom. i. p. 27. Foxe, it may be added, lays no stress upon his being archbishop of Lyons, or not; he merely mentions what some others had asserted,—it seems incorrectly,—and there leaves it, and no "fuss" need have been made about such a casual statement on his part, as has been. More evidence may be seen in D'Argentre's "Collectio."

(3) Page 51. (4) Vol. i. p. 133. (5) Page 127, edit. Argent. 1537.

has committed, and if his numerous amanuenses have committed, any errors, and if those errors stand in the text of the new edition, he begs to acknowledge them; but as to making any apology to the public, and taking upon himself the responsibility of Foxe's mistakes, and all the burden of the truth or falsehood of the many thousand pages of this reprint of our old author,—as to expressing any useless regrets about typographical, and geographical, or historical errors,—it seems more manly to him to meet the case upon reasonable, and fair, and honourable grounds, and to adopt the line proposed in putting forth the fifth volume, namely, "that the cavils raised against himself, and this edition of the Acts and Monuments, will be best responded to, not by adopting the language, or by animadverting upon the motives of the assailants, but by noticing in the Appendix the alleged causes of these aspersions."[1] It is not, therefore, the Editor's intention to wade through that train of mingled wisdom and folly, of bantering and argument, of seriousness and trifling, which occupied, in unedifying importance, so large a space in the British Magazine in the year 1837—the indexes, the appendices, and the cancel leaves, will reply to all this; it will rather be his object to direct the attention of the reader to some of Mr. Maitland's more serious charges, and to leave all minor points to the quiet judgment of the public.

In the British Magazine of June 1837, Mr. Maitland says, "I feel it due to myself to give some explanation of what I have already said respecting a work so warmly eulogized by men so respectable," etc. "It is due also, I hope and believe, to many most sincere and zealous protestants among the subscribers, to ask them whether they have fully considered what they are doing *in supporting the republication* of a work which is, to say the least, characterised by (I would not wish to believe that by any it is prized for) the strain of bitter invective which runs through it?" etc. What! would Mr. Maitland have omitted all this bitter invective? Would he, in republishing any writer coeval with Foxe, have so transmogrified his style, as to leave out every invective, and every sarcasm therein contained? How would Luther, how would Henry the Eighth read, how would Foxe read, thus changed? But did Mr. Maitland mean here, that none should have supported the republication of Foxe at all? Yes! clearly this *was* his meaning! He meant to proclaim to nearly two thousand subscribers, that they had done violence to Mr. Maitland's feelings of propriety, and that they had injured his feelings as a gentleman, in appearing to sanction any thing uncourteous towards his Roman-catholic fellow-countrymen!

Previous to the publication of the volume now before the world, the Editor thought himself bound to write to Mr. Maitland, stating that an appendix would be prepared for each volume, and requesting him to supply any hints by the adopting of which this object might be more completely realized. The Editor regretted that an error,[2] over which he had no control, had

(1) See note to vol. v., Jan. 20, 1838.

(2) The Editor may be under a false impression with regard to this offer of Mr. Maitland, which was a verbal one, communicated through a friend.

placed Mr. Maitland rather in the light of a critic than in that of an assistant. He stated how valuable Mr. Maitland's services would have been as a scholar conversant with all the difficulties of ecclesiastical history; and to this application the Editor looked forward with pleasure to a reply. From the 1st of May to the 13th, 1839, Mr. Maitland was meditating what to do. After his manner of speaking of the Editor, he actually discredited the genuineness of the letter. He could not conceive that one upon whose labours he had lavished such dispraise could really write to him as one gentleman would to another! He could see no harmony between the tartness of his own observations and the civility of the note which he had received! He therefore went to the Publishers, and having actually ascertained that the signature affixed to the note was really that of the Editor, he retired back into the quiet recesses of Lambeth Palace, and penned a reply, which the Editor of course has not requested permission to make public, but from which a single extract will be enough. Having stated that "silence is liable to misconstruction;" having stated the doubts which he entertained as to the genuineness of the letter which the Editor wrote to him; he winds up with these words, stating "plainly, but without the wish to give you personal offence, that your proceedings, as the editor of Fox, appear to me so discreditable that I do not wish to enter into any private correspondence with you." After this reply, the Rev. S. R. Cattley felt much satisfaction in proceeding with his appendices, *without* the assistance of the Rev. S. R. Maitland!

And here the Editor has the pleasure of acknowledging much able assistance, particularly during times of more than ordinary occupation, from the Rev. H. Mendham, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, jun. and the Rev. Guy Bryan. To all his other friends who have interested themselves in his republication of the Acts and Monuments, he begs, in this public manner, to return his most grateful thanks.

It is not the intention of the Editor to notice here the particular and incidental errors or blemishes which Mr. Maitland points out.[1] It will be enough to state generally, that, with regard to names of persons and places, they were generally left as Foxe originally printed them. All alterations or deviations were made much against the Editor's pledge with the public—much against his own inclination. He was scrupulously jealous, and rigidly tenacious of Foxe's text. If it were ever contemplated to collate every document; to correct every name; to compare every date; and to verify every reference; the volumes would have appeared so tardily, that ten years must have elapsed to do justice to them. But here the labours of ten years are compressed into three, exclusive of the first volume. It may be that Foxe may be often wrong; that, in names and dates, his Editor and his amanuenses may be often wrong; but whether correct or incorrect, the remedy to all errors will be applied most completely and most effectively by the course pursued in publishing

(1) These will be noticed respectively in the notes in the appendices.

cancel leaves, appendices, and ample indexes; giving the various titles which Foxe applied to the same persons, and the various names by which he calls the same places. Mr. Maitland asserts that sufficient time was given to correct all these errors in the reprint. The Editor attempted it and failed: experience proved to him that there was *not* time nor opportunity; that he could not be in his study and in public libraries at the same moment; the time was wearing away; the public becoming impatient; the Publishers urgent; and that to reprint Foxe was one thing, to correct Foxe was another;—the one could be effected imperfectly in a given time, the other seemed to involve a period, at the expiration of which public interest would have been exhausted.

How far Foxe's work could have been *perfected* under the Editor's directions may be seen in the first volume. This is a sufficient reply to all Mr. Maitland's dissertations upon distorted names, inverted dates, and substitutions of "n" for "u". Mr. Maitland's object was to crush Foxe, and attempt to shake the credit of his authorities; the Editor's object was to give, in these volumes, that which he has succeeded in doing, namely, a reprint of every edition of Foxe, selecting that which in his judgment was the best. Mr. Maitland may complain that more money was not expended in this work, and more editors employed: but if Mr. Maitland knew how much expense *had been* incurred, he would be silent upon this subject; and it had been well for the public if he had been so upon some others. In November 1837, Mr. Maitland had expended all his observations upon Foxe, preparing the public for a renewal of them at some future time. When this is to appear, the Editor does not know; but, in the mean time, he thanks his critical reviewer for the many hints that he has already given him, and he contemplates with pleasure the appearance of Mr. Maitland's future labours, which will supply admirable additions to the appendices to these volumes. But should these labours not appear as yet, the Editor's care will be to make this edition perfect in its kind, worthy of the age in which it is published, and of the Illustrious Patronage under which it appears.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

THE PREFACES,

&c. &c.

BY JOHN FOXE.

AD

DOMINUM JESUM CHRISTUM

SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMUM,

EUCHARISTICON

JOHANNIS FOXI.

Confecto nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auspiciis ac voluntate aggressus, summe et adorande Jesu, idemque Servator clementissime, inchoavi, quodque demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque absolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem et vires meas: superest itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votivâ tabulâ, gratias, si non quantas debeat (utinam enim id possit) at quantas queat maximè, munificentissimæ tuæ persolvat Majestati; quæ tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemvis *ἀχθοφόρον* possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementèr suffulserit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quæ vix æstimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majestas, hujus qualecunque sit negotii confectio, quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigiliis, molestiis constitit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affulsisset, ac sese quodammodo admiscuisset operi. Quidni enim fatear ac tester ingenuè, quod re ipsâ experti sumus? Persensimus enim, peneque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excelsæ dextræ tuæ *ἐνεργείαν* non modo in successu negotii provehendo, sed in vitâ etiam spirituque inter labores conservando. Tui igitur muneris est, clementissime Jesu, quòd opus tuis susceptum auspiciis huc usque provectum sit. Nos vicissim, quod nostri sit officii, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum nostro privatim, tum publico quodammodo ecclesiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam martyrum tuorum æstimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tantâ faveas propensione; quanquam verò, si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inscripta: et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloriâ fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, ut eandem cum gloriæ fœnore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diversum, quod in castris tuis militantes sive vivant, sive moriantur, multò clarescant à funere fœlicius, quam si vixissent maximè.

Auxilium Christum in concinnando hoc opere.

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Johannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, cæterosque ejusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuisse cum gloriâ in acie tuâ depugnantes, quam si, relictâ statione in quâ erant collocati, saluti ipsi suæ causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetustas, quæ hominum posteritas, eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wiclevum unquam, aut Cobhamum, natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tuâ in causâ tam

Fœlix ac gloriosum pro Christo mortem oppetere.

egissent strenuè? Quanto honori illud Hussio Bohemensi, nostroque Tindalo fuit, quòd vitam in evangelii tui causâ perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diversâ parte adversarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adversus tuos, multaque item occultè et scelestè ab iisdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam sperabant fore palam: et tamen quid unquam in angulis et tenebris ab illis est designatum tam occultè adversus ecclesiam, quod non in apricum produxit tua producetque providentia? Atque ita produxit, ut unde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibi-ipsis dedecus pepererint et contumeliam, quam nec vitâ effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis Guisos, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterebit dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tantâ multitudine hostium tuorum recenseo? Cui unquam prosperè cessit tuo rebellare numini, aut hostium se ecclesiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre et gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probrosius? Cardinalitium fastigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multâque prosequi reverentiâ: sic monachorum et nonnarum collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem et credulam. At postquam spretâ veritate tuâ cœperunt grassari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua fæx nihil aliud jam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominiam relicta videatur.

Papæ nomen nunc probrosum. Cardinalium, Monachorum, Nonarum, nomina ad ignominiam nunc relicta.

Hæc nimirum, sanctissime Domine ac Deus noster! justissimi judicii tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est, in suo ipsorum regno, tantâ accumules infamiâ et dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus martyres, quorum nomine meritò à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis et gratiarum tuæ debetur, simul et habetur, bonitati. Primùm, quòd in ecclesiæ tuæ causâ dimicantibus tam fortem et alacrem spiritum omnibusque tormentis majorem adversus parricidas papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd et nobis in illorum desudantibus historiâ propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur et hoc privatim meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem in hâc tantâ, quantam tu solus novisti, laboris immensitate conservatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammas et cineres adegerit perversitas, causam et innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiamque ecclesiæ tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus sit. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo judicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum movebuntur, omnis eorum adamussim excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quoque in ecclesiâ tuâ causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentiâ, fide, ac patientiâ constare poterit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid et nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Sed hîc rursus, dulcissime Jesu! opus est benigno favoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filii martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè majores nostros imitari conveniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: quâ etiam ipsâ nimiùm abutimur intemperanter, ut jam periculum sit, ne non filii modò martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim intersit discriminis, quàmque prorsus disconveniat ordine toto nostra consuetudo ab illorum vestigiis et disciplinâ, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cujus nihil non perspicit Majestas ac intuetur, quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque adeoque seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideriis flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula undique imminentia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisque adeo contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur et ambitus? Ac illi quam præclare secum actum putassent, si vel vivere modò licuisset. Ideoque multi fuere eorum, qui Mariæ reginæ facultates et possessiones omnes adusque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec unus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, sacerdotiis,

Deploratio nostrorum morum et temporum.

Quanta degeneratio nostrorum nunc hominum, ab exemplis superiorum martyrum.

censuique dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus et inimicos, non ut vivamus solùm, verùm ut sublimes vivamus et honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantiâ, simplicitate, ac patentiâ incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quantâ constantiâ, quâ animi alacritate perpessi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem Deo remittentes, cui et causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adversariorum dejicere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla consternere, nec delinire blanditiæ potuerunt.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipites ac transversos rapiat in avaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, et in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis objici poterit injuriola, pro quâ non cœlum terræ miscemus, mariaque turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, ut mortem simus unquam tuâ causâ subituri, si quando res martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare jussu velimus. Quapropter ut martyrum quidem illorum causâ gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto; ita nostrâ vicissim causâ deprecamur, ut qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires, sicque ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia; nec ubi seducti hujus mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinendâ evangelii tui victoriâ, quàm illi in comparandâ strenui, videamur. Postremò, quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in eâ re operam studiumque posuimus, quo facta gestaque sanctorum tuorum, sanctissime Jesu! ad nominis tui gloriam et in commodum ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulque historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui et opus ipsum totumque me ipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore et animâ totisque viribus commendo, dedico, consecroque: cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox et lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes ecclesias tribuat personetque! Amen.

Necessaria precatio.

TO THE

RIGHT VIRTUOUS, MOST EXCELLENT, AND NOBLE PRINCESS,

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

Our dread Lady, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of Christ's Faith and Gospel, and principal Governor both of the Realm, and also over the said Church of England and Ireland, under Christ the Supreme Head of the same, etc., JOHN FOXE, her humble Subject, wisheth daily increase of GOD'S Holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyful Peace, to govern his Flock committed to her Charge; to the Example of all good Princes, the Comfort of his Church, and Glory of his blessed Name.

CHRIST, the Prince of all princes, who hath placed you in your throne of majesty, under him to govern the church and realm of England, give your royal highness long to sit, and many years to reign over us, in all flourishing felicity, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting joy of all your subjects. Amen!

When I first presented these Acts and Monuments unto your majesty (most dear sovereign, queen ELIZABETH, our peaceable Salome!), which your majesty's rare clemency received in such gentle part, I well hoped that these my travails in this kind of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my studies again to other purposes after mine own desire, more fit than to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certain evil-disposed persons, of intemperate tongues, adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new-born again, and that Herod, with all the city of Jerusalem, had been in an uproar. Such blustering and striving was then against that poor book through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Louvain, so that no English Papist, almost in all the realm, thought himself a perfect catholic, unless he had cast out some word or other to give that book a blow.

Whereupon, considering with myself what should move them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to overlook again that I had done. In searching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not so much in the book itself (to say the truth) as in another certain privy mystery and working of some; of whom John of Aventine shall tell us in his own words, and show us who they be: "Quibus," says he, "audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est, nullus faciendi quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur," etc. Who, being ashamed belike to hear their worthy stratagems like to come to light, sought by what means they might [work] the stopping of the same. And because they could not work it *per brachium seculare*, "by public authority," (the Lord of heaven long preserve your noble majesty!) they renewed again an old wonted practice of theirs; doing in like sort herein, as they did sometimes with the Holy Bible in the days of your renowned father of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth; who, when they neither by manifest reason could gainsay the matter

contained in the book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then sought they, by a subtle devised train, to deprave the translation, notes, and prologues thereof, bearing the king in hand and all the people, that "there were in it a thousand lies," and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it such lies in very deed, but that the coming of that book should not bewray their lying falsehood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselves against it; playing in their stage like as Phormio did in the old comedy, who, being in all the fault himself, began first to quarrel with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heels.

With like facing brags these catholic Phormiones think now to dash out all good books, and, amongst others also, these Monuments of Martyrs: which godly martyrs as they could not abide being alive, so neither can they now suffer their memories to live after their death, lest the acts of them, being known, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruel murders to detestation; and therefore spurn they so vehemently against this book of histories, with all kind of contumelies and uproars, railing and wondering upon it. Much like as I have heard of a company of thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highway side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more than he would be known of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, marvelling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men. Even so these men deal also with me; for when they themselves altogether delight in untruths, and have replenished the whole church of Christ with feigned fables, lying miracles, false visions, and miserable errors, contained in their missals, portuses,[1] breviaries, and summaries, and almost no true tale in all their saints' lives and festivals, as now also no great truths in our Louvanian books, etc.; yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great verity; and as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but only this History of Acts and Monuments, with tragical voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolical phrases to make it appear as full of lies as lines, etc. Much after the like sort of impudency as sophisters used sometimes in their sophisms to do (and sometimes is used also in rhetoric), that when an argument cometh against them which they cannot well resolve indeed, they have a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragical admiration, whereby to dash the opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be answered, but utterly to be hissed out of the schools.

With like sophistication these also fare with me, who, when they neither can abide to hear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the same which they hear to be true, for three or four escapes in the book committed (and yet some of them in the book amended), they, neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding that they read, inveigh and malign so perversely the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my accusers I do not so excuse myself, nor defend my book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I have taken these pains, and reiterated my labours in travailing out this story again; doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before:—or, as builders do sometimes, which build and take down again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger; so, in recognising this history, I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any painstaking I might pacify the stomachs, or satisfy the judgments of these importune quarrellers:—which nevertheless I fear I shall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will never be cut off, though I were as strong as Hercules; and if Apelles, the skilful painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without some controlling sutor, which took upon him *ultra crepidam*, much more may I look for the like in these controlling days.

Ne sutor ultra crepidam.

(1) The "Portesse" was the breviary, which contained not only the office of the mass, but all the services except the Form of Marriage. See Ellis's "Original Letters," as quoted in Mr. Russel's Notes on Tyndale's Works, p. 496; Lond. 1831. See also infrà, p. 303, note (3).—Ed.

Nevertheless, committing the success thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this story of the church, and have spent not only my pains, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did, so again I exhibit and present the same unto your princely majesty; blessing my Lord my God with all my heart; first, for this liberty of peace and time, which, through your peaceable government, he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like books, tractations, and monuments, requisite to the behoof of his church, which hitherto, by iniquity of time, could not be contrived in any king's reign since the conquest, before these halcyon days of yours. Secondly, as we are all bound, with public voices, to magnify our God for this happy preservation of your royal estate, so, privately for my own part, I also acknowledge myself bound to my God and to my Saviour, who so graciously in such weak health hath let me time, both to finish this work, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your majesty; desiring the same to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthiness of the thing given, yet as a testification of the bounden service and good will of one, which, by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.

And though the story, being written in the popular tongue, serveth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned, yet I shall desire both you and them to consider in it the necessity of the ignorant flock of Christ committed to your government in this realm of England; who, as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapped in blindness, for lack especially of God's word, and partly also for wanting the light of history, I thought pity but that such should be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicity instructed. I considered they were the flock of Christ, and your subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and having as dear souls to the Lord as others; and, though they be but simple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied.

Profit to be taken by examples of christian martyrs.

Furthermore, what inconvenience groweth of ignorance, where knowledge lacketh, both I considered, and experience daily teacheth. And therefore, hearing of the virtuous inclination of your majesty, what a provident zeal, full of solicitude, you have, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all quarters and countries of this your realm with the voice of Christ's gospel and faithful preaching of his word, I thought it also not unprofitable to adjoin, unto these your godly proceedings and to the office of the ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiastical History, which, in my mind, ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one, the people may learn the rules and precepts of doctrine, so by the other, they may have examples of God's mighty working in his church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of christian life. For as we see what light and profit cometh to the church, by histories in old times set forth, of the Judges, Kings, Maccabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christ's time; so likewise may it redound to no small use in the church, to know the acts of Christ's martyrs now, since the time of the apostles, besides other manifold examples and experiments of God's great mercies and judgments in preserving his church, in overthrowing tyrants, in confounding pride, in altering states and kingdoms, in conserving religion against errors and dissensions, in relieving the godly, in bridling the wicked, loosing and tying up again of Satan the disturber of common-weals, in punishing transgressions, as well against the first table as the second;—wherein is to be seen idolatry punished, blasphemy plagued, contempt of God's holy name and religion revenged, murder, with murder, rewarded, adulterers and wedlock-breakers destroyed, perjuries, extortions, covetous oppression, and fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent works of the Lord: the observing and noting whereof in histories minister to the readers thereof wholesome admonitions of life, with experience and wisdom both to know God in his works, and to work the thing that is godly; especially to seek unto the Son of God for their salvation, and in his faith only to find that they seek for, and in no other means. The continuance and constancy of which faith the Lord of his grace and goodness grant to your noble majesty, and to his whole beloved church, and all the members of the same to everlasting life. Amen.

God's works to be observed in histories.

What use cometh by reading of histories.

AD DOCTUM LECTOREM,

JOHANNES FOXUS.

Cogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quàm periculosæ res aleæ sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his præsertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum dissidiis, tot studiis partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, et criticorum sannis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspectè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profecto felicesque videntur ii, quibus eum vitæ cursum tenere liceat, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, ut nullum interim ipsis vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me verò, nescio quo pacto, longe diversa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam felicitatem, in cujus complexibus tam multos suavitèr foveri video, nec otii amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare, in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortunâ parum queror, quam semper contempsi; quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores ii tantum vel prodesse vel placere cæteris possent hominibus, quantum me privatim atterunt incommodantque. Nunc ad meæ infelicitatis cumulum accedit insuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod, præter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro auctorem ipsum redigit angustiæ, ut neque falsa narrare sine injuriâ historiæ, nec verum dicere sine magnâ suâ invidiâ odioque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo historiæ argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modò temporum res gestas altéque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam ætatem nostram, nostræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præsentes vivosque, sic attingat, sic perfricet, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere necessariò faciendum fuit: quæso, quid hîc mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos perdiderim, senium acciverim, corpus exhauserim, demum ut post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, sibilis, invidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot istis asperitatibus cùm nihil me tutum præstare poterit, non Cæsar, non monarchæ, non rex, non regina, non ulla hujus mundi præsidia, præter solam Divini numinis potentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asylum me recepi, huic me librumque commendavi et commendo. Tum vero insuper in eodem Domino tuum illum candorem, docte pieque lector! eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis studiisque te scio præditum, quò nostris his sudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne favoris desit benignitas: cui si approbatam iri hanc historiæ nostræ farraginem senserimus, cæterorum judicia obtrectatorum levius feremus.

Nam alioquì non defuturos sat scio qui variis modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hîc momus suos morsus, sycophanta suos sibilos, nec deerit calumniatori sua lingua et aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet historiæ; ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in exeutiendis rebus judicium

desiderabit. Illi forsan operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita servataque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tantâ religionis pugnâ, in tantâ judiciorum, capitum, sensuum varietate, ubi suæ quisque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè, aut circumspectè enarrari potest, quod placeat universis? Quin et jam nunc mussitari etiam audio a nonnullis qui longâ sese teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem "Legenda nostra," ut appellant, "Aurea" evulganda sit: qui si nostram primùm in eo tarditatem reprehensam velint, næ ego suaves istos homines vicissim rogatos velim, ut ipsi prius in edendis suis se præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde, si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminerint, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam esse festinationem oportere; et bos dicitur lassus fortiùs pedem figere. Egimus in hâc quidem re pro virili nostrâ; egimus spero et pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin et illud ipsorum veniâ adjicere liceat, egisse nos maturiùs quàm ipsis forsan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatiùs egimus quàm tanti momenti et magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat; cùm à nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ historiæ, et in ordinem redigendæ, etc., noverint ii qui testes adfuerunt, et temporis conscii, et laboris socii. Quod si autem "Legendæ suæ Aureæ" titulum huic eò accommodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent historiam, hincque odioso vocabulo ejus præjudicent veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quàm quòd ingenuè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quod ipsos tandem aliquando *legendæ suæ aureæ* pudeat tam fabulosæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, si qui *legendæ illi*, hoc est, mendacissimis illorum nugis, auderent detrahere. Quare nihil magis esse possit impium, quàm sacrosanctam ecclesiæ fidem fabulamentis hujusmodi confictisque præter omnem veri fidem deliriis commaculare; tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores, ex suo ingenio cæteros quosque scriptores metientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus aliis fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet suis aureis somniis similia existimantes? Quin apage cum "Legenda tua Aurea,"[1] nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum scimus, nec ipse ignoras, prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis et vanissimis undique commentis scatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abest ut cum verè seriis gravibusque ecclesiæ historiis quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia papistis illis tuis et impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem historiæ authoritatem putas in ecclesiâ admittendam? Quin eâdem lege et de Eusebii ecclesiasticâ, et Tripartitâ Sozomeni et Socratis [et Theodoriti], cæterorumque historiis judicemus. Sunt præter hæc et alia quædam de sanctis et divis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *legendam* hanc accedunt, et tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut "Legendæ illi Papisticæ" annumerentur, etiam quæ suspectissimæ sunt fidei. Quanquam de scriptoribus cæteris meâ nihil interest censuram ferre. Quod ad hanc verò nostram *περὶ τῶν μαρτυρικῶν* attinet, testatum id velim universis, datam esse à nobis operam sedulò ne quid usquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut ejusmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod

(1) "This work, which was composed by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, is rightly called by Wharton 'an inexhaustible repository of religious fable;' and such was the almost sacred light in which it was considered abroad for upwards of two centuries, that the learned Claude d'Espence, in the year 1555, was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it 'Legenda Ferrea!' The popularity of the work in the fifteenth century is sufficiently attested by the great number of editions of it which were printed in the Latin, Italian, Dutch, German, and French languages. Pawzer enumerates upwards of seventy editions in the first language; eight in the second; fourteen in the third; five in the fourth; and three in the fifth." Dibdin's Typograph. Antiquities, vol. i. p. 190, upon Caxton's English edition of 1483. Melchior Canus, bishop of the Canaries, has also spoken very freely of the Lives of Saints which were in general circulation in his time (1562); and declares that he could not meet with one collection, which was passable; and with regard to the compiler of the "Legenda Aurea," "wherein," he writes, "you may read of monsters rather than of true miracles; he who wrote this was a man of a brazen face, and a leaden heart." "Loci Theolog." lib. xi. cap. 6, p. 267, edit. Venet. 1759; or White's "Way to the true Church," § 42, digres. 44, 7, where this testimony, and much more, is quoted to the same effect; Crashaw's "Sermon preached at the Crosse," (Lond. 1609,) p. 154.—Ed.

" Legendæ illi Aureæ " (magis dicam plumbeæ) non undique foret dissimillimum. Id quod res ipsa et nativa historiæ facies testari poterit, cujus tota textura ex ipsis episcoporum archivis atque registris, partímque ex propriis martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In quâ historiâ etsi neque id exigam ut singula hîc pro oraculis habeantur; at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut si non plenè assequeremus, accederemus tamen quàm proximè ad veterem illam historiæ legem, ut duas res, præcipuas historiæ pestes, vitaremur, timorem videlicet et assentationem; quarum altera sæpe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit, quàm par est, narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quàm ex meâ commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam et nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non mucosis naribus lectori ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, sive aliis circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbii experientia; Faciunt quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in martyrologicis sanctorum legendis vitisque describendis mendacia ac nugacissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut cæteræ ejusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicíve in ecclesiâ cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos præstitisse. Quod superest, divinæ curandum providentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritateque historiæ hæc hactenus: quæ utinam næ tam vera quidem certaque esset, quàm isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, consimilisque huic, quam dicunt, " Aureæ ipsorum Legendæ," aut Vitis Patrum, aut Festivali, aut Dormisecure, cæterisque papisticis istis τοῖς τῶν λήρων λήροις foret. Nunc verò martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, sed inflicta à vobis, supplicia atroxque cædes veriorem hanc comprobant historiam, pluresque suæ veritatis testes habent, quàm vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ de Calendario fortassis objicietur.[1] Audio enim et hîc mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè à me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris ecclesiæ divis, martyribus, confessoribus, virginibusque, novos eorum loco martyres ac confessores infulciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum divorum hoc facto præjudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter divos à me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius Nonus. Porro, neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam ecclesiæ; tum multò minus cultum sancti alicujus instituo. Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo. Utinam Dominicum solum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par est, transigeremus. Habeant per me suum papistæ Calendarium. Habeat et ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim iidem ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti tàm verè etiam sancti sint.

Verùm enimvero cum non dubitavit suâ etiam ætate Hieronymus multos existimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis haberent in ecclesiâ; quid hîc tum diceret Hieronymus, si modo superstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluviem et Calendaria, tot papis, tot episcopis, et abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut *pro indice* duntaxat, suum cujusque martyris mensem et annum designante, ad privatum lectoris serviret usum. Et tamen si in templis etiam fas sit singulorum mensium dies propriis sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare, quî minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tantâ sibi licentiâ, ne dicam impudentiâ, permiserunt? Si non pœna, sed causa martyrem faciat, cur non unum Cranmerum sexcentis Becketis Cantuariensibus non conferam, sed prætulerim? Quid in Nicolao Ridleo videtur cum quovis divo Nicolao non conferendum? Quâ in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marsheus, Simpsonus, cæterique christiani martyrii candidati, inferiores summis maximisque illis papistici Calendarii divis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modò qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc

(1) Our author found the advantage afterwards of having anticipated the objections to his Calendar: see infrà, vol. iii. p. 385, etc.—Ed.

displiceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis collocari, sed domesticæ tantùm lectioni præparari.

Sed missis hisce adversariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candideque lector! (quoniam hæc ad te instituta est epistola) tempus est ut recurrat oratio, cujus in his rebus judicium ut pluris æstimo, ita egeo magis hîc quoque patrocinio. Scio enim, in vastâ hâc congerie reperies nonnulla ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque verò fieri facilè potuit, præsertim in tantâ operis præcipitatione, ut cuncta ad amussim atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam exciderit authori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eveniret, quod cani solet in proverbiis nimium præ studio properanti, Cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quàm censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte simul et humanissime lector! ante operis ingressum libuit *προοιμιάζειν*, ut si quid inter evolvendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleanthis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus alioqui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data esse, sed meis; hoc est, crassioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quàm judicantur. Aut si ne id quidem gravissimæ tuæ sententiæ fecerit satis, liceat illâ mihi uti lege, quâ semper permissum est opere in magno, "scriptori obrepere somnum." Quòd si verò tuam hâc in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obstrepant, Græci memor proverbii, cujus et ipsos commeminisse velim, *μωμήσεταί τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμήσεται.*[1]

TO THE PERSECUTORS OF GOD'S TRUTH, COMMONLY CALLED PAPISTS,[2] ANOTHER PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

If any other had had the doing and handling of this so tragical an history, and had seen the mad rage of this your furious cruelty, in spilling the blood of such an innumerable sort of Christ's holy saints and servants, as, in the volumes of this history, may appear by you, O ye *papists* (give me leave by that name to call you), I know what he would have done therein: what vehemency of writing—what sharpness of speech and words—what roughness of style, in terming and calling you—he would have used; what exclamations he would have made against you; how little he would have spared you. So I, likewise, if I had been disposed to follow the order and example of their doing,—what I might have done herein, let your own conjectures give you to understand, by that which you have deserved. And if you think you have not deserved so to be entreated, as I have said, and worse than I have done, then see and behold, I beseech you, here in this story, the pitiful slaughter of your butchery! Behold your own handy work! consider the number, almost out of number, of so many silly and simple lambs of Christ, whose blood you have sought and sucked; whose lives you have vexed; whose bodies you have slain, racked, and tormented; some also you have cast on dunghills, to be devoured of fowls and dogs; without mercy, without measure, without all sense of humanity! See, I say, and behold, here present before your eyes, the heaps of slain bodies, of so many men and women, both old, young, children, infants, new born, married, unmarried, wives, widows, maids, blind men, lame men, whole men; of all sorts, of all ages, of all degrees; lords, knights, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, deacons, laymen, artificers, yea, whole households and whole kindreds together; father, mother and daughter; grandmother, mother, aunt, and child, etc.; whose wounds, yet bleeding before the face of God, cry vengeance! For, whom have you spared? what country could escape your hands? See, therefore, I say,—read, and behold your acts and facts; and, when you have seen, then judge what you have deserved. And if ye find that I have tempered myself with much more moderation for mine own part (but that I have in some places inserted certain of other men's works,

(1) Plutarch. "de Gloriâ Athen." A Latin version may be seen in Plin. "Hist. Nat." lib. xxxv. cap. 9; or § 36.—Ed.

(2) This address is reprinted from Foxe's rare and valuable edition of 1563.

than either the cause of the martyrs or your iniquity hath required), then accept my good will in the Lord, which here I thought to signify unto you in the beginning of this preface, not to flatter or seek for your acceptation (which I care not greatly for), but only as tendering the conversion of your souls, if perhaps I may do you any good. Wherefore, as one that wishes well unto you in the Lord, I exhort you, that with patience you would read and peruse the history of these your own acts and doings, being no more ashamed now to read them, than you were then to do them; to the intent that, when you shall now the better revise what your doings have been, the more you may blush and detest the same.

Peter, preaching to the Jews and pharisees, after they had crucified Christ, cried to them: "Delictorum pœnitentiam agite," and turned three thousand at one sermon. So the said Peter sayeth and writeth still to you, and we, with Peter, exhort you: "Repent your mischiefs; be confounded in your doings; and come, at length, to some confession of your miserable iniquity." First, you see now, your doings, so wicked, cannot be hid; your cruelty is come to light; your murders be evident; your pretty practices; your subtle sleights, your secret conspiracies, your filthy lives are seen, and stink before the face both of God and man. Yea, what have you ever done so in secret and in corners, but the Lord hath found it out, and brought it to light? You hold, maintain, and defend, that ministers ought and may live sole, without matrimony: what filthiness and murdering of infants followed thereupon! Your ear-confessions can say something, but God knoweth more; and yet the world knoweth so much that I need not here to stand upon any particular examples of cardinals, doctors, and others, taken in manifest whoredom at London, at Oxford, at Cambridge, at Chester, and other places more.

But to pass over this stinking Camarine[1] of your unmaidenly lives, I return again to your murders and slaughters, which you may here in this volume not only see, but also number them if you please. God so hath displayed and detected them, that now all the world may read them. As I have said, God, I assure you, hath detected them, who hath so marvellously wrought such help and success in setting forth the same, that I dare assure you, it is not without the will of Him, that these your murders should be opened, and come to light. And what if they were not opened, nor made to the world notorious, but secret only, between God and your conscience? Yet what cause have you to repent and to be confounded, now the world also seeth them, hateth, and abhorreth you for the same! What will you say? what will you, or can you, allege? How will you answer to the high Judge to come? or whither will you fly from his judgment, when he shall come? Think you, blood will not require blood again? Did you ever see any murder, which came not out, and was at length repaid? Let the example of the French Guise work in your English hearts, and mark you well his end. If Christ in his gospel, which cannot lie, doth threaten a millstone to such as do but hurt the least of his believers, in what a dangerous case stand you, which have smoked and fired so many his worthy preachers, and learned ministers! And what if the Lord should render to you double again, for that which ye have done to them! Where should you then become? And hath not he promised in his word so to do? And think you, that that Judge doth sleep, or that his coming day will not come? And how will you then be able to stand in his sight when he shall appear? With what face shall ye look upon the Lord, whose servants ye have slain? Or with what hearts will you be able to behold the bright faces of them, upon whom you have set so proudly here, condemning them to consuming fire? In that day, when you shall be charged with the blood of so many martyrs, what will ye, or can you say? How think ye to excuse yourselves? Or what can you for yourselves allege? Will ye deny to have murdered them? This book will testify and denounce against you; which if you cannot deny now to be true, then look how you will answer to it in that counting day.

(1) *Camarina*, a Sicilian lake, drained contrary to the advice of Apollo (as the ancients supposed), whence a pestilence ensued: the lake, however, cannot be drained, as it lies below the level of the sea. Luther makes a similar metaphorical use of *Lerna*, the Grecian lake, infrà, vol. iv. p. 675, art. 4. "Camarinam movere" or "tentare," means to make a hazardous attempt. Foxe uses this phrase in the Latin edition (Bas. 1559), p. 4. "Ac quoniam sine magnâ perturbatione videbat tam periculosam Camarinam tentari haud potuisse, nec subitò revelli posse, etc.," translated infrà, vol. ii. p. 796, "this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred," etc.—Ed.

Peradventure you will excuse yourselves, and say, that you did but the law; and if the law did pass upon them, you could not do with all. But here I will ask, what law do you mean? The law of God, or the law of man? If ye mean the law of God, where do you find in all the law of God, to put them to death, which, holding the articles of the creed, never blasphemed his name, but glorified it, both in life, and in their death? If you answer, by the law of man, I know the law ("ex officio" or rather ex *homicidio*) which you mean and follow. But who brought that law in first, in the time of king Henry IVth, but you?[1] Who revived the same again in queen Mary's days, but you? Further, who kept them in prison before the law, till, by the law, you had made a rope to hang them withal? And think you by charging the law, to discharge yourselves? But you will use here some translation of the fact perchance; alleging that you burnt them not, but only committed them to the secular power, by whom, you will say, they were burnt, and not by you. It will be hard to play the sophister before the Lord. For so it may be said to you again, that the fire burned them, and not the secular power. But I pray you, who put them in? But they were heretics, you will say, and Lutherans, and therefore we burnt them, thinking thereby to do God good service, etc. Of such service-doers Christ spake before, saying, that such should come, who, putting his servants to death, should think to do good service to God. And forsomuch as, under the pretence of heresy, you put them to death; concerning that matter, there is, and hath been, enough said to you by learning,—if either learned books, or learned sermons could move you. But, to this, none answereth you better than the martyrs themselves, which in this book do tell you, that in the same which you call heresy, they serve the living God. And how do you then serve the living God, in putting them to death, whom they in the death do serve so heartily and so heavenly, as in this book here doth well appear? And because you charge them so much with heresy, this would I know, by what learning do you define your heresy, by the scripture, or by your canon law? I know what you will answer: but whatsoever you say, your own acts and deeds will well prove the contrary. For what scripture can save him, whom your law condemneth? What heresy was there, in speaking against transubstantiation, before Innocent III. did so enact it in his canon, A.D. 1215? What man was ever counted for an heretic, which, worshipping Christ in heaven, did not worship him in the priest's hands, before Honorius III., in his canon, did cause the sacrament to be elevated and adored upon the altar? "Faith only justifying," in St. Paul's time, and in the beginning church, was no heresy, before of late days the Romish canons have made it heresy!

Likewise, if it be heresy not to acknowledge the pope as supreme head of the church, then St. Paul was an heretic, and a stark Lutheran, which, having the scriptures, yet never attributed that to the pope, nor to Peter himself, to be supreme head of the church. So were all the other fathers of the primitive church heretics also, which never knew any such supremacy in the pope, before Boniface I. called himself "universal bishop," six hundred years after Christ. After like sort and manner, if receiving in both kinds, and having the scripture in a popular tongue be a matter worthy of burning, then were all the apostles and martyrs of the first church worthy to be burned, and the Corinthians ill instructed of St. Paul, having both "panem" and "calicem Domini!" Either condemn St. Paul and them, with these, or else let these be quit with the other. The same I may infer of purgatory, the setting up of images, going on pilgrimage, and such like, etc. And, but that I am wearied to see your miserable folly, I might here argue with you. For if your heresy (as you call it) be a sin with you so heinous, that it deserveth burning, then would I know, how can that be a sin now, which was a virtue once? In the time of the old law, it was a virtue amongst the Jews to have no image in the temple. Also, Hezekiah, Josiah, with divers other good kings more, were commended for abolishing the same; and have we not the same commandment still? and how cometh it now to be a vice, which was a virtue then? Likewise in the new law, both Paul and Barnabas would have torn their garments for doing that, for the not doing whereof you burn your brethren now. You see, therefore, how your heresy standeth; not by God's word, for which you burn God's people, but only by your own laws and canons, made by men. Wherefore if

(1) See infrà, vol. iii. p. 239, 400.—ED.

these your laws and canons (without the which the church once did stand and flourish) be now of such force, that the breach thereof must needs be *death*, better it were, either they were never made, or that now they were abolished; seeing both the church may well be without them, and that God's people in no case can well live with them, but be burned for them.

And now, as I have hitherto collected and recited almost all your excuses, and reasons that you can bring and allege for yourselves, (and yet you see they will not serve you,) so I exhort you to turn to that, which only may and will serve; that is, to the blood of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." Wash your bloody hands with the tears of plentiful repentance; and though you cannot call back again the lives of those whom you have slain, yet call yourselves back again from the way of iniquity, and from the path of destruction which you were going to! Consider how long now you have spurned and kicked against the Lord and his truth, and yet, you see, nothing hath prevailed. What have you, but "kicked against the pricks?" If killing and slaying could help your cause, you see what an infinite sort you have put to death; the number of whom, although it doth exceed man's searching, yet Paulus Vergerius, in his book against the Pope's Catalogue, taking a view thereof, doth account them to the number of an hundred thousand persons, slain in Christendom of you (whom he there calleth "papists") in the cause of Christ's gospel within this forty or an hundred years;[1] besides them in queen Mary's time here in England, and besides them within these two years slain in France by the [duke of] Guise, which, as you know, cometh to no small sum. And yet for all this horrible slaughter, and your so many fought fields against the poor saints, what is your cause the better? What have you thereby got, or won, but shame, hatred, contempt, infamy, execration, and to be abhorred of all good men; as may appear, not only by your habit and garment, the form and wearing whereof it shameth and abhorreth men now, as you see, to be brought unto; but also, the title and name of your profession. For though ye profess *popery* inwardly in your hearts, yet which of you all now is not ashamed to be called a *papist*, and would be angry with me if I should write to you under the name of *papists?* You see, therefore, how little you have won.

Let us compare now your winnings and losses together. And as you have gained but a little, so let us see what great things you have lost; which, first, have spilt your own cause, the quiet of your conscience,—which I dare say shaketh within you. Ye have lost the favour both of God and man, the safety of your souls, and almost the kingdom of the Lord, except you take the better heed. What think you, then, by these your proceedings, to win any more hereafter, which have lost so much already? Do not the very ashes of the martyrs which you have slain rise up still against you in greater armies? Seeing therefore the Lord doth and must prevail, be counselled and exhorted in the Lord; leave off your resisting, and yield to the truth which your own boiling consciences, I am sure, doth inwardly witness and testify, if, for your own wilful standing up, on your credit and reputation, as ye think, ye would come to the confession of the same. And what reputation is this of credit, to be found con-

(1) Petrus Paulus Vergerius was bishop of Capo d'Istria, and many years a confidential agent of the court of Rome. Being suspected of an inclination towards Lutheranism, he retired to Germany, intending to clear himself from the imputation by writing a book "Against the Apostates of Germany." In prosecuting this intention, his eyes were opened, and he became a zealous protestant. He wrote many treatises against popery, but few are extant, owing to their having been destroyed as much as possible by the church of Rome. He died Oct. 4, 1565. His works were about to be collected and published at Tubingen, but only tom. i. appeared, in 1563. The treatise alluded to by Foxe is included in that volume, and is intituled "Postremus Catalogus hæreticorum [librorum] Romæ conflatus 1559, continens alios quatuor Catalogos qui post decennium in Italiâ, necnon eos omnes qui in Galliâ et Flandriâ post renatum evangelium, fuerunt editi: cum annotationibus Vergerii." His own dedication of it is dated "Tubingæ, die 12 Sept. 1559." At p. 266, Vergerio enters on the topic of the persecution of the protestants thus—"Cùm 40 fluxerint anni à renovato evangelio, horum regnorum et provinciarum fere omnium patres-familias aut sunt extincti aut oblivioni tradiderunt vestros corruptissimos cultus; successit verò alia ætas, quæ longè diversam ac multis magnisque in rebus omninò contrariam doctrinam et disciplinam, hoc est sinceram, hausit." Afterwards, at p. 267, he goes on, "Postremò, quantus est numerus nostrâ ætate, non modo eorum qui Mortis, Carcerum, atque Triremium, sed etiam qui exiliorum tulerunt, et ferunt etiamnum, martyria. Qui jam migrarunt ad Dominum Deum nostrum per vestra, inquam, martyria sunt fermè millia centum; atque hi ipsi sunt de quibus Scriptura ait, Vidi sub arâ, &c. (Rev. vi. 9, 10.)" Foxe says in the text (supposing the text not corrupt) "forty or an hundred years," apparently doubtful as to the meaning of "ætas"; it seems pretty clear, however, that Vergerio did not intend it to embrace more than the 40 years "à renovato evangelio."—Ed.

stant in error against the truth; in Antichrist against Christ; in your destruction against saving of your souls? Briefly, and to be short, if my counsel may be heard, better it were for you in time to give over while it is thankworthy, than at length to be drawn, by compulsion of time, will ye, nill ye, to give over your cause, losing both thanks and your cause also. For see you not daily more and more the contrary part (the Lord's arm going with them) to grow so strong against you, that not only there is no hope, but no possibility for your obstinate error to stand against so manifest truth? First, learning, and all best wits, for the most part repugn against you. Most nations and kingdoms have forsaken you, as Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark, Suabia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Epirus, and a great part of Greece; England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, God be glorified, well favourably cometh on, you see, and other more be like to follow: so that if things come handsomely forward, as they begin and are like to do, the pope is like to pay home again shortly his feathers that he hath so long time borrowed. Moreover, universities and schools, in all quarters, to be set up against you; and youth so trained in the same, that you shall never be able to match them.[1]

To conclude, in countries, kingdoms, cities, towns, and churches reformed, your errors and superstitious vanities be so blotted out, within the space of these forty years, in the hearts of men, that their children and youth, being so long nouseled in the sound doctrine of Christ, like as they never heard of your ridiculous trumpery, so will they never be brought to the same.[2] And if nothing else will deface you, yet printing only will subvert your doings, do what ye can, which the Lord only hath set up for your desolation. Wherefore, forsake your cause, and your false hopes, and save yourselves. And take me not your enemy in telling you the truth, but rather your friend, in giving you good counsel—if you will follow good counsel given. Return therefore and reform yourselves; repent your murders, cease your persecutions, strive not against the Lord; but rather bewail your iniquities, which, though they be great, and greater than you are aware, yet they are not so great, but Christ is greater, if ye repent betimes. Ye see here I trust good counsel given; God grant it may as well fructify in you, as on my part it hath proceeded of an open and tender heart; wishing you well to do, as I pray God ye may, so that you and we may agree and consent together in one religion and truth, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be praise for ever. Amen.

TO THE TRUE AND FAITHFUL CONGREGATION OF CHRIST'S UNIVERSAL CHURCH,

With all and singular the Members thereof, wheresoever congregated or dispersed through the Realm of England; a Protestation or Petition of the Author, wishing to the same Abundance of all Peace and Tranquillity, with the speedy Coming of Christ the Spouse, to make an End of all Mortal Misery.

Solomon, the peaceable prince of Israel, as we read in the first book of Kings, after he had finished the building of the Lord's temple, (which he had seven years in hand,) made his petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the said temple, or turn their face toward it; and his request was granted, the Lord answering him, as we read in the said book; "I have heard," saith he, "thy prayer, and have sanctified this place,"[3] etc. Albeit the infinite majesty of God is not to be compassed in any material walls, yet it so pleased his goodness to respect this prayer of the king, that not only he promised to hear them which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his own glory. For so we read again in the book aforesaid, "Non poterant ministrare propter nebulam, quia replevit gloria Domini domum Domini."[4]

Upon the like trust in God's gracious goodness, if I, sinful wretch, not comparing with the building of that temple, but following the zeal of the builder,

(1) Vergerio, ut suprà.—Ed.
(2) Idem.—Ed.
(3) 1 Kings viii. 30.
(4) 1 Kings viii. 10.

might either be so bold to ask, or so happy to speed, after my seven years' travail about this Ecclesiastical History, I would most humbly crave of Almighty God to bestow his blessing upon the same; that as the prayers of them which prayed in the outward temple were heard, so all true disposed minds which shall resort to the reading of this present history, containing the Acts of God's holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may, by example of their life, faith, and doctrine, receive some such spiritual fruit to their souls, through the operation of his grace; that it may be to the advancement of his glory, and profit of his church, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

But, as it happened in that temple of Solomon, that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see news, other to talk and walk, some to buy and sell, some to carp and find fault, and, finally, some also at the last to destroy and pull down, as they did indeed;—for what is in this world so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraried? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling Theon [1] will not set in his tooth?—even so neither do I look for any other in this present history, but that, amongst many well-disposed readers, some wasp's nest or other will be stirred up to buz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now a days to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the godly, or by true speaking procure hatred of the wicked. Of such stinging wasps and buzzing drones I had sufficient trial in my former edition before;[2] who if they had found in my book any just cause to carp, or, upon any true zeal of truth, had proceeded against the untruths of my story, and had brought just proofs for the same, I could right well have abided it: for God forbid but that faults, wheresoever they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore accusers in a commonwealth, after my mind, do serve to no small stead.

But then such accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration [3] speaketh, which, being sent into the Capitol to fray away thieves by night, left the thieves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not amiss; but to carp where no cause is; to spy in other straws; and leap over their own blocks; to swallow camels, and to strain at gnats; to oppress truth with lies, and to set up lies for truth; to blaspheme the dear martyrs of Christ, and to canonize for saints those whom Scripture would scarce allow for good subjects;—that is intolerable. Such barking curs, if they were well served, would be made a while to stoop; but with these brawling spirits I intend not at this time much to wrestle.

Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leisure serve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought, in the mean season, by way of Protestation or Petition, to write unto you both in general and particular, the true members and faithful congregation of Christ's church, wheresoever either congregated together, or dispersed through the whole realm of England; that, forasmuch as all the seeking of these adversaries is to do what they can, by discrediting of this history with slanders and sinister surmises, to withdraw the readers from it, this, therefore, shall be, in few words, to premonish and desire of all and singular of you (all well-minded lovers and partakers of Christ's gospel), not to suffer yourselves to be deceived with the big brags and hyperbolical speeches of those slandering tongues, whatsoever they have or shall hereafter exclaim against the same, but indifferently staying your judgment till truth be tried, you will first peruse and then refuse; measuring the untruths of this history, not by the scoring up of their hundreds and thousands of lies which they give out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings according as you find; and so to judge of the matter.

To read my books I allure neither one nor other. Every man as he seeth cause, so let him like as he listeth. If any shall think his labour too much in reading this story, his choice is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof shall recompence the reader's travail, then would I wish no man so light eared, as to be carried away for any sinister clamour of adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but therefore find faults because they would deprave. As for me

(1) Hor. Ep. lib. i. 18.—Ed.
(2) The first edition, London, 1563.—Ed.
(3) Orat. ii. pro Roscio, cap. 20.—Ed.

and my history, as my will was to profit all and displease none, so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose been simple; and certes the cause no less urgent also, which moved me to take this enterprise in hand.

The partial dealing of story-writers.

For, first, to see the simple flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignorance of history, not knowing the course of times and true descent of the church, it pitied me that this part of diligence had so long been unsupplied in this my-country church of England. Again, considering the multitude of chronicles and story-writers, both in England and out of England, of whom the most part have been either monks, or clients to the see of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painful travail albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitful to be known nor unpleasant to be read; yet it lamented me to see in their Monuments the principal points which chiefly concerned the state of Christ's church, and were most necessary of all christian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honour specially of the church of Rome, or else to the favour of their own sect of religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their writings no other church mentioned or magnified but only that church which here flourished in this world in riches and jollity, were drawn also to the same persuasion, to think no other church to have stood in all the earth but only the church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of writers, besides our monks of England (for every monastery almost had his chronicler) I might also recite both Italian and other-country authors, as Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martin, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziarde, George Lily, Polydore Virgil, with many more, who, taking upon them to intermeddle with matters of the church, although in part they express some truth in matters concerning the bishops and see of Rome, yet, in suppressing another part, they play with us, as Ananias and Sapphira did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny,[1] who, painting the one half of Venus coming out of the sea, left the other half imperfect: so these writers, while they show us one half of the bishop of Rome, the other half of him they leave imperfect, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out, on the one part, glistering in wealth and glory, in shewing what succession the popes had from the chair of Saint Peter, when they first began, and how long they sat, what churches and what famous buildings they erected, how far their possessions reached, what laws they made, what councils they called, what honour they received of kings and emperors, what princes and countries they brought under their authority, with other like stratagems of great pomp and royalty; so, on the other side, what vices these popes brought with them to their seat, what abominations they practised, what superstition they maintained, what idolatry they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the express word of God, into what heresies they fell, into what division of sects they cut the unity of christian religion, how some practised by simony, some by necromancy and sorcery, some by poisoning, some indenting with the devil to come by their papacy, what hypocrisy was in their lives, what corruption in their doctrine, what wars they raised, what bloodshed they caused, what treachery they traversed against their lords and emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templars and Saracens, and in bringing others under their feet, also in beheading some; as they did with Frederic and Conradine, the heirs and offspring of the house of Frederic Barbarossa, in the year 1268;[2] furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath stood against them, how their wars never prospered against the Turk, how the judgments of the godly-learned from time to time have ever repugned against their errors, etc. —of these and a thousand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under benedicite, in auricular confession.

When I considered this partial dealing and corrupt handling of histories, I thought with myself nothing more lacking in the church than a full and a complete story; which, being faithfully collected out of all our monastical writers and written monuments, should contain neither every vain-written fable (for that would be too much), nor yet leave out any thing necessary, for that would be too little; but, with a moderate discretion, taking the best of every one, should both ease the labour of the reader from turning over such a number of

(1) Plin. xxxv. cap. 10.

(2) See infrà, vol. ii. pp. 455—509, 472, and vol. iv. pp. 143, 144.—Ed.

writers, and also should open the plain truth of times lying long hid in obscure darkness of antiquity: whereby all studious readers, beholding as in a glass the stay, course, and alteration of religion, decay of doctrine, and the controversies of the church, might discern the better between antiquity and novelty. For if the things which be first, after the rule of Tertullian, are to be preferred before those that be later, then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cause "historia," in old authors, is called the Witness of Times, the Light of Verity, the Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, and Shewer of Antiquity, etc., without the knowledge whereof man's life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error; as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later times of the church, when the bishops of Rome, under colour of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as, in the former age of the church, were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of times and for lack of true history. "Primum quodque verissimum est."

For, to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which wrote histories had, without partiality, gone upright between God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well have been found, the most part of all this catholic corruption intruded into the church by the bishops of Rome, as transubstantiation, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vows of priests not to marry, veneration of images, private and satisfactory masses, the order of Gregory's mass now used, the usurped authority and "summa potestas" of the see of Rome, with all the rout of their ceremonies and weeds of superstition overgrowing now the church; all these, I say, to be new-nothings lately coined in the mint of Rome, without any stamp of antiquity, as by reading of this present history shall sufficiently, I trust, appear. Which history therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other story-writers heretofore have employed their travail to magnify the church of Rome, so in this history might appear to all christian readers the image of both churches, as well of the one as of the other; especially of the poor oppressed and persecuted church of Christ. Which persecuted church, though it hath been of long season trodden under foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preserving the same in all extreme distresses, continually stirring up from time to time faithful ministers, by whom always have been kept some sparks of his true doctrine and religion. Image of both churches.

Now forasmuch as the true church of God goeth not, lightly,[1] alone, but is accompanied with some other church or chapel of the devil to deface and malign the same, necessary it is therefore the difference between them to be seen, and the descent of the right church to be described from the apostles' time: which, hitherto, in most part of histories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durst not, partly for ignorance, that men could not, discern rightly between the one and the other. Who, beholding the church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, so shining in outward beauty, to bear such a port, to carry such a train and multitude, and to stand in such high authority, supposed the same to be the only right catholic mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true church of Christ. Wherein they were far deceived: for although the right church of God be not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the nature of truth, so is the proper condition of the true church, that commonly none seeth it, but such only as be the members and partakers thereof. And, therefore, they which require that God's holy church should be evident and visible to the whole world, seem to define the great synagogue of the world, rather than the true spiritual church of God. The descent of Christ's church from the apostles' time described. How the true church of Christ is visible and not visible.

In Christ's time who would have thought but that the congregations and councils of the Pharisees had been the right church? and yet had Christ another church in earth besides that; which, albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet was it the only true church in the sight of God. Of this church meant Christ, speaking of the temple which he would raise again the third day; and yet after that the Lord was risen, he showed not himself to the

(1) "Lightly," *i. e.* commonly, usually. Todd's Johnson. See infrà, p. 380, note (1).—Ed.

world, but only to his elect, which were but few. The same church, after that, increased and multiplied mightily among the Jews; yet had not the Jews eyes to see God's church, but did persecute it, till at length all their whole nation was destroyed.

After the Jews, then came the heathen emperors of Rome, who having the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could do, to extinguish the name and church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred years. All which while the true church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the world, but rather was abhorred everywhere, and yet notwithstanding the same small silly flock, so despised in the world, the Lord highly regarded and mightily preserved. For although many then of the christians did suffer death, yet was their death neither loss to them, nor detriment to the church; but the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.

The antiquity and descent of the church in England.

In the time of these emperors God raised up then in this realm of Britain divers worthy preachers and witnesses, as Elvanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibalus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, and other more: in whose time the doctrine of faith, without men's traditions, was sincerely preached. After their death and martyrdom it pleased the Lord to provide a general quietness to his church, whereby the number of his flock began more to increase.

In this age then followed here in the said land of Britain Fastidius, Ninianus, Patricius, Eacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elvodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Nivius, and a great sort more, which governed the church of Britain by christian doctrine a long season; albeit the civil governors for the time were then dissolute and careless (as Gildas very sharply doth lay to their charge), and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while, about the space of four hundred years, religion remained in Britain uncorrupt, and the word of Christ truly preached, till, about the coming of Augustine and of his companions from Rome, many of the same Britain-preachers were slain by the Saxons. After that began the christian faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certain Romish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tolerable than were the times which after followed, through the diligent industry of some godly teachers which then lived amongst them; as Aidan, Finian, Colman archbishop of York, Bede, John of Beverly, Alcuin, Noetus,[1] Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealtedus, Alexander, Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Ælfricus, Sygeferthus, and such other; who, though they erred in some few things, yet neither are so grossly nor so greatly to be complained of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet, all this while, the error of transubstantiation and elevation, with auricular confession, was not crept in for a public doctrine in Christ's church, as, by their own Saxon sermon made by Ælfric, and set out in the volumes[2] of this present history, may appear. During the which mean time, although the bishops of Rome were had here in some reverence with the clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making laws touching matters of the church of England: but that only appertained to the kings and governors of the land, as is in this story to be seen.

Transubstantiation not yet received for a public doctrine.

When the church began to fall from God.

And thus the church of Rome, albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet, during all this while, it remained hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length, after that, the said bishops began to shoot up in the world through the liberality of good princes, and especially of Matilda, a noble duchess of Italy, who at her death made the pope heir of all her lands, and endued his see with great revenues.[3] Then riches begat ambition, ambition destroyed religion, so that all came to ruin. Out of this corruption sprang forth here in England, as did in other places more, another Romish kind of monkery, worse than the other before, being much more drowned in superstition and ceremonies, which was about the year of our Lord, 980. Of this swarm was Egbert, Agilbert, Egwin, Boniface, Wilfrid, Agatho, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunstan, Oswold, Athelwold; Athelwin, duke of East-Angles; Lanfranc, Anselm, and such others.[4]

When monkery began to reign in England.

(1) Respecting the foregoing worthies, see infrà, pp. 349—353, 363, 364, 376; and vol. ii. p. 30.—Ed

(2) See vol. v. p. 280.—Ed.

(3) Æneas Sylvius saith, that Matilda made the pope heir of those lands which are called the patrimony of St. Peter Ex Aventino, lib. 6. See infrà, vol. ii. 116—120.—Ed.

(4) For more about these worthies see infrà, pp. 350—353, 355, 358, 359, 368; and vol. ii. 50—54, 62, 65, etc.—Ed.

And yet in this time also, through God's providence, the church lacked not some of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh with the darkness of those days. For although king Edgar, with Edward his base son, being seduced by Dunstan, Oswald, and other monkish clerks, was then a great author and fautor of much superstition, erecting as many monasteries as were Sundays in the year, yet, notwithstanding, this continued not long. For, eftsoons after the death of Edgar, came king Ethelred and queen Alfrida his mother, with Alferus duke of Merceland, and other peers and nobles of the realm, who displaced the monks again, and restored the married priests to their old possessions and livings.[1] Moreover, after that, followed also the Danes, which overthrew those monkish foundations, as fast as king Edgar had set them up before.

And thus hitherto stood the condition of the true church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficulty, yet in some mean state of the truth and verity, till the time of pope Hildebrand, called Gregory VII. which was near about the year 1080, and of pope Innocent III. in the year 1215: by whom all together was turned upside down, all order broken, discipline dissolved, true doctrine defaced, christian faith extinguished; instead whereof, was set up preaching of men's decrees, dreams and idle traditions. And whereas, before, truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now, liberty was turned into law, argument into authority. Whatsoever the bishop of Rome denounced, that stood for an oracle of all men to be received without opposition or contradiction; whatsoever was contrary, ipso facto it was heresy, to be punished with faggot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere faith of this English church, which held out so long, to quail. Then was the clear sunshine of God's word overshadowed with mists and darkness, appearing like sackcloth to the people, who neither could understand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable days, as the true visible church began now to shrink and keep in for fear, so up started a new sort of players, to furnish the stage, as school-doctors, canonists, and four orders of friars; besides other monastical sects and fraternities of infinite variety; which, ever since, have kept such a stir in the church, that none for them almost durst rout, neither Cæsar, king, nor subject. What they defined, stood; what they approved, was catholic; what they condemned, was heresy; whomsoever they accused, none almost could save. And thus have these, hitherto, continued, or reigned rather, in the church, the space now of full four hundred years and odd. During which space the true church of Christ, although it durst not openly appear in the face of the world, was oppressed by tyranny; yet neither was it so invisible or unknown, but, by the providence of the Lord, some remnant always remained from time to time, which not only showed secret good affection to sincere doctrine, but also stood in open defence of truth against the disordered church of Rome.

The true church, when it began first to decay.

In which catalogue, first, to pretermit Bertram and Berengarius, who were before pope Innocent III. a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses here might be produced; whose names neither are obscure nor doctrine unknown; as Joachim, abbot of Calabria, and Almeric, a learned bishop, who was judged an heretic for holding against images in the time of the said Innocent. Besides the martyrs of Alsace, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the said Innocent[2] in one day, as writeth Ulric Mutius.[3] Add likewise to these the Waldenses or Albigenses, which, to a great number, segregated themselves from the church of Rome. To this number also belonged Reymund, earl of Thoulouse, Marsilius Patavinus, Gulielmus de Sancto Amore,[4] Simon Tornacensis, Arnoldus de Nova Villa, Johannes Semeca, besides divers other preachers[5] in Suabia standing against the pope, A.D. 1240;[6] Laurentius An-

The true church continueth in the midst of their enemies.

(1) See infrà, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.—Ed.

(2) This was in the year 1212—but the bp. of Strasburg was the more immediate executioner: vide "Mutii Chron." lib. xix. apud "Rerum Germ. Scripp." tom. ii. p. 809. Ratisbonæ, 1726.—Ed.

(3) The title of this work, which may be seen more at length in "Sagittari Introduct. in Hist. Eccles." (tom. ii. p. 113, and tom. i. p. 95,) is "De Germanorum primâ origine, moribus, institutis, etc." Auct. H. Mutio. Basil. 1539.—Ed.

(4) Extravagant. [Alexandri IV.] cap. "Non sine multa." [This Extrav. of pope Alexander IV. is given by Bzovius, "Annal. Eccl. post Baron.," sub an. 1257, § 5, dated Lateran. III. Cal. Apr. pont. nostri an. 3. See infrà, vol. ii. p. 752.—Ed.]

(5) Ex Nicol. Eymerico. [Many of the presumed heretics here mentioned find a place in his work entitled "Directorium Inquisitorum Nicolai Eymerici, cum Commentt. Fr. Pegnæ:" Romæ, 1587. Pp. 248, 254, 265, etc.—Ed.]

(6) Alb. Crantzii. [Saxonia, lib. viii. c. 16.—Ed.]

glicus, a master of Paris, A.D. 1260; Petrus Johannes, a minorite,[1] who was burned after his death, A.D. 1290; Robertus Gallus, a dominic friar, A.D. 1292; Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, who was called "Malleus Romanorum,"[2] A.D.1250; Lord Peter of Cugniéres, A.D.1329. To these we may add, moreover, Gulielmus Ockam, Bonagratia Bergomensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Laudensis, Ulric Hangenor, treasurer to the emperor, Johannes de Ganduno,[3] A.D. 1330, mentioned in the Extravagants; Andreas de Castro, Buridanus, Euda,[4] duke of Burgundy, who counselled the French king not to receive the new-found constitutions and Extravagants of the pope into his realm; Dantes Aligerius, an Italian, who wrote against the pope, monks, and friars, and against the donation of Constantine, A.D. 1330; Taulerus, a German preacher;[5] Conradus Hager, imprisoned for preaching against the mass, A.D. 1339; the author of the book called "Pœnitentiarius Asini," compiled about the year 1343; Michael Cesenas, a grey friar; Petrus de Corbaria, with Johannes de Poliaco, mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the pope; Johannes de Castilione, with Franciscus de Arcatara, who were burned about the year of our Lord, 1322;[6] Johannes Rochtaylada, otherwise called Haybalus, with another friar martyred about the year 1346; Franciscus Petrarcha, who called Rome the whore of Babylon, &c. A.D. 1350;[7] Gregorius Ariminensis, A.D. 1350; Joannes de Rupe Scissa,[8] imprisoned for certain prophesies against the pope, A.D. 1340; Gerhardus Ridder, who also wrote against monks and friars a book called "Lacrymæ Ecclesiæ," A.D. 1350; Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Joannes Monachus Cardinalis, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, preacher, A.D. 1364; Militzius, a Bohemian, who then preached that antichrist was come, and was excommunicated for the same, A.D. 1366; Jacobus Misnensis, Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian born, and a writer against the pope, A.D. 1370; Joannes Montziger, rector of the university of Ulm, A.D. 1384; Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica, Henricus de Iota, Henricus de Hassia, etc.[9]

I do but recite the principal writers and preachers in those days. How many thousands there were which never bowed their knees to Baal, that is known to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one Bruschius,[10] that six-and-thirty citizens of Mentz were burned, A.D. 1390: who, following the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirmed the pope to be the great Antichrist. Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty, who, in the province of Narbonne, were put to the fire, for not receiving the decretals of Rome; besides them that suffered at Paris, to the number of four-and-twenty at one time, A.D. 1210: and the next year after there were four hundred burnt under the name of heretics; besides also a certain good eremite, an Englishman, of whom mention is made in John Bacon,[11] who was committed for disputing in Paul's church against certain sacraments of the church of Rome, A.D. 1306.[12]

Ex Christiano Massæo.

To descend now somewhat lower in drawing out the descent of the church. What a multitude here cometh of faithful witnesses in the time of John Wickliff, as Ocliff,[13] Wickliff (A.D. 1379); William Thorp, White, Purvey, Pateshul,

(1) He is mentioned in "Genebrard's Chronology," p. 670, Edit. 1599.—Ed.
(2) By Matthew Paris, p. 876. Edit. 1640.—Ed.
(3) Rather "Janduno." See "Oudin de Script. Eccles." tom. iii. col. 883.—Ed.
(4) In Flacius Illyricus, from whom all of the witnesses in this and the next paragraph are borrowed, it is "Eudo." See "Cat. test. verit.;" col. 1665. Edit. 1608. Foxe himself also reads "Eudo," infrà, vol. ii. p. 706.—Ed.
(5) Ex Joan. Aventino, lib. vii. Extravagant. cap. "Licet infra doctrinam." Ex bullis quibusdam Othonis Episc. Herbipolensis.
(6) Extravagant. Iohan. XXII. Ex Joan. Froisard. vol. i. cap. 211.
(7) Ex Trithemio.; Ex bulla Gregorii, cap. 11; Ex Illyrico.
(8) The same person as Rochtaylada, just before mentioned.—Ed.
(9) Henricus de Hassia was vice-chancellor of Paris, canon of Worms, and finally professor of theology at Vienna, where he died, from 1384 to 1397. The letter, which appears in vol. iii. p. 189 of the present edition of Foxe, is assigned to him by Fabricius (Bibliotheca mediæ et inf. Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 219. Edit. Patavii, 1754).—Ed.
(10) Gaspar Bruschius Egranus: "De omnibus Germaniæ Episcopatibus Epitomes," lib. primus. Archiep. Moguntinum comprehendens; 8vo. Norimb. 1549: see a long list of his writings in Gesneri Bibliotheca, p. 256, edit. 1583; also Sagittarii Introd. in Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 498.—Ed.
(11) Dist. ii. Quæst. 1. [John Bacon, alias Baconthorpe, præceptor to Armachanus, mentioned infrà, vol. ii. pp. 749, 782. He wrote, in 1321, "Commentaria seu Quæstiones in 4 libros Sententiarum." (Bale, Cave.)—Ed.]
(12) The contents of this and the preceding paragraph will be found amplified infrà, vol. ii. pp. 301, 349, 350, 509—534, 613—640, 705—711, 727, 752—782.—Ed.
(13) Thomas Oclefe, the poet, was born 1370, and flourished 1410. He was a pupil of Chaucer, which will account for his espousing Wickliff's doctrines: see what Foxe says of Chaucer and Gower, vol. ii. p. 357, and vol. iv. 248. Foxe mentions Ocliff again infrà, vol. ii. p. 791: see note in the Appendix on that passage.—Ed.

Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoin, William Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, about the year 1401; John Badby, A.D. 1410; Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an anchoress called Matilda, in the city of Leicester; lord Cobham; sir Roger Acton, knight; John Beverley, preacher; John Huss, Jerome of Prague, a schoolmaster, with a number of faithful Bohemians and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might also adjoin Laurentius Valla, and Joannes Picus, the learned earl of Mirandula. But what do I stand upon recital of names, which almost are infinite?

Wherefore, if any be so far beguiled in his opinion [as] to think the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it now standeth, to be of such antiquity, and that the same was never impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius now of late, let them read these histories: or if he think the said history not to be of sufficient credit to alter his persuasion, let him peruse the acts and statutes of parliaments, passed in this realm, of ancient time, and therein consider and confer the course of times; where he may find and read, in the year of our Lord 1382,[1] of a great number (who there be called evil persons) going about from town to town in frieze gowns, preaching unto the people, etc. Which preachers, although the words of the statute do term there to be dissembling persons, preaching divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the emblemishment of christian faith, and of holy church, etc. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding, every true christian reader may conceive of those preachers to teach no other doctrine, than now they hear their own preachers in pulpits preach against the bishop of Rome, and the corrupt heresies of his church.

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in the statutes,[2] in the year of our Lord 1401, another like company of good preachers and faithful defenders of true doctrine against blind heresy and error. Whom, albeit the words of the statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsely term to be false and perverse preachers, under dissembled holiness, teaching in those days openly and privily new doctrines and heretical opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy church, etc., yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth histories, and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall understand these to be no false teachers, but faithful witnesses of the truth; not teaching any new doctrine contrary to the determination of holy church, but rather shall find that church to be unholy which they preached against; teaching rather itself heretical opinions, contrary both to antiquity and verity of Christ's true catholic church.

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful favourers and followers of God's holy word, we find in the year 1422, specified in a letter sent from Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Martin V.,[3] in the fifth year of his popedom, where mention is made of so many here in England, infected (as he said) with the heresies of Wickliff and Huss, that without force of an army, they could not be suppressed, etc. Whereupon the pope sent two cardinals to the archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the chamber apostolic; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of chalices, candlesticks, and other implements of the church, etc.

What shall need then any more witnesses to prove this matter, when you see, so many years ago, whole armies and multitudes thus standing against the pope? who, though they be termed here for heretics and schismatics, yet in that which they call heresy served they the living Lord within the ark of his true spiritual and visible church.

And where is then the frivolous brag of the papists, who make so much of their painted sheath; and would needs bear us down, that this government of the church of Rome, which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of mind, even from the primitive antiquity; and that there never was any other church demonstrable here in earth for men to follow, besides the said only catholic mother church of Rome? when as we have sufficiently proved before, by the continual descent of the church till this present time, the said church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new-begun matter, but

(1) Stat. in anno 5, Rich. II. A.D. 1382.
(2) Stat. in anno 2, H. IV. cap. 15, A.D. 1401.
(3) Ex literis Archiepisc. Cant. ad Martin. V., A.D. 1422.

even the old continued church by the providence and promise of Christ still standing; which, albeit it hath been of late years repressed by the tyranny of Roman bishops more than before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his gospel, against heresies and errors of the church of Rome, as, in this history, more at full is to be seen.

Bloody marks of Christ's passion seen on men's garments in Germany, A.D. 1501.

Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this descent of the church unto the year 1501. In which year the Lord began to show in the parts of Germany wonderful tokens, and bloody marks of his passion; as the bloody cross, his nails, spear, and crown of thorns, which fell from heaven upon the garments and caps of men, and rocks of women; as you may further read in this history.[1] By the which tokens Almighty God, no doubt, pre-signified what grievous afflictions and bloody persecutions should then begin to ensue upon his church for his gospel's sake, according as in this history is described; wherein is to be seen what christian blood hath been spilt, what persecutions raised, what tyranny exercised, what torments devised, what treachery used, against the poor flock and church of Christ; in such sort as since Christ's time greater hath not been seen.

Seventy years of captivity well near expired.

And now by revolution of years we are come from that time of 1501, to the year now present 1570.[2] In which the full seventy years of the Babylonish captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloody marks above-mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of Luther and his persecution,[3] then lacketh yet sixteen years. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked world, or what rest he will give to his church after these long sorrows, he is our Father in heaven, his will be done in earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty.

In the mean time let us, for our parts, with all patient obedience wait upon his Grace's leisure, and glorify his holy name, and edify one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending one against another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a short time; yet let us strive in the mean while, what we can, to amend the malice of the time, with mutual humanity. They that be in error, let them not disdain to learn. They which have greater talents of knowledge committed [to them], [let them] instruct in simplicity them that be simple. No man liveth in that commonwealth where nothing is amiss; but yet because God hath so placed us Englishmen here in one commonwealth, also in one church, as in one ship together, let us not mangle or divide the ship, which, being divided, perisheth; but every man serve with diligence and discretion in his order, wherein he is called—they that sit at the helm keep well the point of the needle, to know how the ship goeth, and whither it should; whatsoever weather betideth, the needle, well touched with the stone of God's word, will never fail: such as labour at the oars start for no tempest, but do what they can to keep from the rocks: likewise they which be in inferior rooms, take heed they move no sedition nor disturbance against the rowers and mariners. No storm so dangerous to a ship on the sea, as is discord and disorder in a weal public. What countries and nations, what kingdoms and empires, what cities, towns, and houses, discord hath dissolved, in stories is manifest; I need not spend time in rehearsing examples.

Exhortation to the church of England.

The God of peace, who hath power both of land and sea, reach forth his merciful hand to help them up that sink, to keep up them that stand, to still these winds and surging seas of discord and contention among us; that we, professing one Christ, may, in one unity of doctrine, gather ourselves into one ark or the true church together; where we, continuing stedfast in faith, may at the last luckily be conducted to the joyful port of our desired landing-place by his heavenly grace. To whom, both in heaven and earth, be all power and glory, with his Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

(1) See infrà, vol. iv. p. 257.—Ed.
(2) The year in which Foxe published his second edition.
(3) See infrà, vol. iv. p. 262.—Ed.

THE UTILITY OF THIS STORY.[1]

SEEING the world is replenished with such an infinite multitude of books of all kind of matters, I may seem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand superfluous and needless, at this present time to set out such volumes, especially of histories; considering now-a-days the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other treatises, so that books now seem rather to lack readers, than readers to lack books. In which multitude of books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail, this insatiable boldness of many now-a-days both in writing and printing; which, to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man else beside; and would therefore no man should think that unadvisedly or with rashness I have attempted this enterprise, for assuredly I have been not only doubtful, but also both bashful and fearful within myself for setting the same abroad. And why? First, I perceived how learned this age of ours is in reading of books, neither could I tell what the secret judgments of readers would conceive, to see so weak a thing to set upon such a weighty enterprise; not sufficiently furnished with such ornaments able to satisfy the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serve the utility of the studious and the delight of the learned. Which ability the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the less I durst be bold to become a writer. Multitude of books lamented.

But again, on the other side, when I weighed with myself what memorable acts and famous doings this latter age of the church hath ministered unto us by the patient sufferings of the worthy martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registered in books, should lie buried by my default, under darkness of oblivion. Methought somewhat was to be said of them for their well-deserving, and something, again, of our parts, for benefits by them received. But, above all other things, nothing did so much stir me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and special regard of the common utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of these our "Monuments" or Martyrology; which history as I have taken in hand chiefly for the use of the English church, so have I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now, if men commonly delight so much in other chronicles which entreat only upon matters of policy, and rejoice to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the stratagems of valiant captains, the roar of foughten fields, the sacking of cities, the hurlyburlies of realms and people; and if men think it such a gay thing in a commonwealth to commit to history such old antiquities of things profane, and bestow all their ornaments of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserve in remembrance the lives, acts, and doings, not of bloody warriors, but of mild and constant martyrs of Christ; which serve not so much to delight the ear, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of christian godliness! As first, by reading thereof we may learn a lively testimony of God's mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheists, and all the whole nest of Epicures. For like as one said of Harpalus[2] in times past, that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because he, being so wicked a man, escaped so long unpunished; so, contrariwise, in these men, we have an assured and plain witness of God, both in whose lives and deaths appeared such manifest declarations of God's divine working; whiles in such sharpness of torments we behold in them strength so constant above man's reach, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, such cheerfulness and courage in suffering; besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy Ghost, which they in their lives so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, as in reading of their letters evidently we may understand. Over and besides this, the mild deaths of the saints do not a little avail to the stablishing of a good conscience, to learn the contempt of the world, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm faith, increase godliness, abate pride in prosperity, and in adversity do open an hope of heavenly comfort. For what man, reading the misery of Comparison between worldly soldiers and the soldiers of Christ.

(1) This short piece is given as it stands in the third edition of 1570, two or three expressions only being altered according to the first edition of 1563.—ED.

(2) Cicero, "De Naturâ Deor." lib. iii. cap. 34.—ED.

these godly persons may not therein, as in a glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For if God give adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And whereas by reading of profane stories we are made perhaps more skilful in warlike affairs; so by reading of this we are made better in our livings, and besides are better prepared unto like conflicts (if by God's permission they shall happen hereafter), more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example.

To be short, they declare to the world what true christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer; which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, methinks I have good cause to wish, that, like as other men, even so also kings and princes, who commonly delight in heroical stories, would diligently peruse such monuments of martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their walls, cups, rings, and gates. For doubtless such as these are more worthy of honour than an hundred Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios, and warlike Julies. And though the world judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are most reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a weapon, but they who, being rather killed in God's cause, do retain an invincible constancy against the threats of tyrants, and violence of tormentors. Such as these are the true conquerors of the world, by whom we learn true manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the world. With this valiantness did that most mild Lamb, and invincible Lion of the tribe of Judah first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable fortitude we hear this prophetical admiration: "Who is this," saith he, "which walketh so in the multitude of his strength?"[1] forsooth, the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the same manner he was conquered.

The like dance did all his other martyrs follow, to whom the ancient antiquity of the church did attribute so great honour, as never king or emperor could purchase in this world with all their images, pillars, high spires, triumphs, temples, and all their solemn feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the memory but also the relics of those good martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient christians. We have also for witness the learned hymns and songs of Prudentius and Nazianzen, wherewith Pindarus did never so much set out his triumphs of Olympia and Nemea. I need not here rehearse the learned orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chrysostome, Ambrose, and Jerome, who never showed their eloquence more, than when they fell into the commendations of the godly martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to martyrs; with what gratulation, rejoicing, mirth, and common joy, the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christ's quarrel, were sometime received and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the church did well consider how much she was beholden to their benefits, by whose death she understood her treasures to increase. Now then if martyrs are to be compared with martyrs, I see no cause why the martyrs of our time deserve any less commendation than the others in the primitive church; which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise, whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatness of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought, to the amendment of posterity, and increase of the gospel. They did water with their blood the truth that was newly springing up; so these, by their deaths, restored it again, being sore decayed and fallen down. They, standing in the forward of the battle, did receive the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught us, by that means, to overcome such tyranny; these, with like courage again, like old beaten soldiers, did win the field in the rearward of the battle. They, like famous husbandmen of the world, did sow the fields of the church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these, with fatness of their blood, did cause it to batten and fructify. Would to God the fruit might be speedily gathered into the barn, which only remaineth behind to come!

Comparison between the martyrs of the primitive church, and of the later church.

Again, if we ascribe such reputation to godly preachers (and worthily), who diligently preach the gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of persecution; how much more reasonable cause

(1) Isa. lxiii. 1.

have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their lives for the defence of the same!

All these premises duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous martyrs in this our age, let us not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings; lest, in that point, we seem more unkind to them, than the writers of the primitive church were unto theirs. And though we repute not their ashes, chains, and swerds [swords] in the stead of relics, yet let us yield thus much unto their commemoration, to glorify the Lord in his saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives at the least with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortify our flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the riches and glory of the world for the love of Christ, but also their lives; and shall we then keep so great a stir one against another for the transitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done unto them, and when their very hearts' blood gushed out of their bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They, wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their persecutors; and therefore ought we, who are now the posterity and children of martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but, being admonished by their examples, if we cannot express their charity toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any, and if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving, and not revenging, the same. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding of blood, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, from martyrdom, or loss of life, according to their example, and to yield up the same in the defence of the Lord's flock. Which thing if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the world than now is. And thus much touching the utility and fruit to be taken of this history.

TO

ALL THE PROFESSED FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS OF THE POPE'S PROCEEDINGS.

FOUR QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED.

Four demands or questions put forth to the papists.

To you all and singular who profess the doctrine and religion of the pope your holy father, and of your mother-church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholics, commonly termed Papists, wheresoever abiding in the realm of England, these four questions or problems hereunder following I would move; desiring you all either to muse upon them, or to answer them at your leisure.

The First Question.

The first question.

First, forsomuch as mount Sion (which God calleth by the prophet Isaiah "the hill of his holiness"), beareth in the Scripture an undoubted type of the spiritual church of Christ; and forsomuch as the said Isaiah,[1] prophesying of the said mount Sion, saith in these words, "Non nocebunt neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus," etc.; that is, "They shall not kill nor hurt in all my holy hill, saith the Lord," etc. And again, in the same chapters, thus we read, "Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo accubabit, vitulus et leo et ovis unà commorabuntur, et puellus parvulus ducet eos," etc.;

(1) Isaiah xi. 9, and lxv. 25.

that is, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid; the calf, the lion, and the sheep shall feed together, and a young child shall rule them. The cow also and the bear shall abide together with their young ones, and the lion shall eat chaff and fodder like the ox," etc.

Objection. Upon these premises now followeth my question: How the church of Rome can be answerable to this hill of Sion, seeing in the said church of Rome is, and hath been, now so many years, such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning and spilling of christian blood, such malice and mischief wrought, as, in reading these histories, may to all the world appear?

Refutation. To this if they answer, and expound these words of the prophet, as pertaining to the church triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand; forasmuch as the prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in God's holy mountain, without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, and showeth also the cause of that godly peace; "Because," saith he, "the earth is replenished with knowledge and science of the Lord," etc. And furthermore the prophet, speaking of the same day when this shall be, addeth, saying, "In that day the Root of Jesse shall stand for a sign to the people, for the Gentiles to be converted, and to seek unto him," etc.; which day in no wise can be applied to the church in heaven triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Public execution of laws not forbidden in Scripture. The conditions and properties of the true church. Touching which place of Isaiah, further here is to be noted by the way, that, by this peaceable mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the states, as well ecclesiastical as temporal), is not restrained the public penalty of good laws needful to be executed upon public malefactors, but here is restrained the fierceness, revenge, cruelty, and violence of men's affections. To which affections men being commonly subject by nature, through grace and working of the gospel are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition; from stoutness to softness, from violence to sufferance, from fierceness to forbearing, from pride to humility, from cruelty to compassion, from wiliness to simplicity, from solemn singularity to humanity and meekness. Which virtues, if they had been in the church of Rome (according to the rule of St. Paul, "Which willeth men that be stronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meekness," etc.[1]), I should not have needed now at this time to write such a long history as this, of the suffering of so many martyrs.

The Second Question.

The second question. The deadly hatred of the papists against the protestants grounded upon no just cause or deserving. My second question is this, To demand of you, catholic professors of the pope's sect, who so deadly malign and persecute the protestants professing the gospel of Christ; what just or reasonable cause have you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bear unto them, that neither you yourselves can abide to live with them, nor yet will suffer the others to live amongst you? If they were Jews, Turks, or infidels, or, in their doctrine, were any idolatrous impiety, or detestable iniquity in their lives; if they went about any deadly destruction, or privy conspiracies to oppress your lives, or by fraudulent dealing to circumvent you; then had you some cause to complain, and also to revenge. Now seeing in their doctrine ye have neither blasphemy, idolatry, superstition, nor misbelief to object unto them—seeing they are baptized in the same belief, and believe the same articles of the creed as ye do; having the same God, the same Christ and Saviour, the same baptism, and are ready to confer with you in all kind of christian doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture—how then riseth this mortal malice of you against them? If you think them to be heretics, then bring forth, if ye can, any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, expounded by the censure of most ancient doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confess the same? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault find you? They serve God, they walk under his fear, they obey his law, as men may do; and though they be transgressors towards him, as other men are, yet toward *you* what have they done, what have they committed or deserved, why you should be so bitter against them?

(1) Rom. xv. 1. Gal. vi. 1.

What offended the poor inhabitants of Merindol and Cabriers, when the bishop of Aix, the cardinal of Tours, and other bishops of France, wresting from Francis, the French king, a commission, sent Minerius with his captain John de Gray, to destroy their country, A. D. 1530; who, driving the poor people there into a barn full of straw, set the barn on fire, and burned up men, women, and children? And, likewise, in a church exercised the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand young and old, women, children, and young infants, besides seven whole towns, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said country of Provence.

Malice and cruelty of papists against the country of Merindol and Cabriers.

Also, before that, what offended the citizens of Tholouse and Avignon, when pope Gregory IX. set Louis IX. the French king to war against them, and against Raymund their earl, without cause; where also the said king died at the siege?

Citizens of Tholouse and Avignon.

Or, to speak of later years, what hurt or harm did the poor protestants in the town of Vassy;[1] who, being peaceably at a sermon, were miserably slain and cut, men, women, and children, by the duke of Guise and his armed soldiers? Besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbered of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other countries more.

The protestants of the town of Vassy.

But to let other countries pass, let us turn now to the peaceable government in this realm of England, under this our so mild and gracious queen now presently reigning. Under whom you see how gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you would have, having almost the best rooms and offices in all the realm, not only without any loss of life, but also without any fear of death? And though a few of your arch-clerks be in custody, yet in that custody so shrewdly are they hurt, that many a good protestant in the realm would be glad with all their hearts to change rooms and diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure have slipt over the seas; if their courage to see countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them? Yet this is certain, no dread there was of death that drave them. For what papist have you seen in all this land to lose either life or limb for papistry,[2] during all these twelve years hitherto since this queen's reign? And yet, all this notwithstanding, having no cause to complain, so many causes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety, but hope for a day, and fain would have a change. And to prevent your desired day, ye have conspired, and risen up in open rebellion against your prince, whom the Lord hath set up to be your governor.

Clemency and mercy shewed to papists.

And as you have since that now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable state of Scotland, in murdering most traitorously the gentle and godly regent of Scotland (who, in sparing the queen's life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his own), so, with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would you disturb the golden quiet and tranquillity of this realm of England, if ye might have your wills. Which the merciful grace of the Almighty, for Christ his Son's sake our Lord, forefend and utterly disappoint. Amen!

Traitorous murdering of the lord James, regent of Scotland.

Wherefore, these premises considered, my question is to ask of you and know, what just or reasonable cause ye have of these your unreasonable doings, of this your so mortal and deadly hatred, fury, and malice, you bear against these your even-christened; of these your tumults, conjurations, gaping, and

The cause of these later persecutions in the church.

(1) For particulars upon this, among other schemes, for lessening and keeping down the members of the reformed church in France, see "Hist. Eccles. des Eglises reformées au Royaume de France." Anvers, 1580, vol. ii. pp. 1—3; or "Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France sous le règne de Henri II., Charles IX., etc." p. 148; also Laval's History of the Reformation in France; book iv. § 10.—Ed.

(2) This freedom from molestation is admitted by all the sects in the church of Rome, including the Jesuits: "thus" (to use Watson's words) "these great emperor-like Jesuits do speak to her majesty: 'In the beginning of thy kingdom thou didst deal something more gently with catholics: none were then urged by thee, or pressed either, to thy sect, or to the denial of their faith. All things indeed did seem to proceed in a far milder course: no great complaints were heard of: there were seen no extraordinary contentions or repugnancies; some there were that, to please and gratify you, went to your churches. But when afterwards thou didst begin to wrong them,' &c. 'And when was that, our great monseigneurs? Surely whensoever it was (to answer for you) we ourselves—certain catholics of all sorts—were the true causes of it.'" See Watson's Important Considerations, p. 40, edit. Lond. 1831.—Ed.

hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders, wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world? Of all which mischiefs, if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtless to be none other but only the private cause of the bishop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his church exalted.

Touching which cause how unreasonable and unjust it is, more shall be said (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shall see their answer, if it shall so please them, or any of them, to answer this question. In the mean time, this, for a brief note shall suffice: that it standeth not with the Scripture, but contrary to the Scripture, that the bishop of Rome should so revenge his own private cause.

The plantation of the pope's supremacy proved not to be of God.

If this title and plantation be good, and of God, why doth he not refer it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintain it, though the whole world said No. If it be otherwise, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world said Yea. Yea, the greatest argument to prove this plantation of the pope's supremacy not to be of God, is, that the pope, fighting in his own private cause, by outward and worldly force, seeketh his own glory. Christ our Saviour, being here refused himself, yet neither revenged his own cause, nor sought his own glory, but only the glory and will of his Father, thus speaking of himself, "Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est, Pater meus est qui glorificat me," etc.; that is, "If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me,"[1] etc. Even so I say with Scripture, that if the pope's proceedings were planted of God, he would not so wrestle for his glory as he doth; but forsomuch as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloodshed to exalt himself, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he should be brought low.[2]

The Third Question.

The two beasts in the book of Revelation described.

My third question I take of the thirteenth chapter of the book of Revelation. Which book, as it containeth a prophetical history of the church, so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened. In this chapter mention is made, first, of a certain beast coming out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, with ten diadems of blasphemy: unto the which beast the dragon, the devil, gave his strength, and great power to fight against his saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty-two months;[3] of the which beast one of his heads was wounded at length to death.

The second beast, with horns like a lamb.

After this, immediately in the same chapter, mention followeth of another beast rising out of the land, having two horns like a lamb, and spake like a dragon, and did all the power of the former beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the beast, whose head was wounded and lived. Who also had power to give spirit and life to the said former beast, to make the image of the beast to speak, and to cause all men, from the highest to the lowest, to take the mark of the beast in their hands and foreheads; and whosoever worshipped not the image of the beast should be killed.

Upon this description of these two beasts riseth my question; wherein I desire all papists, from the highest to the lowest, either to answer, or to consider with themselves, what the spirit of the prophecy meaneth by the said two beasts. Neither is the mystery of this prophecy so obscure, but, being historical, by histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing, therefore, to the papists, as men expert in histories, my question is this: That seeing the prophecy of these two beasts must needs prefigure some people or dominion in the world, of some high estate and power, they will now declare unto us, *what* people or domination this should be; which, if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and properties of the said two beasts here set forth, they must needs be driven, of force inevitable, to grant and confess the same to agree only to the city and empire of Rome, and to no other; which, by these reasons following, of necessity must needs be concluded.

The first beast rising out of the sea.

First, The beast which came out of the sea, having the strength, the seat and power, of the great dragon (the devil, called the prince of this world) committed to him, who also had power given over all tribes, nations, languages, people, and countries in the earth, must needs be an empire or monarchy of

(1) John viii. 54. (2) Luke xviii. 14.
(3) See infrà, p. 288 of this volume, note (2).—Ed.

great force, passing all other monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the empire of Rome and none other.

Secondly, In that the beast had seven heads and ten horns, with ten diadems full of blasphemy upon them; those seven heads being expounded in the said book[1] for seven hills, notoriously importeth the city of Rome, wherein were seven hills contained. The like also may be thought of the ten horns, being there expounded for ten kings (signifying, belike, the ten provinces or kingdoms of the world, subdued to the Roman empire), with ten crowns of blasphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree to the city of Rome. The monarchy of Rome.

Thirdly, Where the said beast had power to make forty-two months,[2] and to fight against the saints, and to overcome them, etc.; thereby most manifestly is declared the empire of Rome, with the heathen persecuting emperors, who had power given the space of so many months (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, two hundred and ninety-four years) to persecute Christ's church, as, in the table of the primitive church hereafter following, is discoursed more at large.

Fourthly, Where the prophet speaketh of one of the heads of the beast to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured again; by that ye have to understand the decay and subversion of the city of Rome, and of Italy, which, being one of the heads of the Roman monarchy, was subdued by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and the city of Rome thrice sacked and taken, between the reign of Honorius emperor of Rome, and the time of Justinian emperor of Constantinople; and so remained this head of Rome wounded a long time under the dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound was cured again, as the sequel of this prophecy declareth. For so it followeth in the aforesaid chapter of the Revelation: "And after this I saw," saith he, "another beast rising out of the land, having two horns like the lamb, and spake like the dragon. Who practised all the power of the first beast before his face, and caused all the inhabitants of the earth to worship the first beast, whose head was wounded and cured again, etc. And to him it was given to give life to the image of the beast, and to make it speak: and also to make all them that will not worship the image of the beast, to be slain, and caused all, from the most to the least, both rich and poor, free-men and bond-men, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand and in their foreheads, so that none should buy and sell unless he had the beast's mark about him," etc. The wounded head of the beast in the Revelation, what it meaneth. The second beast, rising out of the land, pretending the horns of a lamb, what it meaneth.

The description of this second beast being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but needs must be applied to the bishop of Rome, and to none other, as by the history and order of times is evident to be proved. For who else representeth the horns of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world," but only he? Who speaketh with the voice of the dragon so proudly as he? The voice of the dragon spake once to Christ, "That all the glory of the world was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it," etc. And doth not this false-horned lamb, speaking in the same voice of the dragon, say by the mouth of pope Gregory VII., "That all the kingdoms of the earth were his, and that he had power in earth to loose, and take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where he would,"[3] etc.? The mystery of the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation expounded.

Furthermore, at what time the declining state of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought under subjection of the Lombards, then the pope stirred up Pepin and Charlemagne, to take his part against the Lombards, and to restore again the old glory of that monarchy to his former state. And, therefore, who cured the wounded head of this beast again, but only he? Who gave life and speech to the image of the beast, but he? who, after that, by the help of the French kings, he had subdued those Lombards, with other aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome into his own hands, so repaired and advanced the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons, from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poor, have been glad to send and seek to Rome, The image of the old monarchy revived by the bishop of Rome.

(1) Rev. xvii. (2) Of these forty-two months, and the exposition thereof, read after.
(3) Ex Platina in Vitâ Gregor. VII. [He thus calls upon the apostolical choir to second his assumptions: "Agite igitur apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi, vestrâ auctoritate interpositâ, confirmate, ut omnes nunc demum intelligant, si potestis in cœlo ligare et solvere; in terrâ quoque imperia, regna, principatus—et quicquid habere mortales possunt—auferre et dare vos posse," etc.; fol. 180, edit. Lugduni, 1512. A somewhat different turn is given to this address by the author cited in Bower's "Lives of the Popes," (vol. v. p. 280,) Paulus Bernriedensis.—Ed.]

yea, kings, emperors, queens, and dukes, have been glad to kiss that bishop's feet, and to lead his horse by the bridle. So that the majesty of Rome, in the old heathen emperors' days, was never more terrible nor glorious, nor ever had more power to persecute and overcome God's saints, than these lamb-like bishops of Rome have had, and have exercised, these five hundred years in Christendom. And, therefore, who else in all the world hath so much power to do the works of the first beast before his face, as he? or who but he alone, who forceth both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive the seal, and to become loyal to the city and see of Rome? so that whosoever hath not the mark whereby to be known to hold of the church of Rome, shall have no place to buy and sell, nor to occupy in all Christendom.

Power to do the works of the beast before his sight.

Now if any papist whatsoever, in answering to this my question, can apply this prophetical mystery of these two beasts otherwise than thus, I would heartily desire him to take so much pains to satisfy this doubt at his good pleasure and leisure. In the mean season, let this stand for a *Corollarium:* that the bishop of Rome, by this description, must be that second beast prophesied to come in the latter time of the church under a false pretensed lamb, to restore again the old persecutions of Rome, and to disturb the whole church of Christ, as this day too truly is come to pass.

The fourth Question.

As touching my fourth question, although I could urge you with another like prophetical place of Scripture, no less evident against the bishop of Rome, taken out of the second epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, where mention is made of the son of perdition, "sitting in the temple of God, as God, and advancing himself above all that is called God, &c."—Which place ye can by no reasonable evasion avoid—yet notwithstanding to let this pass, I turn my question to ask this of you: Whether the religion of Christ be mere spiritual, or else corporal? If ye affirm it to be corporal, as was the old religion of the Jews, consisting in outward rites, sacrifices, and ceremonies of the law; then shew, if ye can, what any one outward action or observation is required in christian religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a christian man for remission of sins and salvation, save only the two sacramental ceremonies of outward baptism, and of the Lord's supper? Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporal; that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sins, nor salvation, but only are visible shews of invisible and spiritual benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom we serve be spiritual; how can his religion and service be corporal, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, saying, "God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worship him must worship in spirit and verity, etc."

Religion of Christ spiritual, and not corporal.

The pope turneth the spiritual religion of Christ to a corporal religion.

The whole sum of the pope's catholic religion set forth in parts.

Now if ye grant (as ye must needs) this our christian religion to be spiritual, and not a corporal religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point, of all these things, which ye strive for so much with us, to be spiritual, but altogether corporal, and extern matters and ceremonial observations, nothing conducing to any spiritual purpose: as your outward succession of bishops, garments, vestures, gestures, colours, choice of meats, difference of days, times, and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, tasting, numbering of beads, gilding and worshipping images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloisters, abstaining from flesh and white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping ember-days, hearing mass and divine service, seeing and adoring the body in form of bread, receiving holy-water and holy-bread, creeping to the cross, carrying palms, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage-going, censing, kneeling, knocking, altars, super-altars, candlesticks, pardons. In orders, crossing, anointing, shaving, forswearing marriage. In baptism, crossing, salting, spatling, exorcising, washing of hands. At Easter, ear-confession, penance-doing, satisfaction; and in receiving, with beards new shaven, to imagine a body where they see no body; and though he were there present to be seen, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of itself, without faith, conduceth no more than it did to the Jews. At Rogation-days, to carry banners, to follow the cross, to walk about the fields. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At Hollomas to watch in the church, to say a dirge, and commemorations, and to ring for All-Souls, to pay tythes truly, to give to

the high altar. And if a man will be a priest, to say mass and matins, to serve the saint of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In sickness to be annealed, to take his rites; after his death to have funerals, and obits said for him, and to be rung for at his funeral, month mind, and year mind, &c. Add moreover to these the outward sacrifice of the mass, with opus operatum sine bono motu utentis. &c.

A man may be a catholic by the pope's religion, without any working of the Holy Ghost.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole summary and effect of all the pope's catholic religion; so are they all corporal exercises, consisting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right catholic christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the Holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that which flesh and blood of his [own] strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the Holy Ghost did work?

The nature of true christian religion. Salvation of man standeth only in faith in Christ.

But now the order of our religion, and way of salvation, consisteth not in such corporal or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spiritual gifts, which far exceed the capacity of flesh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefest and only main cause that saveth man, and remitteth sins, is his faith in Christ. Which faith I thus define; for a man to believe, by the blood-shedding of Jesus the Son of God his sins to be forgiven, God's wrath to be pacified, and himself to be justified perfectly from all accusations that can be laid unto him. And though the papists make a light matter of this, to believe in Christ; and when they hear us say, That faith only justifieth, they object to us again, and make it a small matter to be saved, if faith only justifieth us; yet notwithstanding, this faith, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attain thereto, unless God's holy Spirit from above do draw him.

No light matter to flesh and blood.

Many things incident to salvation besides faith; but not as causes thereof.

Moreover, besides this faith, many other things are incident also to the doctrine of our salvation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as sacraments and seals of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same: so baptism, and the supper of the Lord, are as testimonies and proofs, that by our faith only in Christ we are justified; that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so, by the blood of Christ our sins are purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of his body.

Works of sanctification, how they come and follow faith.

Upon the same faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also, as fruits and effects, do follow after faith; as peace of conscience, joy in the holy Ghost, invocation, patience, charity, mercy, judgment, and sanctification. For God, for our faith in Christ his Son, therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby man's heart is moved to a godly disposition to fear God, to seek him, to call upon him, to trust unto him, to stick to him in all adversities and persecutions, to love him; and, for his sake also, to love our brethren; to have mercy and compassion upon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to break bread to them if they be hungry, and, if they be burdened, to ease them; to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseless; with such other spiritual exercises of piety and sanctification as these, which therefore I call spiritual, because they proceed of the holy Spirit and law of God, which is spiritual.

And thus have ye a catholic Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the gospel. Now confer these antitheses together, and see whether of these is the true Christian, the ceremonial man after the church of Rome, or the spiritual man with his faith and other spiritual fruits of piety following after the same. And if ye say that ye mix them both together, spiritual things with your corporal ceremonies, to that I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sins and salvation, they ought in no case to be joined together, because the main cause of all our salvation and remission is only spiritual, and consisteth in faith, and in no other.

And therefore upon the same cause I come to my question again, as I began, to ask whether the religion of Christ be a mere spiritual religion; and whether in the religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but only mere corporal things required, to make a catholic man. And thus I leave you to your answer.

In turning over the first leaves of this book,[1] thou shalt find, gentle reader, the arguments of Pighius and Hosius, wherein thus they argue: that forsomuch as Christ must needs have a catholic church ever continuing here in earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort; and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the apostles, visible here in earth, but only the church of Rome; they conclude, therefore, the church of Rome only to be the right catholic church of Christ.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said; that forsomuch as the *medius terminus* of this argument, both in the *major* and *minor*, consisteth only in the words "visible and unknown," if they mean by this word "visible," in the major, that Christ's church must be seen here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false. Likewise, if they mean by the same word "visible" in the *minor*, that no other church hath been seen and known to any, but only the church of Rome, they are likewise deceived. For the true church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but only they which have spiritual eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet so invisible again, but such as be God's elect, and members thereof, do see it, and have seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot do so; whereof read more in the Protestation, above prefixed, to the church of England.

FOUR CONSIDERATIONS GIVEN OUT TO CHRISTIAN PROTESTANTS, PROFESSORS OF THE GOSPEL; WITH A BRIEF EXHORTATION INDUCING TO REFORMATION OF LIFE.

The First Consideration.

As, in the pages before, "Four Questions" were moved to the catholic papists, to answer them at their leisure; so have I here, to the christian gospellers, four considerations for them to muse upon with speed convenient.

The first consideration is this: that every good man well weigh with himself the long tranquillity, the great plenty, the peaceable liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed upon this land during all the reign hitherto of this our sovereign and most happy queen Elizabeth, in such sort as the like example of God's abundant mercies is not to be seen in any nation about us; so, as we may well sing with the psalm in the church, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi, et opes gloriæ suæ non manifestavit eis;" first, in having the true light of God's gospel so shining among us, so publicly received, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; having, withal, a prince so virtuous, a queen so gracious, given unto us, of our own native country, bred and born amongst us, so quietly governing us, so long lent unto us, in such peace defending us against such as would else devour us; briefly, what could we have more at God's hand, if we would wish? Or what else could we wish in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not—grace to use that well which we have?

The Second Consideration.

As these things first are to be considered concerning ourselves, so, secondly, let us consider likewise the state and times of other our countrymen and blessed martyrs aforepast; what storms of persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what enemies they were matched, with what crosses pressed, under what princes, under what prelates, they lived, or rather died, in the days of king Henry the fourth, king Henry the fifth, king Henry the seventh, king Henry the eighth, queen Mary, etc.; under Bonner bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, bishop Arundel, Stokesley, Courtney, Warham; at what time children were caused to set fire to their fathers, the father adjured to accuse the son, the wife to accuse the husband, the husband the wife, brother the sister, sister the brother; examples whereof are plenty in this book to be seen.

(1) See infrà, pp. 7, 8, of this volume.—Ed.

The Third Consideration.

Thirdly, let us call to mind, considering thus with ourselves, these good men and worthy martyrs in those dangerous days, tasting as they did the heavy hand of God's sharp correction, beginning commonly with his own house first; if they were alive now in these halcyon-days, under the protection of such a peaceable prince, O what thanks would they give to God! How happy would they count themselves, having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conscience and safety of life! Or, if in case we ourselves had been in those times of theirs, so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in consistories, pinched in prisons, sequestered from house, wife, and children, looking for nothing but death; what would we say? what would we think? what would we do? Much otherwise doubtless than we do now. God grant we may do better; for worse I think we cannot if we would. John Wickliff, William Swinderby, Thorpe, Sawtry, with a number of godly men more, being then glad, in friese-gowns, going barefoot, to preach where they could; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of these days, what pains would they take, yea, what pains would they not take in preaching the gospel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor passing for promotions or dignities of the church! Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, with divers worshipful gentlemen a great number, if they, being in our state, might enjoy with us their houses and lands, with the good favour of their prince (as then they could not), how gladly would they have contented themselves, though they never raised their rents and fines to the undoing of their poor tenants! Likewise in the time of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the nobility and gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might have had half this tranquillity which we have, to enjoy the liberty of God's word and true use of the sacraments without molestation of Romish prelates, what would they have cared how simply they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pomp in pranking up themselves, as we Englishmen in these reformed days walk now, more like players on a stage, than God's children in his church.

The Fourth Consideration.

Wherefore, well-beloved, these things being so, let us call ourselves to mind, considering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the favour of God only that doth support us in the midst of so many enemies, let us beware that in no wise we provoke his indignation. If it be his truth and gospel that we profess, let us walk in the light of his truth, and keep ourselves within the compass of his gospel. What the gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? and yet who followeth what he knoweth? If St. Paul willeth every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jesus; and if the Lord Jesus himself testifieth plainly his kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that kingdom so spiritual, and our conditions so worldly, match well together? To rip up all our deformities in particular I mind not here, neither need I, the same being so evident to all men's eyes, that who cannot see our excessive outrage in pompous apparel, our carnal desires and unchaste demeanors, without fear of God, our careless security, without conscience, as though there were no judgement to come, our studies so upon this world, as though there were no other heaven? What pride and idleness of life, double dissembling in word and deed, without simplicity, avarice unsatiable, little regard to hear God's word, less to read it, least of all to follow it, every man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of rents and fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable. What should I speak of the contentions and unbrotherly divisions amongst us, most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seen which may or is like to follow upon the same? Such were the times once of the church before the horrible persecution of Dioclesian; for so we read, such hatred and disdain, through much peace and prosperity of the church, to creep in amongst the churchmen.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim ourselves while time doth serve. If we find the Lord so gracious in sparing us as he doth, let not that make us worse, but better. It is a lewd child that will not learn without

beating. A well-minding man will be good; not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As adversity, if it come, ought not to dismay us; so prosperity, now present, ought not to puff us up in security, considering what commonly is wont to follow; as Plato well writeth, "Summæ atque effrenatæ libertatis servitutem plerumque asseclam esse," Of immoderate liberty and too much security, followeth most commonly extreme servitude. And as Hippocrates saith, "dispositions of bodies, when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subject to danger of sickness," &c. Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the children of light. Otherwise, if we walk like children of disobedience, God hath his rods to scourge us; if we will needs be rebels, he hath his Pharaohs and Nabuchadnezzars to plague us. Or if we will be so inordinate and (with reverence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish one to another, the Lord lacketh not his dog-strikers to whip us. And would God our lives were such, that the destruction and ruin, here of late seen among us, may portend nothing against us, as I trust there is no cause for us to fear; but rather to fear the Lord, and walk in his obedience, and amend that which is amiss amongst us. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus bless thee, gentle reader, that long thou mayest read, and much thou mayest profit. Amen.

Pax prædicantibus, gracia audientibus, gloria Jesu Christo. Amen.

THE KALENDER.

JANUARYE hath 31 dayes. *The Moone* 30.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of the Lord.
3	A	1	Circumcision.		
	b	2	*John Wicklief, Preacher, martyr*		1387
11	c	3	John Aston, Confes.		1382
	d	4	William Sawtrey, Priest, martyr.		1400
19	e	5	Swinderby a Priest martyr.		
8	f	6	Epiphany.		
	g	7	*Syr Roger Acton, Knyghte, martyr.*		1401
16	A	8	John Brown, Gentleman, martyr.		1413
5	b	9	John Beuerley, Preacher, martyr.		1413
	c	10	Richarde Silbecke, martyr.	14	1413
13	d	11	Jhon Castellane, Doctour, martyr	12	1521
2	e	12	Thomas Whyttell, minister. martyr.	27	1525
	f	13	Bartlet Grene, Gentleman, martyr.	27	1556
10	g	14	John Tudson, mar.	27	1556
	A	15	Thom. Went, martyr.	27	1556
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	27	1556
7	c	17	Isabel Foster, mar.	27	1556
	d	18	Joane Warne, alias Lashford, martyr.	27	1556
15	e	19	John Lomas, mar.	31	1556
4	f	20	Anne Albright alias Champnes, martyr.	31	1556
	g	21	Joane Catmer, martyr.	31	1556
12	A	22	Agnes Snothe, martyr.	31	1556
1	b	23	Joane Sole, mar.	31	1556
	c	24	William Waterer, martyr	15	1556
9	d	25	Conuer. of Paule.		
			Steuen Kemp, mar.	15	1557
	e	26	William Hay, martyr.	15	1557
17	f	27	Thomas Hydson, martyr.	15	1557
6	g	28	William Lowicke, martyr.	15	1557
	A	29	Will. Prowting, martir.	15	1557
14	b	30	Nicholas Final, Math. Bradbrige, } mar.	16	1557
3	c	31	John Philpot, Thomas Steuens, } mar.		1557

FEBRUARY hath 28 dayes. *The Moone* 29.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of the Lord.
	d	1	William Thorpe, Priest, Confessor.		1407
11	e	2	Purification of our Ladye.		
19	f	3	John Claydon, martyr.		1413
8	g	4	Richard Turmine, martyr.		1413
	A	5	Zisca, a Confessour.		1416
16	b	6	*Syr Iohn Ould Castell, Lord Cobham, Martyr.*		1418
5	c	7	Richarde Houeden, martyr.		1430
	d	8	Thomas Bageley, Priest, martyr.		1431
13	e	9	Paule Craws, martyr.		1431
2	f	10	Thomas Rhedon, martyr.		1436
	g	11	Raynolde Pecocke, Bis. Confessour.		1457
10	A	12	Sir Roger Onley, Knight, Martyr.		1441
	b	13	Elenor Cobham, Gentlewoman, Confessor.		
18	c	14	Mother of the Lady Yong, martyr,		1490
7	d	15	Thomas Norbice, martyr.		1507
	e	16	Thomas of Eckles, martyr.		1510
15	f	17	Thomas Bungaye, martyr.		1511
4	g	18	*D. Martyn Luther*, Confessor.	18	1546
	A	19	Pope of Eay, martyr.		1512
12	b	20	Peake, martyr.		1512
1	c	21	George Carpenter, martir.	8	1527
	d	22	John Rogers, Preacher, martyr.	4	1555
9	e	23	Lawrence Saunders, Preacher, martyr.	8	1555
	f	24	*I. Hooper, Bys. Mar.*	9	1555
			Mathy. Apo.		
17	g	25	Rowland Taylour, Doctour, martyr.	9	1555
16	A	26	*Robert Farrar, Bys. Martyr.*	22	1555
	b	27	Agnes Potten, mar.	19	1556
1	c	28	Cronchfields wife, martyr.	19	1557

MARCHE hath xxxi dayes. *The Moone 30.*				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
3	d	1	William Tailoure, martir.	2	1422
	e	2	John Weselianus, a Doctoure, martir.		1479
11	f	3	Doctor Weselus, alias Basilius, Confes.		1490
	g	4	Henry Sudphen, mar.		1524
19	A	5	John Hougley, mar.		1526
8	b	6	Petrus Flestedius, mar.		1528
	c	7	Adolphus Clabachus, mar.		1528
16	d	8	Patricke Hammelton, mar.		1528
5	e	9	Tho. Hitten, mar.		1530
	f	10	*Tho. Bilney, Mar.*		1531
13	g	11	Dady Foster, mar.		1531
2	A	12	Edward Frese, Confes.		1531
	b	13	Valentyne Frese and his wyfe, mar.		1531
10	c	14	Father Bate, Confes.		1531
18	d	15	Rawlin White, mar.	5	1555
	e	16	Thomas Tomkins, mar.	15	1555
7	f	17	Thomas Higbed, Gentleman, mar.	25	1555
	g	18	Thomas Cawson, Gentleman, mar.	25	1555
15	A	19	Wylliam Hunter, mar.	25	1555
4	b	20	William Pigot, mar.	28	1555
	c	21	Stephen Knyght, mar.	28	1555
12	d	22	John Lawrence, Minister, mar.	29	1555
1	e	23	*Thomas Cranmer, Archebyshop: Mar.*	21	1556
	f	24	Rob. Spicer, mar.	24	1356
9	g	25	Annunciation of our Ladye.		
	A	26	William Coberley, mar.	24	1556
17	b	27	Maundrell, mar.	24	1556
6	c	28	Richard Crashfield, mar.	15	1557
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, mar.	28	1558
14	e	30	Hugh Fox, mar.	28	1558
3	f	31	John Debennish, mar.	28	1558

APRIL hath xxx daies. *The Moone 29.*				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of the Lord.
	g	1	Rob. Hatches, Archer, Hawkins, mar.	4	1519
11	A	2	Thomas Bounde, mar.	4	1519
	b	3	Wrigsham, mar.	4	1519
19	c	4	Lansdale, mar.	4	1519
8	d	5	Mistres Smith, Widow, mar.	4	1519
16	e	6	James Baynham, Gentleman, mar.	30	1532
5	f	7	Jo. Awcocke, Confes	2	1555
	g	8	George Marshe, Preacher, mar.	24	1555
13	A	9	William Flower, Minister, mar.	24	1555
2	b	10	Robert Drakes, Minister, martyr.	24	1556
	c	11	Thomas Tymmes, mar.	24	1556
10	d	12	Rich. Spurge, Tho. Spurge, mar.	24	1556
	e	13	John Cadell, mar.	24	1556
18	f	14	George Ambrose, mar.	24	1556
7	g	15	John Harpole, Jone Bech, mar.	1	1556
	A	16	John Hullier, Minister, mar.	2	1556
15	b	17	Christopher Lister, Minister, mar.	28	1556
4	c	18	John Mace, mar.	28	1556
	d	19	John Spenser, mar.	28	1556
12	e	20	Simond Joyne, mar.	28	
1	f	21	Richarde Nichol, mar.	28	1556
	g	22	John Hamonde, mar.	28	1556
9	A	23	St. George, Martir.		
	b	24	Thomas Loseby, mar.	12	1556
17	c	25	Marke Evangelist.		
6	d	26	Henry Ramsey, mar.	12	1557
	e	27	Thomas Thyrtle, mar.	12	1577
14	f	28	Margaret Hyde, mar.	12	1557
3	g	29	Agnes Stanley, mar.	12	1557
	A	30	William Nichol, mar.		1558

MAY hath xxxi dayes. *The Moone 30.*				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
11	b	1	Philip and Iames, Apos.		
	c	2	Iohn Hus, Martyr.		1415
19	d	3	Hieronymus Savanarola, Martyr.	23	1499
8	e	4	**Dominick, mar.**	23	1499
	f	5	**Siluester, mar.**	23	1499
16	g	6	**Fryer Roy, mar.**		1531
5	A	7	**Robert Ryng, mar.**		1532
	b	8	**Robert Debnam, mar.**		1532
13	c	9	**Nicholas Marshe, mar.**		1532
2	d	10	**John Cardmaker, alias Taylour, Preacher, mar.**	31	1555
	e	11	**John Warne, mar.**	31	1555
10	f	12	**Margaret Ellis, Confes.**	13	1556
	g	13	**Hugh Lauerocke, mar.**	15	1556
18	A	14	**John Apprice, mar.**	15	1556
7	b	15	**Katharin Hut, Widowe, mar.**	16	1556
	c	16	**Elizabeth Thackwell, mar.**	16	1556
15	d	17	**Jone Hornes, mar.**	16	1556
4	e	18	**A blinde Boye, and another with hym, mar.**	5	1556
	f	19	**Thomas Spycer, mar.**	21	1556
12	g	20	**John Denny, mar.**	21	1556
1	A	21	**William Pole, mar.**	21	1556
	b	22	**John Slesh, Confes.**	30	1556
9	c	23	**Wylliam Norant, mar.**	29	1557
	d	24	**Steuen Gratwick, mar.**	29	1557
17	e	25	**John Thurstone, Confes.**		1557
6	f	26	**William Seaman, mar.**	19	1558
	g	27	**Thomas Carman, mar.**	19	1558
14	A	28	**Thomas Hudson, mar.**	19	1558
3	b	29	**Wylliam Harries, mar.**	26	1558
	c	30	**Richard Day, mar.**	26	1558
11	d	31	**Christian George, mar.**	26	1558

JUNE hath xxx daies. *The Moone 29.*				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	e	1	Hierom of Prage, mar.	1	1416
19	f	2	Anne Askewe, Jo. Lassells, gētle. Jo. Adās, Nico. Bellmā, Tho. Hawks, } m.		1546
8	g	3	Tho. Watts. John Simpsō, John Ardeley } m.	10	1555
16	A	4	Nic. Chamberlayn, mar.		
5	b	5	Tho. Hosmōd, W. Bramforde, } mar.	15	1555
	c	6	Tho. Hurland, Jho. Osward, Thom. Reade, Th. Abington, mars.	6	1556
13	d	7	T. Wood, mt. Tho. Milles, } mar.	20	1556
			W. Adherall, minister, conf.	23	1556
2	e	8	John Clement, Confess.	25	
			A Marchants Serv̄at, mar.	26	1556
	f	9	H. Adlington, Lau. Pernam, Henry Wyte, W. Hallywell, } mar.	27	1556
10	g	10	Th. Bowyer, George Serle, Edmūd Hurst, } mar.	27	1556
	A	11	Lion Cawche, Kafe Jackson, } mar.	27	1556
18	b	12	Jhō. Dertfall, } mar.	27	1556
7	c	13	John Roth, Eliza Pepper, Agnes George, mars. Thomas Parret, confess. Hut and Ambrose, cōf.	27	1556
	d	14	John Moryce, confess.	28 29	1556
15	e	15	Rog. Bernard, Adam Foster, Rob. Lawson, mars.	30	1557
4	f	16	Walter Apelby. Petronill hys wife, Edmund Allen, Katheryn hys wyfe, mars.	18	1557
12	A	18	Jo. Bradbrige, J. Manning, Elizabeth a blynde mayde, m.	18	1557
1	b	19	Thomas More, mar.		
	c	20	Nico. Whight, Nico. Pardue, J. Fishcocke, Barbara Final, mars.	19	1557
9	d	21	*Natiuitye of S. John Bap.*		
		22	Bradbriges widow, Bendens wife, Wilsons wyfe, } mar.	19	1557
	f	23	Ric. Woodman, G. Stephens, W. Maynard, Alexanders Hosmons man, ms.	22	1557
	A	25	Thomasina Woods mayde,	22	1557
14	b	26	Margerye Morice, James		
3	c	27	Morice, son, Denis Burges, Asdowns wife, Groues wyfe, mars.		
	d	28	Henry Ponde, R. Eastlande, Ro. Southam, Mat. Ricarby, mars.	27	1558
11	e	29	*Peter & Paul Apostles.*		
	f	30	John Lloyd, John Holyday. Roger Holland, mars.	27	1558

JULY hath xxxi dayes. *The Moone* xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
19	g	1	Henry Voz, mar. John Esch, mar.	1	1522
8	A	2	John Frith, Andrew Hewet, mar.	4	1533
	b	3	Antony Persõ, Robert Testwood, Hen. Finnemore, mar.	18	1543
16	c	4	Thõ. Bradford, preacher, John Leate, mar.	1	1555
5	d	5	Jone Polley, mar.		1555
	e	6	Wylliam Myng, minister, mar.	2	1555
13	f	7	Richard Hoke, mar.		1555
2	g	8	John Blande, preacher, Jhon Franke, mar.	12	1555
	A	9	Humfrey Middleton, mar.	12	1555
10	b	10	Nich. Shetterden, mar.	12	1555
	c	11	Williã. Dighel, mar.		1555
			Diricke Caruer, mar.	12	1555
18	d	12	John Launder, mar.	23	1555
7	e	13	Thomas Jueson, mar.		1555
	f	14	Nicolas Haule, mar.		1555
15	g	15	John Aleworth, confes.		1555
4	A	16	John Careles, cõf.	1	1556
	b	17	John Gwyn, Julius Palmer, a Scholemaister, and Askine, mar.	16	1556
12	c	18	Ra. Cawches, Paratine Massye, & her		
1	d	19	Child not one hower	17	1556
	e	20	olde, & Guyllemyne Gilbert, mar.		
9	f	21	Tho. Bungate, Jhõ. Foreman, Anne Tree, mar.	18	1556
			Simõ. Miller. Eliza Coper, mar.	13	1556
	g	22	*Mary Magdalene.*		
17	A	23	Richard Yeoman, minister, mar.	10	1558
6	b	24	Williã. Pikes, mar.	14	1558
	c	25	*James Apostle.*		
14	d	26	Stephen Cotton, mar.	14	1558
3	e	27	John Slade, mar.	14	1558
	f	28	Steuẽ Waight, mar.	14	1558
			Rob. Milles, mar.	14	1558
11	g	29	Rob. Dines, mar.	14	1558
	A	30	Tho. Benbrick, gentleman,	29	1558
	b	31	mar.		

AUGUST hath xxxi dayes. *The Moone* xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
8	c	1	Leonard Keyser, mar.	16	1527
16	d	2	James Abbes, mar.	2	1555
5	e	3	John Denley, gẽtleman, mar.	8	1555
	f	4	John Newman, mar.	28	1555
13	g	5	Patricke Patyngham, mar.	28	1555
2	A	6	William Coker, mar.	23	1555
	b	7	William Hopper, mar.	23	1555
10	c	8	Henry Laurence, mar.	23	1555
	d	9	Richard Collier, mar.	23	1555
18	e	10	Wylliã. Stere, mar.	23	1555
7	f	11	Richard Wryght, mar.	23	1555
	g	12	Elizabeth Warne, mar.		
15	A	13	George Tankerfield, mar.	26	1555
4	b	14	R. Smith, mar.	8	1555
	c	15	Stephen Horwod, mar.	30	1555
2	d	16	Thomas Fusse, mar.	30	1555
1	e	17	William Hail, mar.	31	1555
	f	18	Robert Samuell, Preacher, mar.	31	1555
9	g	19	Jone Wast, mar.	1	1556
	A	20	Wylliam Bongeor, mar.	2	1557
17	b	21	Robert Purcas, mar.	2	1557
6	c	22	Thomas Bennold, mar.	2	1557
	d	23	Agnes Silbersyde, alias Smith, mar.	2	1557
14	e	24	Barthelmew, Apos.		
3	f	25	Ellin Ewryng, mar.	2	1557
	g	26	Elizabeth Folkes, Mayde, mar.	2	1557
11	A	27	Wyllyam Munt, mar.	2	1557
	b	28	Alice Munt, mar.	2	1557
	c	29	Rose Allyn, Mayde, mar.	2	1557
8	d	30	John Johnsõ, George Egles, mar.	2	1557
	e	31	One Fryer, and the sayde George Egles Sister, mar.	2	1557

SEPTEMBER hath 30 dayes. *The Moone* xxix.				Dayes of their death.	Years of our Lord.
16	f	1	Father Abraham, mar.		1428
5	g	2	Wyllyam Whyght, priest, mar.		1428
	A	3	John Waddon, priest, mar.		1428
13	b	4	William Gardiner, mar.		1552
2	c	5	W. Allen, mar.		1555
	d	6	Thomas Cob, Thomas Coo, } mar.		1555
10	e	7	William Androwe, confess.		1555
	f	8	T. King, confess.		1555
	g	9	Thomas Leis, confess.	5	1555
7	A	10	George Catmer, Robert Streater, Ant. Burward, } mar.	6	1555
	b	11	George Bradbrige, } mar.		
15	c	12	James Cutty, }	6	1555
4	d	13	Thomas Hayward, John Goreway, } mar.		1555
	e	14	Robert Glober, Cornel. Bugay, } mar.	20	1555
12	f	15	Edwarde Sharpe, mar.	8	1556
1	g	16	Jhon Hart, T. Rabensdale, A Shomaker, A Corier, } mar.	24	1556
	A	17	Thō. Horne and another woman, } mar.	23	1556
9	b	18	John Kurde, mar.	20	1557
	c	19	Cicily Ormes, mar.	23	1557
			Joyce Lewis, mar.	10	1557
17	d	20	Kate Allerton, Richard Rothe, } mar.	17	1557
6	e	21	Mathew Appostle.		
	f	22	James Ausco and Margerye his wife, } mar.	17	1557
14	g	23	Agnes Bōgeor, Mar. Curstoun, } mar.	17	1557
3	A	24	John Warren, mar.		1557
	b	25	Christiā. Glober, Tho. Athothe, } mar.		1557
11	c	26	John Mylles, Nico. Holden, } mar.		1557
19	d	27	John Ashdone, mar.		1557
	e	28	Thomas Spurdaunce, mar.		1557
8	f	29	Michaell Archangell.		
	g	30	John Fortune, mar.		1557

OCTOBER hath 31 dayes. *The Moone* xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Years of our Lord.
16	A	1	Bartholet Myllon, mar.		1534
5	b	2	John de Burge, a rich marchant, mar.		1534
13	c	3	The Receyuer of Naunts, mar.		1534
2	d	4	Henry Poile, mar.		1534
			Catelle, a Schole-Mistris, mar.		1534
	e	5	Stephen de la Foarge, a Marchāt, mar.		1534
10	f	6	Wyllyam Tyndall, mar.		1536
	g	7	William Leyton, mar.		1537
18	A	8	Puttedew, mar.		1537
7	b	9	John Lambert, alias Nicolson, mar.		1538
	c	10	Collins, mar.		1538
			Cowbrige, mar.		1539
15	d	11	Peter, a Germane, mar.		1539
4	e	12	Launcelot, mar.		1539
	f	13	John, a Painter, mar.		1539
12	g	14	Giles Germayne, mar.		
1	A	15	Robert Barnes, mar.		1539
			Thomas Garrard, William Hierome, } mar.		1541
	b	16	Wylliam Wolsey, mar.	4	1555
9	c	17	Robert Pigot, mar.	4	1555
	d	18	Luke Evangelist.		
17	e	19	Nicholas Ridley, Bis. mar.	16	1555
6	f	20	*Hugh Latimer, Bis. mar.*	16	1555
	g	21	John Web, gent. George Roper, } mar.	31	1555
14	A	22	Gregory Packe,		
			Adam Walles, mar.	12	1551
3	b	23	Mark Burges, William Hoker, Dany Mylle, } mar.		1560
	c	24	Simson, prist.		
			Beberech, frier.		
11	d	25	Reyler, black fryer.		
			Dany Stratto, gēt.		
19	e	26	Norman Gorley, Vicar of Dolor.		
	f	27	A black Chanō, with 4 other.		
8	g	28	Simon and Jude.		
	A	29	Thre dyed in pryson at Cicester, confes.	18	1556
16	b	30	Mother Seaman, confess.		1556
	c	31	Mother Bennet, confess.		1556

NOVEMBER hath 30 dayes. *The Moone* xxix.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	d	1	The Feaste of all Sayncte̅s.		
13	e	2	Rychard̅e Mekings, mar.		1541
2	f	3	Richard Spenser, mar.		1541
	g	4	Andrew Hewet, mar.		1541
10	A	5	John Porter, confes.		1542
	b	6	Thomas Barnard, mar.		1542
18	c	7	James Morton, mar.		1542
7	d	8	George Wyzarde, Gentleman, mar.		1546
	e	9	John Kirbye, mar.		1546
15	f	10	Roger Clarke, mar.		1546
4	g	11	Richard Bayfield, alias Somersā. mar.	20	1531
	A	12	John Clarke, confes.		1556
12	b	13	Dunstone Chittenden. confes.		1556
1	c	14	Wylliam Foster, mar.		1556
	d	15	Alice Potkins, confes.		1556
9	e	16	John Archer, conf.		1556
	f	17	Wooke, mar.		1556
17	g	18	John Hallingdale, mar.	18	1557
6	A	19	Wylliam Sparow, mar.	18	1557
14	b	20	Richarde Gybson, Gentleman, mar.	18	1557
	c	21	Saunder Gouche, mar.	4	1558
3	d	22	Elizabeth Driuer, mar.	4	1558
	e	23	Philip Humfrey mar.	5	1558
11	f	24	John Dauye, mar.	5	1558
19	g	25	Henry Dauye, mar.	5	1558
	A	26	John Corneforth, mar.	5	1558
8	b	27	Christopher Broun, mar.	10	1558
	c	28	John Herste, mar.	10	1558
10	d	29	Alice Snathe. Kathe. Knight, } mar.	10	1558
5	e	30	Andrew Apostle.		

DECEMBER hath 31 dayes. *The Moone* xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	f	1	Wylliam Cracy, Esquier, confes.		1534
13	g	2	Peter Sapience, mar.		1545
2	A	3	George Bucker, alias Adñ. Dalip, mar.		
10	b	4	An olde man of Buckinghamshire, mar.		1531
	c	5	Two gray Fryers, mar.		1581
18	d	6	Jhon Hilto̅, confes.		1513
7	e	7	John Coygnes, confes.		1517
	f	8	Robert Warde, confes.		1517
15	g	9	A Scholer of Abbebile, mar.		1522
4	A	10	A Jew, mar.	4	1528
	b	11	Richard Hun, mar.	20	1515
12	c	12	John Tewxbery, mar.	7	1531
1	d	13	James Gore, confes.	13	1555
	e	14	Wylliam Wyseman, confessor.	18	1555
9	f	15	John Philpot, Prearher, mar.	22	1557
	g	16	John Rough, Prearher, mar.	22	1557
17	A	17	Margaret Mering, mar.	22	1558
6	b	18	Thomas Tyler, confes.		1558
	c	19	Mathew Withers, confes.		1558
14	d	20	Dale, confes.		1550
3	e	21	Thomas Apostle.		
	f	22	Wylliam Playn.		
11	g	23	Elizabeth Lawson, confes. J. Glober, confes.		1550
17	A	24	Nicholas Burton, mar.	22	1562
	b	25	Nativity of our Lord.		
8	c	26	Stephen, Mar.		
	d	27	John Evangelist.		
16	e	28	Childermasse.		
5	f	29	Thomas Rhedonensis, an Erle, mar.		1436
			Picus Mirandula,		1497
			Erasmus Roterodam,		1513
	g	30	Mar. Bucer,		1549
			Pau. Phagius,		1551
			Philip Melancton,		1559
			Peter Martir, cōfrs.		1562
13	A	31	*Kyng Edwarde the Sixt, confessour.*		1553

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN MARTYRS,

AND

MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL PASSED IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, FROM THE PRIMITIVE BEGINNING, TO THESE OUR DAYS, AS WELL IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AS, NAMELY,[1] IN THIS REALM OF ENGLAND, AND ALSO OF SCOTLAND, DISCOURSED AT LARGE:

And first, the difference between the Church of Rome that now is, and the ancient Church of Rome that then was.

Exordium.

CHRIST our Saviour, in the Gospel of St. Matthew,[2] hearing the confession of Simon Peter, who, first of all other, openly acknowledged him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of his Father therein, answered again and (alluding to his name) called him a rock, upon which rock he would build his church so strong, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, etc. In which words three things are to be noted: First, that Christ will have a church in this world. Secondly, that the same church should mightily be impugned, not only by the world, but also by the uttermost strength and powers of all hell. And, thirdly, that the same church, notwithstanding the uttermost of the devil and all his malice, should continue. Which prophecy of Christ we see wonderfully to be verified, insomuch that the whole course of the church to this day may seem nothing else but a verifying of the said prophecy. First, that Christ hath set up a church, needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and sorts of men, of princes, kings, monarchs, governors, and rulers of this world, with their subjects, publicly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against this church. And, thirdly, how the said church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden its own. What storms and tempests it hath overpast, wondrous it is to behold: for the more evident declaration whereof, I have addressed this present history, intending, by the favourable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the ears of my country in reading of news, as most specially to profit the hearts of the godly, in perusing antiquities of ancient times: to the end, first, that the wonderful works of God in his church might

Three things noted in Christ's words.

1) "Namely" is continually used by Foxe for *especially*.—ED. (2) Matt. xvi. 16.

Exordium. appear to his glory; also, that the continuance and proceedings of the church, from time to time, being set forth in these Acts and Monuments, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby, to the profit of the reader and edification of christian faith.

*For[1] if these divers times of the church, which have been so horrible and perilous from the beginning, almost, of the gospel (but especially during this latter age of Christ's church, according to the true forewarning of the apostles), had not wanted writers and historians, more than writers might have lacked matter copious to work upon, so many notable things worthy of knowledge, which have happened in this church of England since the reign of Lucius (but namely since Satan broke loose), had not so escaped and passed without memory. Hereof some, yet notwithstanding (praised be the Lord there-for!), have been preserved and remain; but yet the most things lost in silence; and some, again, misshadowed and corrupted, either through obtrectation or flattery of writers; who, not observing "legem historiæ," as Tully required,[2] seemed either not bold enough to tell truth, or not afraid enough to bear with untruth and time. For as there never happened greater perturbations, tumults, and dissensions, among all the monarchies that have been since the first constitution of public regiment, than hath been seen among churchmen;—betwixt popes, one pope with another, betwixt popes and emperors, for giving and taking the imperial crown, and likewise betwixt popes and other nations;—so writers commonly, in taking parts either with one or other, as they inclined their affection, framed their style.

Partiality in popish historiographers.

Add also, hereunto, the barbarousness of those days, and, partly, negligence in the learned sort, which were no small causes why we lack now so many things much needful for those times to be known. Notwithstanding such as yet remain to be collected, especially of the more sincere and less suspected sort of writers, I have here purposed, by the favourable grace of Christ our Lord, in this history to digest and compile;[3] not so much to delight the ears of my country, as to the intent to profit the church of Christ, so that we, in these reformed days, seeing the prodigious deformities and calamities of these times now present, and comparing the same with the times that were before, may therefore pour out more abundant thanks to the Lord for this his so sweet and merciful reformation.*

The order of the disposition of this history.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute the matter, as may best serve to the profit of the reader, I have thought good, first beginning from the time of the primitive church, and so continuing (by the Lord's grace) to these latter years, to run over the whole state and course of the church in general, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this history into five sundry diversities of times.[4]

The suffering time of the church.

First, I will intreat of the suffering time of the church, which continued from the apostles' age about three hundred years.

The flourishing time.

Secondly, of the flourishing time of the church, which lasted other three hundred years.

Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the church, which comprehendeth other three hundred years, until the loosing out of

(1) These observations compose the opening paragraph of the Second Edition of the Acts and Monuments. London: 1570.—Ed.
(2) Cicero, De Orator. lib. ii. c. 15.
(3) See note in the Appendix.—Ed.
(4) See note in the Appendix.—Ed.

Satan, which was about the thousandth year after the nativity of Christ. During which space of time, the church, although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the simple sincerity of the primitive time, yet, in outward profession of doctrine and religion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a church; notwithstanding some corruption of doctrine, with superstition and hypocrisy, was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that which followed after, it might seem, as I said, something sufferable. *Exordium.* The declining time.

Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, and loosing of Satan, or desolation of the church, whose full swinge containeth the space of four hundred years. In which time both doctrine and sincerity of life were utterly, almost, extinguished; namely, in the chief heads and rulers of this west church, through the means of the Roman bishops, especially counting from Gregory VII. called Hildebrand, Innocent III., and the friars which with him crept in, till the time of John Wickliff and John Huss, during four hundred years. The time of Antichrist.

Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist reigning in the church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation and purging of the church of God, wherein Antichrist beginneth to be revealed, and to appear in his colour, and his antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his church decreasing, and the number of the true church increasing. The durance of which time hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred and fourscore years; and how long it shall continue more, the Lord and Governor of all times, he only knoweth. For in these five diversities and alterations of times, I suppose the whole course of the church may well be comprised. The which church, because it is universal, and sparsedly through all countries dilated, therefore in this history, standing upon such a general argument, I shall not be bound to any one certain nation more than another: yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I have purposed principally to tarry upon such historical acts and records, as most appertain to this my country of England and Scotland. The reformation of the church.

And forsomuch as the church of Rome, in all these ages above specified, hath challenged to itself the supreme title and ringleading of the whole universal church on earth, by whose direction all other churches have been governed; in writing, therefore, of the church of Christ, I cannot but partly also intermeddle with the acts and proceedings of the same church, forsomuch as the doings and orderings of all other churches from time to time, as well here in England as in other nations, have this long season chiefly depended upon the same. Wherefore, as it is much needful and requisite to have the doings and orderings of the said church to be made manifest to all christian congregations, so have I framed this history, according to the same purpose. First, in a general description briefly to declare, as in a summary table, the misguiding of that church, comparing the former primitive state of the forenamed church of Rome, with these latter times of the same: which done, then after, in a more special tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so far forth as shall seem not unprofitable for the public instruction of all other christian churches, to behold and consider the manner and dealing of this one In the which one church of Rome four things, The church of Rome.

Exordium.

as most special points, seem to me chiefly to be considered; to wit, Title, Jurisdiction, Life, and Doctrine. Wherein I have here to declare, First, concerning the title or primacy of the church, how it first began, and upon what occasion; Secondly, concerning the jurisdiction and authority thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend; Thirdly, touching the misorder of life and conversation, how inordinate it is; and Fourthly, the form of doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath been. Of the which four, the first was prejudicial to all bishops; the second, derogatory to kings and emperors; the third, detestable to all men; the fourth, injurious against Christ.

Four things to be considered in the church of Rome.

Title of the pope.

For first, the title and style of that church was such, that it overwent all other churches, being called "The holy universal mother church, which could not err;" and the bishop thereof, "Holy father the pope," "Bishop universal," "Prince of priests," "Supreme head of the universal church, and vicar of Christ here in earth, which must not be judged; having all knowledge of Scripture, and all laws, contained within the chest of his breast."

Jurisdiction of the pope.

Secondly, the jurisdiction of that bishop was such, that, challenging to himself both the swords, that is, both the keys of the spiritualty and the sceptre of the laity, not only he subdued all bishops under him, but also advanced himself above kings and emperors, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, some to lead his horse by the bridle, some to kiss his feet; placing and displacing emperors, kings, dukes, and earls, whom and when he listed; taking upon him to translate the empire at his pleasure, first, from Greece to France, then from France to Germany, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also, being emperor himself, *sede vacante*, pretending authority or power to invest bishops, to give benefices, to spoil churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call general councils, to judge over the same, to set up religions, to canonize saints, to take appeals, to bind consciences, to make laws, to dispense with the law and word of God, to deliver from purgatory, to command angels, etc.

Lives of the Romish clergy.

Thirdly, what was the life and conversation of the court of Rome, hereafter in the process of this history followeth to be seen and observed.

Doctrine of the pope.

Fourthly, such was his doctrine in like manner, tedious to students, pernicious to men's consciences, injurious to Christ Jesus, and contrary to itself. In laws more divers, in volume more large, in diligence and study more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainful, than ever was the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which four points well considered and advised in this present history set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent christian reader, sufficient instruction to judge what is to be esteemed of this see and church of Rome.

But here by the way it is to be noted, that all these deformities above touched, of vain title, of pretended jurisdiction, of heretical doctrine, of schismatical life, came not into the church of Rome all at one time, nor sprang with the beginning of the same church, but with long working and continuance of time by little and little crept up through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly

of pope Silvester,[1] partly of pope Gregory VII. A.D. 1080, partly of Innocent III., and, finally, of pope Boniface VIII. A.D. 1300. Of the which four popes, the first brought in the title, A.D. 314, which was never in such ample wise before publicly enacted, and received publicly in the said church of Rome. The second brought in jurisdiction. The third, which was pope Innocent, with his rabble of monks and friars (as Peter the Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus), and with such other bishops as succeeded in the same see after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, and manners also. And lastly, pope Boniface VIII., A.D. 1300, and after him pope Clement V., over and besides the jurisdiction sufficiently advanced before by pope Hildebrand, added moreover the temporal sword to be carried before them; and that no emperor (were he never so well elected) should be sufficient and lawful without the pope's admission, whereby the pope's power was brought now to its full pride and perfection. And thus came up the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of years, by degrees and not altogether nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Christ willing) shall be expressed.

Exordium.

Silvester I. Gregory VII. called Hildebrand. Innocent III. Boniface VIII.

Wherefore, whosoever shall have hereafter to do with any adversaries, about the antiquity or authority of the church of Rome, let him here well consider when and how the Title, Jurisdiction, and Corruption of Life and Doctrine, first began in the pope's see. And so shall he see, that the church of Rome, as it is now governed with this manner of title, jurisdiction, life, and institution of doctrine, never descended from the primitive age of the apostles, or from their succession, "Nisi tantum æquivocè,[2] et non univocè."[3] Like as "Sancta Maria picta non est sancta Maria, et homo pictus non est homo," as the schools do say (that is, "As the picture of the holy Virgin is not the holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the wall is not a man"), so it is to be said of the church of Rome (the institution and doctrine of the church of Rome I mean), that although it hath the name of the church apostolical, and doth bring forth a long genealogy of outward succession from the apostles, as the Pharisees did in Christ's time bring their descent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I said) but only *æquivocè*, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the apostolical church indeed; forasmuch as the definition of the apostolical church neither now agreeth with this present church of Rome, nor yet the manner, form, and institution of the said Romish church, as it now standeth with this title, jurisdiction, life, and doctrine, had ever any succession or offspring from the primitive church of the apostles. But, as Christ said by the Pharisees, that they were the children, not of Abraham, but of the devil, in semblable wise may be answered, that this church of Rome now present, with this title, jurisdiction, life, and doctrine now used, cannot be fathered upon the apostles, neither Peter, nor Linus, but is of another author, whom here I will not name.

The church of Rome, as now it is, is not apostolical, but only æquivocè.

And here now cometh in the argument of Pighius, Hosius, and

(1) Silvester I. was the thirty-second bishop of Rome, and was elected to the pontifical chair in the room of Melchiades, Jan. 31, A.D. 314. In his time were held the famous councils of Arles and Nice. Euseb. Hist. lib. x. c. 5, and Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 6.

(2) "Æquivocè;" that is, in name only, and not in very deed.

(3) "Univocè;" that is, both in name and also in definition and effect, agreeing with the name.

Exordium. Eckius, to be answered unto, who, arguing for the antiquity and authority of the church of Rome, reason on this manner:[1]—

The argument of Pighius, Hosius, and Eckius, for the authority of the church of Rome.

Da- That forsomuch as an ordinary and a known church visible must here be known continually on earth, during from the time of the apostles, to the which church all other churches must have recourse:

ri- And seeing then there is no other church visible, orderly known to have endured from the apostles' time, but only the church of Rome:

i. They conclude, therefore, that the church of Rome is that church whereunto all other churches must have recourse.

Answer. To the which syllogism I answer thus: that this word "durans ecclesia," the "during church," in the minor, hath *fallaciam æquivoci*. For although the name of the church and outward succession of bishops have had their durance from the time of the apostles, yet neither is the definition and matter which maketh a true apostolical church indeed, and *univocè*, now in the church of Rome, nor yet were the form and institution of the church now used in Rome ever from the apostles; which apostles were never authors or fathers of this title, jurisdiction, life, and doctrine, now taught in Rome; but rather were enemies ever to the same.

The minor examined.

The major examined. Again to the major, which standeth upon two parts, I answer, first; although the necessity of the church, during from the apostles, may and must be granted; yet the same necessity was not bound to any certain place or person, but only to faith: so that wheresoever (that is to say, in whatsoever congregation) true faith was, there was the church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs ever remain on earth, therefore the church also must needs remain on earth. And God forbid that the said true faith of Christ should only remain in one city in the world, and not another as well. And therefore to the second part of the major is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so given, to remain fixedly in one place or city alone; so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained and appointed of God, that all other churches should have their recourse unto it, for determination of their causes and controversies incident. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hosius.

The church of Rome distinguished into a double consideration of times. Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the ancient doctors and holy fathers in the commendation of the church of Rome, here cometh in also to be noted, that whosoever will understand rightly their authorities, and answer to the same, must first learn to make a difference and distinction of the said church of Rome, from what it was, to what it is: forasmuch as the church of Rome is not the same church now, which it was then, but only *æquivocè*: otherwise, as touching the very property and definition of a church, it is another church, and nothing agreeing to what it was then, save only in outward name and place.

How it was commended of the old doctors. Therefore, by this distinction made, I answer the places of Irenæus, Cyprian, and other famous doctors, commending the church of Rome as catholic and apostolical, and say that these doctors, speaking of the church of Rome which *then was*, said not untruly, calling it catholic and apostolical; for that the same church took not only their ordinary succession of bishops but also their ordinary doctrine and institution from the apostles. But speaking of

(1) For an explanation of the logical terms here and elsewhere used, see the Appendix.—Ed.

the church of Rome which *now is*, we say the said places of the doctors are not true, neither do appertain to the same; all which doctors neither knew the church of Rome that now is, nor, if they had, would ever have judged any thing therein worthy such commendation. *Exordium.*

Over and besides, our adversaries yet more object against us, who, heaving and shoving for the antiquity of the Romish church, for lack of other sufficient reason to prove it, are driven to fall in scanning the times and years. "What!" say they, "where was this church of yours before these fifty years?" To whom briefly to answer, first we demand what they mean by this which they call *our* church? If they mean the ordinance and institution of doctrine and sacraments now received of us, and differing from the church of Rome, we affirm and say, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet ever see any light: that is, in the time of the apostles, in the primitive age, in the time of Gregory I. and the old Roman church, when as yet no universal pope was received publicly, but repelled in Rome; nor this fulness of plenary power yet known; nor this doctrine and abuse of sacraments yet heard of. In witness whereof we have the old acts and histories of ancient time to give testimony with us, wherein we have sufficient matter for us to shew that the same form, usage, and institution of this our present reformed church, are not the beginning of any new church of our own, but the renewing of the old ancient church of Christ; and that they are not any swerving from the church of Rome, but rather a reducing to the church of Rome. Whereas contrary, the church of Rome which now is, is nothing but a swerving from the church of Rome which then was, as partly is declared, and more shall appear, Christ willing, hereafter. The principal objection of the papists against the protestants. Answer. The church of Rome revolted from the church of Rome.

And whereas the said our adversaries do moreover charge us with the faith of our fathers and godfathers, wherein we were baptized, accusing and condemning us for that we are now revolted from them and their faith, wherein we were first christened: to this we answer, that we being first baptized by our fathers and godfathers in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the same faith wherein we were christened then, we do retain: and because our godfathers were themselves also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we have forsaken the faith of our godfathers. As for other points of ecclesiastical uses, and circumstances considered, besides the principal substance of faith and baptism, if they held any thing which receded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, therein we now remove ourselves; not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remove from the rule of Christ's doctrine. Neither doth the sacrament of our baptism bind us in all points to the opinions of them that baptized us, but to the faith of him in whose name we were baptized. For as, if a man were christened of a heretic, the baptism of him notwithstanding were good, although the baptizer were naught; so, if our godfathers or fathers, which christened us, were taught any thing not consonant to christian doctrine in all points, neither is our baptism worse for that, nor yet are we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselves did not follow the true church of Christ. Another objection of the papists. Answer. No man bound to follow the opinions of his godfathers in all points, unless they be consonant in all things.

Wherefore as it is false, that we have renounced the faith of our

Exordium.

godfathers wherein we were first baptized, so is it not true, that we are removed from the church of Rome; but rather we say, and (by the leave of Christ) will prove, that the church of Rome hath utterly parted from the church of Rome, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more evidently to declare, I will here compare the church of Rome with the church of Rome; and in a general description set forth (by God's grace) the difference of both the churches, that is, of both the times of the church of Rome: to the intent it may be seen whether we, or the church of Rome, have more apostatized from the church of Rome. And here first I divide the church of Rome in a double consideration of time; first, of those first six hundred years which were immediately after Christ; and secondly, of the other six hundred years, which now have been in these our latter days: and so, in comparing these two together, will I search out what discrepance is between them both. Of the which two ages and states of the Roman church, the first I call the primitive church of Rome, the other I call the latter church of Rome, counting this latter church from the expiration of the thousand years between the binding of Satan and the time of his loosing again, according to the prophecy of St. John's revelation;[1] counting these thousand years from the ceasing of persecution, under Constantine the Great, to the beginning of persecution of the church again under Boniface VIII. and Ottoman the first Turkish emperor.[2] And thus have ye the church of Rome parted into two churches, in a double respect and consideration of two sundry states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let us see whether the church of Rome hath swerved from the church of Rome more than we, or no.

The church of Rome distinguished from the church of Rome.

Two times of the church of Rome considered.

The first proof. Enormities of life in the latter church of Rome. Policies and practices to get money.

And to begin, first, with the order and qualities of life, I ask here of this Roman clergy, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive church of Rome, with this pomp and pride, with this riches and superfluity, with this *gloria mundi*, and name of cardinals; with this prancing dissoluteness, and whoring of the courtesans; with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spiritual dignities; these annates, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practices for money; this avarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, fleshly filthiness most detestable, barbarousness and negligence in preaching, promise-breaking faithlessness, poisoning and supplanting one another; with such schisms and divisions, which never were more seen than in the elections and court of Rome these seven hundred years, with such extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny in burning and persecuting their poor brethren to death?

It were too long, and a thing infinite, to stand particularly upon these above rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the schisms that have been in the church of Rome since the time of Damasus I., which are counted to the number of eighteen schisms,[3]

(1) Rev. xx. 3. (2) See note (4), p. 4, suprà.—Ed.

(3) Wernerus Rolwink, a monk of the Carthusian order, has reckoned the schisms in the Romish church at twenty-three, and they have been treated, at some length, in "Theodorici a Niem. Pontif. quondam scribæ hist. sui temporis libri iii;" Argent. 1609. See also Geddes' "Tracts," vol. iii. Lond. 1706; and Bishop Stillingfleet "On the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome," ch. 5. There is a notice of Rolwink in "Oudin. comment. de scripp. eccles." tom. iii. col. 2738, and in "Fabricii Biblioth. medii ævi," vol. vi.; and his chronicle is included in the collection of "Scriptores rerum Germanic." by Pistorius, as re-edited by Struvius (Ratisbonæ, 1726); tom. ii. p. 393.—Ed.

what a volume would it require? Or, if here should be recorded all that this see hath burned and put to death since the loosing out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleights to get money should be described, as process of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principal grounds are reckoned at least to fourteen or fifteen sleights.[1]

Exordium.

Fifteen practices of the new church of Rome to get money.

1. Annates, or taxes on vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, priories conventual, and other benefices elective.[2]

2. Annates for retaining all previous preferments, along with the new one, although there had been paid similar annates before, on similar occasions, for the same preferments.

3. New annates for all the same are required again, *toties quoties*[3] they be, or are feigned to be, vacated by presentation to a new benefice, whereby it hath sometimes chanced that three or four annates have been paid by the same person for the same benefice.

4. Preventions of benefices given out before they fell; the same prevention being often given to divers and sundry persons by the pope's officials, for money's sake.

5. Resignations upon favour, which used to be granted by the ordinary, but which now in all cases the pope forbiddeth, or rather challengeth to be reserved to himself.

6. Commendams.

7. Vacancies in Curiâ Romanâ.[4]

8. Dispensations without end, as to dispense with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as, if the number be full, if the house be of such or such an order. Item, dispensation for irregularity of various kinds, as for times of marriage, for marrying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity canonical (as for gossips to marry): It hath been known in France that a thousand crowns have been paid to Rome in one instance, for dispensing with this canonical affinity (of gossips, as we call it), the same being yet not true but feigned. Item, dispensing for eating meats in times prohibited.

9. Innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a proctor, for confirmations of privileges, for transactions made upon special favour of the pope, for exchanges of benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of pensions, with such like.

10. Mandates issued by the pope to ordinaries, whereof every ordinary, if he have ten benefices in his gift, is liable to be served with one: if he have fifty benefices in his gift, he may be served with two mandates: and for every mandate there comes to the pope about twenty ducats. And yet, notwithstanding, so many mandates are sold, as will come buyers to pay for them and take their chance.

11. The pope's penitentiary, for absolution of cases reserved to

(1) This passage on the sources of revenue to the papal court is taken from a work of Carolus Molinæus, an eminent French civilian, entitled "Commentarius in Edictum Henrici Secundi, contra parvas datas," etc., first written in Latin in 1551, and ten years after in French. In fact, the greater part of what Foxe says on the Life, Jurisdiction, and Title of the bishops of Rome has been culled from that work. Collation with the original has detected several blemishes in Foxe's translation, which have been removed.—Ed.

(2) "Elective benefices" are explained by Car. Mol. to be those which were not rated in the pope's books, and whose annual income was between 12 and 24 ducats.—Ed.

(3) See note, vol. vii. p. 571.—Ed.

(4) That is, when the incumbent dies in Rome, or within twenty leagues of it, though it be only by accident that he was there. The pope nominates to all benefices vacant in Curiâ Romanâ, excepting those of the neighbouring bishoprics.—Ed.

Exordium. the pope, for breaking and changing of vows, for translation from one monastery to another, also from one order to another, for license to enter into certain monasteries, to carry about altars, with many other things of like device, pertaining to the office of the pope's penitentiary.

12. Giving and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, not only in public churches, but also to be bought in private chapels.

13. Appointing notaries, and prothonotaries apostolic, and bishops "vague," termed "nullitenentes"[1] at Rome.

14. Granting bulls and commissions for new foundations, or for changing of the old; reducing regular monasteries to a secular state, or restoring again to the old; and writs without end about matters depending in controversy, that otherwise might and ought to be decided by the ordinary.

By reason of all which devices (not including the first, of the annates), it was found by a computation made in the time of Louis XI. (A.D. 1463), that, at that time, the sum of 200,000 crowns was yearly paid, and transported to Rome out of France alone; which sum Carolus Molineus testifies, had in his time, A.D. 1551, been doubled to 400,000, besides a like sum for annates; to all which add the revenues of French benefices, held by aliens at the court of Rome: which altogether are thought to make the total sum yearly going out of France to the pope's coffers of late years, ten hundred thousand, or a million, crowns. Now what hath risen besides in other realms and nations, let other men conjecture.

Summa totalis.

Wherefore if the gospel send us to the fruits to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the church of Rome, with these fruits of life? Or, if we will seek the church in length and number of years, where was this church of Rome with these qualities then, at what time the church of Rome was a persecuted church, not a persecuting church? And when the bishops thereof did not make martyrs, as these do now, but were made martyrs themselves, to the number of five-and-twenty, in order one after another? Or when the bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring, not by power or parts-taking, not by money or friends-making, as they be now, but by the free voices of the people and of the clergy, with the consent of the emperor joined withal, and not by a few conspiring cardinals, closed up in a corner, as now they be, etc.

The second proof. Jurisdiction. This new church of Rome in three points challenged.

And yet, if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or else impute to the common fragility of man, and charge them no further therein than we might charge ourselves. Now over and beside this deformity of life, wherein they are clean gone from the former steps of the true church of Rome, we have moreover to charge them in greater points, more nearly touching the substantial ground of the church, as in their jurisdiction presumptuously usurped, in their title falsely grounded, and in their doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this latter pretended church of Rome hath utterly sequestered

(1) Episcopi Nullitenentes, or Portatiles, or Vagantes, were such as had no diocese, but were appointed to extraordinary services. See Ducange's Glossary, v. Episcopus.

itself from the image and nature of the ancient and true church of Rome, and they have erected to themselves a new church of their own making, as first usurping a jurisdiction never known before to their ancient predecessors. For although the church of Rome in the old primitive time had his place due unto that see among other patriarchial churches, and due authority over and upon such churches as were within his precinct, and bordering near unto it, as appears by the acts of the Nicene council:[1] yet the universal fulness and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spiritual and temporal, in deposing and dispensing matters of the church not to him belonging, in taking appeals, in giving elections, investing in benefices, in exempting himself from obedience and subjection of his ordinary power and magistracy, with his coactive power newly erected in the church of Rome, was never received nor used in the old Roman church, from the which they disagree in all their doings. *Exordium.*

For although Victor, then bishop of Rome, about A.D. 190, went about to excommunicate the east churches, for the observation of Easter-day, yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by Irenæus so to do. And although Boniface I. likewise, writing to the bishops of Carthage, required of them to send up their appellations unto the church of Rome, alleging moreover the decree of the Nicene council for his authority; the bishops and clergy of Carthage assembling together in a general council (called the Sixth Council of Carthage) to the number of two hundred and seventeen bishops, after that they had perused the decrees in the authentic copies of the aforesaid Nicene council, and found no such matter as was by the said Boniface alleged, made therefore a public decree, that none out of that country should make any appeal over the sea. And what marvel if appeals were forbidden them to be made to Rome, when both here in England the kings of this land would not permit any to appeal from them to Rome, before king Henry II., who was thereunto compelled by pope Alexander III., because of the murder of Thomas Becket; and also in France, the like prohibitions were expressly made by Saint Louis, A.D. 1268, who did forbid by a public instrument called "pragmatica sanctio," all exactions of the pope's court within his realm. Also by king Philip the Fair, A.D. 1296, the like was done, who not only restrained all sending or going up of his subjects to Rome, but also that no money, armour, nor subsidy should be transported out of his realm.[2] The like also after him did king Charles V., surnamed the Wise, and his son likewise after him Charles VI., who also punished as traitors certain seditious persons for appealing to Rome. The like resistance, moreover, was in the said country of France, against the pope's reservations, preventions, and other like practices of his usurped jurisdiction, in the days of pope Martin V., A.D. 1418. Item, when king Henry VI. in England, and king Charles VII. in France, did both accord with the pope, in investing and in collation of benefices, yet, notwithstanding, the high court of parliament in France did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberty and customs of the French church: insomuch that when the duke of

Victor stopped from his excommunication by Irenæus.

Boniface I. falsifieth the council of Nice.

The sixth council of Carthage.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in France.

The pope's jurisdiction resisted in France.

(1) Nicen. Con. can. 6. Vide infrà, p. 31.
(2) Ex Aimonio de gestis Francorum, lib. v. cap. 33.

Exordium.

Bedford came with the king's letters patent to have the pope's procurations and reservations admitted, yet the court of parliament would not agree to the same, but the king's procurator-general was fain to go betwixt them, as is to be seen in their registers, A.D. 1425, the 5th day of March. In the days of the which king Charles VII. was set forth in France "pragmatica sanctio," as they call it, against the annates, reservations, expectatives, and such other proceedings of the pope's pretended jurisdiction, A.D. 1438. Wherefore, what marvel if this jurisdiction of the pope's court in excommunicating, taking appeals, and giving of benefices, was not used in the old church of Rome, when in these latter days it hath been so much resisted?

The pragmatic sanction.

EVIDENCES PROVING ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS TO HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO THEIR MAGISTRATES IN CAUSES BOTH ECCLESIASTICAL AND TEMPORAL.

The pope's jurisdiction concerning elections examined.

And what should I speak of the form and manner of elections now used in the church of Rome, clean converted from the manner of the old church of their predecessors? For, first, in those ancient days, when yet the church remained in the apostles only, and a few other disciples, the apostles then, with prayer and imposition of hands, elected bishops and ministers; as, by the apostles, James was made bishop of Jerusalem, Paul in Crete elected Titus, and Timothy in Ephesus: also Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome, etc. After which time of the apostles, when the church began more to multiply, the election of bishops and ministers stood by the clergy and the people, with the consent of the chief magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitive church, till the time and after the time of Constantine IV., emperor of Constantinople, which emperor (as write Platina and Sabellicus)[1] published a law concerning the election of the Roman bishop, that he should be taken for true bishop, whom the clergy and people of Rome did choose and elect, without any tarrying for any authority of the emperor of Constantinople, or the deputy of Italy: so as the custom and fashion had ever been before that day, A.D. 280. And here the bishops began first to writhe out their elections and their necks a little from the emperor's subjection, if it be so as the said Platina, and Sabellicus after him, report. But many conjectures there be, not unprofitable, rather to think this constitution of Constantine to be forged and untrue: first, for that it is taken[2] out of the pope's bibliothecary, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and master of the pope's library, a suspected author, who, whatsoever feigned or apocryphal writings he could find in the pope's chests of records, making any thing on his master's side, that he compiled together, and thereof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratian take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected.

Constantine IV. The master of the pope's library suspected. The constitution of Constantine examined.

Secondly, whereas Platina and Sabellicus say, that this Constantine IV. was moved by the holiness of pope Benedict II., to make that constitution, how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the emperor was so far off from him, being at Constantinople, and

(1) Enead 8. lib. vi.
(2) Rather simply, "derived from the keeper and master," etc. See Molinæus, tom. iv. p. 357.—Ed.

Exordium.

also for that the said pope reigned but ten months? which was but a small time to make his holiness known to the emperor so far off. And grant he were so holy, yet that holiness might rather be an occasion for the emperor so to confirm and maintain the old received manner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third conjecture is this, for that the said constitution was not observed, but shortly after by the said Benedict, was broken in the election of pope Conon.[1] And yet notwithstanding, albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the people, and limited to the clergy only, and much less might be taken away from the clergy, and be limited only to the cardinals, without the consent of their prince and ruler, according to their own rubric in their decrees, where the rubric saith:[2] "Let no bishop be given to any people against their wills; but let the consent and desire both of the clergy and of the people, and of the order, be also required," etc. And in the same distinction,[3] also, we read the same liberty and interest to be granted by Charlemagne and Louis his son; not to a few cardinals only, but to the order as well of the clergy, as of the people, to choose not only the bishop of Rome, but any other bishop within their own diocese whatsoever, and to the monks likewise to choose their own abbot, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, only for the worthiness of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for doctrine and example unto the flock, etc. And this continued till the time of the aforesaid Charlemagne and Louis his son, of the which two, Charlemagne the father, received expressly of pope Adrian I., A.D. 775, full jurisdiction and power to elect and ordain the bishop of Rome, like as did also Otho I., German emperor, of pope Leo VIII., A.D. 961. The other, that is Louis, son to the aforesaid Charlemagne, is said to renounce again, and surrender from himself and his successors, unto pope Paschal and the Romans, the right and interest of choosing the Roman bishop, and moreover to give and grant to the said Paschal the full possession of the city of Rome, and the whole territory to the same belonging, A.D. 821; as appeareth by the decree, "Ego Ludovicus."[4] But admit that feigned decree to be unfeignedly true (as it may well be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountain with the constitution of Constantine aforementioned, that is, from the master of the pope's library, of whom both Gratian and Volateran, by their own confession, take their ground), yet the same decree doth not so give away the freedom of that election, that he limiteth it only to the cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the Romans; neither doth he simply and absolutely give the same, but with condition:[5]—"Whomsoever all the Romans with one counsel, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall choose to be bishop of Rome." And moreover in the same decree is required, that at the consecration of the said bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the French king concerning the same.

Liberty granted to the clergy, and to the people to choose their bishop.

The decree, "Ego Ludovicus," suspected.

Gratian and Volateran, what ground they have of their records.

Election of the pope by the clergy and people of Rome.

(1) He took his election from Theodosius, exarch of Ravenna. Vid. Platin. vit. Conon.

(2) "De ordinatione episcopi: nullus invitis detur episcopus; cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus et desiderium requiratur," etc.—Rubrica de ordinatione episc. ex Cælestino Papa Dist. 61. § 13; Dist. 63. cap. 26, "Cleri." (3) Dist. 63. § 34, "Sacrorum."—Ed.

(4) Dist. 63. [§ 30. The copy in the "Corpus Juris Canonici" varies a little from that quoted by Foxe. Page 86. Edit. Paris, 1687.—Ed.]

(5) "Omnes Romani uno consilio, et unâ concordiâ, sine aliquâ promissione, ad pontificatus ordinem eligerint."—Dist. 63. cap. "Ego Ludov."

Exordium. Furthermore, neither yet did the same decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although pope Stephen IV. and pope Paschal I. in Louis's time were impapasied through discord, without election of the emperor, yet they were fain by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugene II., who succeeded next to Paschal, Lothaire son of Louis, and emperor with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed laws and magistrates over the city. Whereby may appear the donation of Louis, in giving away the city of Rome to the pope, to be feigned. And after Eugene, pope Gregory IV., who followed in about three years, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said emperor Louis. And so in like manner his successors, pope Sergius II., pope Leo IV., pope Nicholas I.; and so orderly in a long tract of time, from the aforesaid Nicholas I. to pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1059 (which Nicholas in his decree, beginning "In nomine Domini,"[1] ordained also the same); so that in the election of the bishops of Rome, commonly the consent of the emperor and the people with the clergy of Rome was not lacking. After which Nicholas, came Alexander II., and wicked Hildebrand; which Alexander being first elected without the emperor's will and consent, afterward repenting the same openly in his preaching to the people, declared that he would no longer sit in the apostolical see, unless he were by the emperor confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand and his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the emperor, then the lay people, after that the clergy, also, began to be excluded. And so the election by little and little was reduced to the hands of a few cardinals, contrary to all ancient order, where, ever since, it hath remained.

The decree, "Ego Ludovicus," proved false.

And like as in elections, so also in power judiciary, in deciding, and determining of causes of faith, and of ecclesiastical discipline, the state of the church of Rome now being, hath no conformity with the old Roman church heretofore. For then bishops debated all causes of faith only by the Scriptures, and other questions of ecclesiastical discipline they determined by the canons, not of the pope, but of the church, such as were decreed by the ancient councils, as writeth Gregory of Tours.[2] Whereas now, both the rule of scripture and sanctions of the old councils set aside, all things for the most part are decided by certain new decretal and "extravagant," that is, extra-decretal constitutions, in the pope's canon law compiled, and in his consistories practised.

The judiciary power of the pope.

His jurisdiction usurped in giving and disposing of ecclesiastical promotions.

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the common law as of the sacred councils, and the institution of ancient fathers, have given to bishops, and other prelates, also to patrons and doctors of ecclesiastical benefices, every one within his own precinct and dominion, also to cathedral churches and others, to have their free elections, and to prosecute the same in full effect; ordering and disposing promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of prelacies, dignities, and all other ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever, after their own arbitrement, as appeareth by the first general council

(1) Dist. 23. cap. 1. "In nomine Domini."
(2) G. Turonens. in Francorum historiâ, lib. x. cap. 18

of France;[1] by the first general council of Nice;[2] also by the general council of Antioch, and is to be seen in the pope's decrees;[3] and likewise, beside these ancient decrees, the same is confirmed again in more later years by Louis IX. the French king, in his constitution, called "Pragmatica sanctio," made and provided by full parliament against the pope's exactions, A.D. 1268, in these words as follow.[4] "Item, the exactions and importable burdens of money, which the court of Rome hath imposed upon the church of our kingdom (whereby our said kingdom hath been miserably hitherto impoverished), or hereafter shall impose, we utterly discharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter, unless there come some reasonable, godly, and most urgent cause and inevitable necessity; and even then not without the express and voluntary commandment of us, and of the aforesaid church of our kingdom." Now, contrary to and against these so manifest and express decreements of general councils, and constitutions synodal, this latter church of Rome of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of their ancestors, have taken upon them a singular jurisdiction by themselves and for their own advantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing churches, colleges, monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goods, and lands, to the same belonging: by reason and example whereof have come in these impropriations, first-fruits, and reservations of benefices, to the miserable despoiling of the clergy, and horrible decay of christian faith; which things among the old Roman fathers were never known. For so far was it then from being the case that due necessaries were plucked from the church, that emperors, kings, and princes, plucking from their own, did rather cumulate the church with superfluities.

Exordium.

The councils of Nice and of Antioch.

Impropriations and first fruits of benefices.

Again, when such goods were given the church by those ancestors, they were neither so given, nor yet taken, to serve the private use of certain churchmen taking no pains therein, but rather to serve the public subvention of the needy, as is contained in the canonical institutions[5] by the emperor Louis the Pious, set forth A.D. 830. The words be these: "The goods of the church are the vows and bequests of the faithful, the fines of sinners in satisfaction for their crimes, and patrimonies to succour them with hospitality, that are needy."

Whereunto agreeth also the testimony of Prosper, whose words be these:[6] "Good men took not the goods of the church as their own, but distributed them as given and bequeathed to the poor." And saith moreover:[7] "Whatsoever the church hath, it hath in common with all such as have nothing."

The words of Prosper.

The words of Augustine.

Add the worthy testimony of St. Augustine to Boniface: "Si

(1) [Causa] 16. quæst. 7. cap. [10.] "Omnes Basilicæ." (2) Can. 6.
(3) Causa 9. quæst. 3. cap. 2. "Per singulas."
(4) "Item, exactiones et onera gravissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam ecclesiæ regni nostri impositas vel imposita (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) sive etiam imponendas vel imponenda levari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, piâ et urgentissimâ causâ, vel inevitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, et spontaneo jussu nostro, et ipsius ecclesiæ regni nostri," etc. [More evidence on this particular case may be seen, if desired, in Riveti Jesuita Vap. (Lug. Bat. 1635,) cap. 18. § 4 and 5.—Ed.]
(5) Institutiones Canonicæ sub Ludovico Pio. [lib. i. cap. 83, in "Karoli Magni et Ludovici Pii capitula sive leges eccles. ab Ansegiso collectæ:" Paris, 1588.—Ed.] "Res ecclesiæ vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, et patrimonia pauperum." [See note in the Appendix.—Ed.]
(6) "Viros sanctos ecclesiæ res non vendicasse ut propriας, sed ut commendatas pauperibus divisisse." Prosper de Vitâ Contemplativâ, lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.
(7) "Quod habet ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune."—Ibid.

Exordium. autem privatim, quæ nobis sufficiant possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpatione damnabili vendicamus," etc.[1]

Vowsons and pluralities. Likewise vowsons and pluralities of benefices were things then as much unknown, as now they are pernicious to the church, taking away all free election of ministers from the flock of Christ.

Three points wherein the pope's church erreth in his jurisdiction. All which inconveniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and jurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome, so it cannot be denied, but the said latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to itself much more than either the limits of God's word do give, or standeth with the example of the old Roman church, in these three things especial. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction falsely restrained and impropriate to the church of Rome, which ought to be generally equal to all christian churches. The first is this: that whatsoever the Scripture giveth and referreth, either to the whole church universally, or to every particular church severally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to itself absolutely and only; both doing injury to other churches, and also abusing the Scriptures of God. For albeit, the Scripture doth give authority to bind and loose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the city of Rome only, more than to other cities, nor to the see of Peter, more than to other apostles, but giveth it clearly to the church, whereof Peter did bear the figure; so that wheresoever the true church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and loose, given and taken merely as from Christ, and not mediately by the pope or bishop of Peter's see.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction abused and extended in the church of Rome further than the Word limiteth. The second point wherein this present church of Rome abuses its jurisdiction contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old Roman church, is this: for that it extendeth its authority farther and more amply than either the warrant of God's word, or example of time, will give. For although the church of Rome hath (as other particular churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet it hath no such authority to absolve subjects from their oath, subjection, and loyalty to their rulers and magistrates; to dispense with perjury; to pronounce remission where no earnest repentance is seen before; to number remission by days and years; to dispense with things expressly in the word forbidden, or to restrain that which the word maketh free; to divide religion into religions; to bind and burden consciences with constitutions of men; to excommunicate for worldly matters,—as for breaking of parks, for not ringing of bells at the bishops' coming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their prince's side in princely cases, for not going at the pope's commandment, for not agreeing to the pope's election in another prince's realm; with other such things more, and more vain than these. Again, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the bishop and church of Rome to minister sacraments, yet it giveth no authority to make sacraments, much less to worship sacraments. And though their authority serveth to baptize men, yet it extendeth not to christen bells; neither have they authority by any word of God to add to the word of God, or take from the same, to set up unwritten verities under pain of damnation, to make fresh

Christening bells.

(1) Aug. ad Bon. Epist. 185. § 35.—Ed.

articles of belief, or to institute strange worship, otherwise than He hath prescribed who hath told us how he would be worshipped. *Exordium.*

The third abuse of the pope's jurisdiction standeth in this; that as in spiritual jurisdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, so they have impudently intermeddled themselves in temporal jurisdiction, wherein they have nothing to do;[1] insomuch that they have translated the empire, they have deposed emperors, kings, princes, rulers, and senators of Rome, and set up others, or the same again at their pleasure; they have proclaimed wars, and have warred themselves. And whereas emperors in ancient time have dignified them in titles, have enlarged them with donations, yet they, receiving their confirmation by the emperors, have, like ungrateful clients to such benefactors, afterward stamped upon their necks, have made them to hold their stirrup,[2] some to hold the bridle of their horse, and have caused them to seek their confirmation at their hand; yea, have been emperors themselves, "sede vacante, et in discordiâ electionis," and also have been senators of the city; moreover, have extorted into their own hands the plenary fulness of power and jurisdiction of both the swords, especially since the time of pope Hildebrand; which Hildebrand, deposing the emperor, Henry IV., made him give attendance at his city gate. And after him pope Boniface VIII. showed himself to the people on the first day like a bishop, with his keys before him; and the next day in his robes imperial, having a naked sword borne before him, like an emperor, A.D. 1300. The juris diction of the pope abused and usurped in tempo- ral mat- ters where he has nothing to do.

And forsomuch as this inordinate jurisdiction hath not only been used of them, but also to this day is maintained in Rome; let us therefore now compare the usage hereof to the old manner in times past, meaning the primitive and first age of the church of the Romans; wherein the old bishops of Rome in those days, as they were then subject to their emperor, so were other bishops in like manner of other nations subject every one to his king and prince, acknowledging them for their lords; and were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their laws, and that not only in causes civil, but also in regiment ecclesiastical.

So was Gregory, surnamed the Great, subject to Mauritius, and to Phocas, although a wicked emperor. So also both the pope and people of Rome took their laws of the emperors of Constantinople, and were subject to them, not only in the time of Honorius, a hundred years after Constantine the Great, but also in the time of Martian, A.D. 451, and so further unto the time of Justinian and of Charlemagne, and also after their days.[3] In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the imperial law of Martian did rule and bind in Rome, both in the days of Justinian, and one hundred and fifty years after, till the time of the empire being translated from Greece unto France. Whereby it is clearly false, that the city of Rome was given by Constantine I. unto the bishop of Rome to govern: for that pope Boniface I., writing to the emperor Honorius, calleth in the same place Rome the emperor's city.[4] And Popes submitted in the old time to emperors.

(1) As appeareth, Dist. 10, cap. 1 and 2; Dist. 97; [causa] 24, quæst. 3 [cap. 6], "De illicita."
(2) See Jewel's "Defence of the Apology," part 4, chap. 7, div. 3.—Ed.
(3) [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. ii.] De Juramentis calumniæ, [tit. 7.]—Ed.
(4) Dist. 97, cap. 1.

Exordium. the emperor Lothaire also appointed magistrates and laws in Rome, as is above mentioned.[1]

Moreover, for further probation hereof, that both the bishop of Rome, and all other ecclesiastical persons were in former time, and ought to be subject to their emperors and lawful magistrates, in causes as well spiritual as civil, by many evidences may appear, taken out both of God's law and man's law. And first by God's law, we have example of godly king David, who numbered all the priests and Levites, and disposed them into four-and-twenty orders or courses, appointing them continually to serve in the ministry, every one as his proper order and turn came about: which institution of the clergy good king Hezekiah, also, afterward renewed, of whom it is written: "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all things as his father David had done before: he took away the high groves, and brake down images," etc.[2] The said Hezekiah also reduced the priests and Levites unto their orders prescribed by David before, to serve every one in his office of ministration.[3] And this order from David still continued till the time of Zachary, at the coming of Christ our Lord, being of Abias' course, which was the eighth order of the priests appointed to serve in the tabernacle.[4] To pass over other lighter offices translated from the priests' to the kings' authority, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the temple, and reparations of the Lord's house,[5] king Solomon displaced Abiathar the high-priest by his kingly power, and placed Sadoc in his stead.[6] Also, dedicating the temple of the Lord with all the people, he "blessed the whole congregation of Israel."[7] Judas Maccabeus also elected priests, such as were without spot and had a zeal to the law of the Lord, to purge the temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had before profaned.[8] Also king Alexander, writing to Jonathan, appointed him chief priest in his country.[9] Demetrius ordained Simon and Alcimus in the like office of priesthood.[10] Jehoshaphat likewise, as in the whole land he did set judges, so also in Jerusalem he appointed Levites and priests, and heads of families to have the hearing of causes, and to minister judgment over the people.[11]

The order of Abias the eighth order among the priests.

Solomon.

Judas Maccabeus.

By these and many other examples it is to be seen, that kings and princes in the old time, as well when priests were born priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in ecclesiastical matters; as, in calling the people to God's service, in cutting down groves, in destroying images, in gathering tithes into the Lord's house, in dedicating the temple, in blessing the people, in casting down the brazen serpent within the temple, in correcting and deposing priests, in constituting the order and offices of priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the service and worship of God, and in punishing the contrary. And in the New Testament, what meaneth the example of Christ himself, both giving and teaching tribute to be given to Cæsar? to Cæsar, I say, and not to the high-priest. What meaneth his words to Pilate, not denying power to be given to him from above?[12] And again, declaring the kings of nations to have dominion over them, and willing his disciples not so to do, giving us

(1) Plat. in vitâ Euge. ii. (2) 2 Kings xviii. 3, 4. (3) 2 Chron. xxix. xxx. xxxi.
(4) 1 Chron. xxiv. 10; Luke i. 8. (5) 2 Kings xii. xxiii. (6) 1 Kings ii. 27.
(7) 1 Kings viii. 14. (8) 1 Mac. iv. 42. (9) 1 Mac. x. 19.
(10) 1 Mac. vii. 9; xiv. 38. (11) 2 Chron. xix. 8. (12) John xix. 11.

to understand the difference between the regiment of his spiritual kingdom, and of the kingdoms of this world, willing all worldly states to be subject under the superior rulers and magistrates, in whose regiment are dominion and subjection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the doctrine of St. Paul, where it is written: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,"[1] from whose authority, neither pope, cardinal, patriarch, bishop, priest, friar nor monk is excepted nor exempted: as Theophylact, expounding the same place declareth and saith, "He teacheth all sorts, whether he be priest, or monk, or else apostle, that they should submit themselves under their princes," etc.[2] And St. Augustine writing to Boniface saith in much like sort: "Whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the emperor, which make for the verity of God, incurreth the danger of great punishment," etc.[3] Also, in another place, writing against Cresconius, he hath these words: "Kings, according as it is enjoined them of God, do serve God in that they are kings, if they in their kingdoms command those things that be good, and forbid things that be evil, such as appertain not only to human society, but also to God's religion," etc.[4] And yet, to come more near to the pope's own doctors, Thomas Aquinas, not much discrepant from the injunction of the apostle above alleged, thus describeth the office of a king: "Let a king," saith he, "understand, that he hath taken this office upon him to be as the soul within the body, and as God in the world."[5] In like agreement with the holy apostle St. Paul joineth also St. Peter: "Be you subject," saith he "to every human creature, whether it be to the king as most preeminent, or to others set over you," etc.[6] Where the common gloss addeth thereto, "To obey the same, whether they be good or evil." These places rightly pondered, let any man now judge, whether the pope hath not done open wrong to the emperor, in exalting himself above the jurisdiction of his lawful prince and magistrate, notwithstanding whatsoever his own canon law saith to the contrary.

Exordium.

Theophylact.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto proved by God's law, that all ecclesiastical persons owe their due subjection to their lawful princes, in matters as well temporal as spiritual: so no less evidences may also be inferred out of man's law, and examples of the oldest fathers to prove the same. And first, to begin with the example of Gregory the Great, who in his epistle to Mauritius, writeth thus: "You were then 'my lord,' when you were not the lord of the whole empire: behold Christ himself shall make you answer by me, which am his most simple servant and yours," etc.[7] And before him Eleutherius his predecessor, bishop of Rome, writing to Lucius, king of this realm, calleth him by the name of Christ's vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the pope's decrees and canons be full of records hereof, testifying how the ancient church of Rome, not

The pope calleth king Lucius Christ's vicar.

(1) Rom. xiii. 1.
(2) "Universos erudit, sive sacerdos sit ille, sive monachus, sive apostolus, ut se principibus subdant."
(3) "Quicunque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium."—Aug. ad Bonifacium. [Epist. 185. § 8. Edit. Ben. 1688.—Ed.]
(4) "In hoc enim reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem," etc.—Aug. contra Cresconium, lib. iii. cap. 51.
(5) "Hoc, inquit, officium rex se suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore anima, et sicut Deus in mundo," etc.—Thom. Aquinas "de Regim. princip." lib. i. cap. 32.
(6) 1 Pet. ii. 13.
(7) "Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras; ecce per me servum ultimum suum et vestrum respondebit Christus," etc.—Greg. ad Mauric. Aug. lib. iii. Epist. 61.

Exordium.

only received, but also required of the emperors, laws and constitutions to be made, touching not only such causes, but also such persons as were ecclesiastical? And here, to omit by the way the chapter "Principes seculi," also the chapter "Administratores,"[1] with divers other beside, I will recite out of the epistle of Boniface I. to the emperor Honorius, so much as serveth for our purpose;[2] where it is mentioned, that the said Boniface, bishop of Rome, sent an humble supplication to the aforenamed emperor, desiring him, by his authority, to provide some remedy against the ambitious contentions of the clergy, concerning the bishopric of Rome: which emperor Honorius, incontinent at his request, directed and established a law, that none should be made bishop of Rome through ambition, and charging all ecclesiastical ministers to surcease from ambition; appointing moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be taken, but the election to proceed further to another, to be chosen by a full consent of voices.[3]

To this I adjoin also the law and constitution of Justinian the emperor, ratified and renewed afterward in the council of Paris, in time of king Louis the Pious; where all bishops and priests be expressly forbidden not to excommunicate any man, before his cause was known and proved to be such as, for the which, the ancient canons of the church would have him to be excommunicate. And if any should otherwise proceed contrary to the same, then the excommunicate person to be absolved by the authority of a higher decree, and the excommunicate to be sequestered from the communion, so long as should seem convenient to him that had the execution thereof.[4] The same Justinian, moreover, in his laws and constitutions, how many things did he dispose and ordain in church matters; as to have a determinate number of churchmen or clerks in churches;[5] also concerning monasteries and monks;[6] how bishops and priests should be ordained;[7] concerning removing of ecclesiastical persons from one church to another;[8] also concerning the constitution of the churches in Africa;[9] and that the holy mysteries should not be done in private houses, so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be deprived;[10] moreover, concerning clerks leaving their churches;[11] also concerning the order and manner of funerals;[12] and that bishops should not keep from their flock.[13] The same Justinian granted to the clergy of Constantinople the privilege of the spiritual court, in certain causes only civil, and not belonging to the bishop's cognizance; otherwise in all criminal causes he left them to the judgment of the secular court.[14] He giveth also laws and decrees for breach of matrimony, in his Constitutions, and in divers other places. And, after the doctrine of St. Paul, he commandeth all bishops and priests to sound out their service, and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not only be heard, but also be understood of the faithful people, what was said and done.[15] Whereby it is to be gathered, that divine prayers and service were then in the vulgar tongue.

Divine service used in the vulgar tongue.

(1) [Causa] 23. quæst. 5. [cap. 20.] "Principes;" cap. [26.] "Administratores."
(2) Dist. 97. cap. [1.] "Ecclesiæ," cap. [2.] "Victor."
(3) Dist. 79. cap. 8. "Si duo." (4) Causa 24. q. 3. cap. 6. "De illicita."
(5) Justinian. Novell. Const. 3. [Corpus Juris Canonici, Paris, 1628, tom. ii., whence the following references have been corrected.—Ed.]
(6) Ibid. 5. (7) Ibid. 6. (8) Ibid. 16. (9) Ibid. 37. (10) Ibid. 56.
(11) Ibid. 57. (12) Ibid. 59. (13) Ibid. 67. (14) Ibid. 83. (15) Ibid. 137.

Exordium.

And as the said Justinian, and other emperors in those days, had the jurisdiction and government over spiritual matters and persons, the like examples also may be brought of other kings in other lands, who had no less authority in their realms, than emperors had in their empire. As in France, Clovis, the first christened king, caused a council to be called at Orleans, of thirty-two bishops,[1] where thirty-one canons were instituted concerning the government of the church, about five hundred[2] years after Christ. Charlemagne, beside his other laws and edicts political, called five synods,[3] one at Mentz, the second at Rouen,[4] the third at Rheims, the fourth at Chalons upon the Saone, and the fifth at Arles, where sundry rites and ordinances were given to the clergy, about eight hundred and thirteen years after Christ. The same Charlemagne also decreed, that only the canonical books of Scripture should be read in the church, and none other.[5] Which before also was decreed A.D. 397, in the third general council of Carthage.[6] Item, he exhorteth and chargeth bishops and priests to preach the word, with a godly injunction to bishops; "The bishops, either by themselves or their deputies, shall set forth the food of God's word to the people with all diligence. For, as St. Gregory saith, the priest which goeth without the sound of preaching procureth against himself the wrath of the secret Judge. And also they shall bring up their clergy to them committed, in soberness and chastity. The superstition which in certain places is used of some, about the funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and pluck up by the roots."[7]

Charlemagne.

Canonical Scripture only to be read.

Bishops and priests charged to preach with diligence.

Superstition at funerals forbidden.

Moreover, instructing and informing the said bishops and priests in the office of preaching, he willeth them not to suffer any to feign or preach to the people any new doctrine of their own invention, and not agreeing to the word of God; but that they themselves both will preach such things as lead to eternal life, and also that they set up others to do the same: and joineth withal a godly exhortation: "Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde præparemus nos in scientiâ veritatis, ut possimus contradicentibus veritati resistere: et divinâ donante gratiâ verbum Dei currat et crescat, et multiplicetur, in profectum ecclesiæ Dei sanctæ, et salutem animarum nostrarum, et laudem et gloriam nominis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Amen."[8] Furthermore, the said Charlemagne, in his Constitutions, divideth the goods given to the church, so that, in the more wealthy places, two parts should go to the use of the poor, the third to the stipend of the clergy. Otherwise, in poorer places, an equal division to be made between the poor and the clergy, unless the gift had some special

(1) Foxe (copying Molinæus) says thirty-*three;* but see "Labbé," tom. iv. col. 1403, with the title "xxxii. Episcoporum;" anno 511; and the Magdeburg "Centuriators," (cent. 6. col. 244, edit. Basil. 1624).—Ed.

(2) A.D. 511.—Ed.

(3) See Labbé, tom. vii. col. 1231—71.—Ed.

(4) "Rome" (in Foxe's text) is a mere slip for Roan or Rouen, which is the reading in Molinæus, who quotes Abbas Ursperg ensis, a chronicler of the 13th century; but Regino, abbot of Pruym, who published his chronicle about A.D. 900, says "Tours." Also Labbé, Con. General. tom. vii. col. 1239, and M. Westmon. p. 153, an. 813.—Ed.

(5) Ansegis. Capit. lib. i. cap. 20.

(6) Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 47. Labbé places this council under 397; tom. ii. col. 1165.—Ed.

(7) "Episcopos monemus ut sive per se, sive per vicarios, pabulum verbi divini sedulo populis annuncient; quia, ut ait beatus Gregorius, iram contra se occulti judicis excitat sacerdos, si sine prædicationis sonitu incedit: et ut ipsi clerum sibi commissum in sobrietate et castitate nutriant: et ut superstitiones quas quibusdam in locis in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent." Ansegis., Capitul. lib. i. cap. 82.

(8) Ibid. lib. i. cap. 109.—Ed.

Exordium. exception.[1] And in the same book, a little after,[2] the same author, Ansegisus, declareth it to be by the said Charlemagne decreed, that no ecclesiastical person or persons from thenceforth should presume to take, of any person, any such gift or donation whereby the children or kinsfolks of the said donor should be defeated of their inheritance duly to them belonging. Louis the Pious, king of France, and afterwards emperor, was son to the foresaid Charlemagne, who, being joined together with the said Charlemagne his father in the empire, ordained also with his father sundry acts and observances touching the government of the church, as in the author before alleged may be seen: as first, that no entry should be made into the church by simony;[3] again, that bishops should be ordained by the free election of the clergy and of the people, without all respect of person or reward, only for the merit of life, and gift of heavenly wisdom.[4]

Louis the Pious.

Also the said kings and emperors forbade that any freeman or citizen should enter the profession of monkery, without licence asked of the king before; and added a double cause wherefore: first, for that many not for mere devotion, but for idleness, and avoiding the king's wars, do give themselves to religion; again, for that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtile covetous persons, seeking to get from them that which they have.[5] Item, that no young children or boys should be shaven, or enter any profession without the will of their parents. And no young maidens should take the veil or profession of a nun, before they came to sufficient discretion of years to discern and choose what they will follow. That none should be interred or buried thenceforth within the church:[6] which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinian, four hundred years before them. Item, the said Charlemagne, two and twenty years before he was emperor, enacted that murderers, and such as were guilty of death by the law, should have no sanctuary by flying into the church: which also was decreed by Justinian three hundred years before this Charlemagne.[7]

Louis and Clothaire.

Moreover, the aforesaid Louis the Pious, with his son Lothaire (or as some call him Clothaire) joined with him, among other ecclesiastical sanctions, ordained a godly law, for laymen[8] to partake of the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, in these words: "That laymen do communicate at least thrice [a year], if not oftener, except they be let, percase, by some heinous and grievous offences." Item, they enacted that no goods of the church should be alienated under the pain "Leoninæ constitutionis."[9] Unto this Lothaire, the French king and emperor, pope Leo IV. maketh suit, in these words:—"The Roman law (meaning the law of the French emperors), as it hath hitherto stood in force, so now it may continue still in its vigour and strength."[10] About A.D. 848, after this Lothaire, succeeded his son Louis II. in the kingdom and empire of France, before whom the foresaid pope Leo was brought into judgment for treason,

(1) Ex Ansegiso, lib. i. cap. 87. (2) Ibid. cap. 89. (3) Ibid. cap. 19.
(4) Ibid. cap. 84. (5) Ibid. cap. 120.
(6) Ibid. lib. i. cap. 101, 107, 159. "De sacra Eccle." (7) Justin. in Novel. 17. cap. 7.
(8) "Ut si non frequentius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: nisi forte gravioribus quibusdam criminibus impediantur."—Anseg. Capitul. lib. ii. cap. 45. The edition of Paris, 1588, reads, "in anno communicent."—Ed.
(9) Ibid. ii. lib. cap. 29.
(10) "Ita et nunc suum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat."—Dist. 10, cap. ult. "Vestram." Decretum Ivonis Carnotensis, par. iv. cap. 181. [fol. L. edit. Basileæ, 1499.—Ed.]

and pleaded his cause; and there was, before the emperor, quit and released: which declareth that popes and bishops all this while were in subjection under their kings and emperors.[1] *Exordium.*

The pope pleadeth his cause before the emperor.

Moreover, descending yet to lower times, A.D. 1228, Louis IX. called Saint Louis, established a law or decree, against the new inventions, reservations, preventions, and exactions of the court of Rome; and in the same year, another law against the pestiferous simony prevailing in the church; also, A.D. 1268, he made a famous law for the maintenance of the liberty of the church of France, called "Pragmatica sanctio Sancti Ludovici," the which sanction was also practised long after in the kingdom of France against the pope's collectors and under-collectors, as appeareth by the Arestum of the parliament of Paris, A.D. 1463. Furthermore, king Philip the Fair, A.D. 1303, set forth a law called "Philippina," wherein was forbidden any exaction of new tithes and first fruits, and other unaccustomed collections, to be put upon the church of France. Charles V. named the Wise, A.D. 1369, by a law, commanded that no bishops nor prelates, or their officials within his kingdom of France, should execute any sentence of interdict, or excommunication, at the pope's commandment, over or upon the cities or towns, corporations, or commons of his realm.[2] Item, Charles VI. A.D. 1388, against the cardinals and other officials and collectors of the pope, revoking again the power which he had given to them before, provided by a law, that the fruits and rents of benefices, with other pensions and bishops' goods, that departed, should no more be exported by the cardinals and the pope's collectors unto Rome, but should be brought to the king, and so restored to them to whom they did rightly appertain.[3]

Charles the Wise.

Charles VI.

The like also may be inferred and proved by the stories and examples of our kings here in England, as king Offa, and the kings Egbert, Edgar, Alfred, Ethelwold, Canute, Edward, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I., Henry II., till the time of king John, and after. Whose dealing, as well in ecclesiastical cases as temporal, is a sufficient demonstration to prove what injury the popes, in these latter days, have done unto the emperors, their lawful governors and magistrates, in usurping such fulness of power and jurisdiction over them, to whom properly they owe subjection; contrary to the steps and example of the old Roman bishops their ancestors: and therefore have incurred the danger of a *præmunire*, worthy to be deprived. Although it is not to be denied, but that ecclesiastical ministers and servitors have their power also committed unto them, after their sort, of the Lord, yet it becometh every man to know his own place and standing, and there to keep him, wherein his own precinct doth pale him; and not rashly to break out into other men's walks. As it is not lawful for a civil magistrate to intermeddle with a bishop's or a preacher's function, so unseemly and unorderly it is again, that Boniface VIII. should have borne before him the temporal mace and naked sword of the emperor; or that any pope should bear a triple crown, or take upon him like a

(1) Causa 2. quæst. 7. cap. 41. "Nos si incompetenter." [See also Decretum Ivonis, par. 5. cap. 22.—Ed.]

(2) Ex regist. antiquarum constit. chart. 26.

(3) Ex Molinæo in Commentariis. [Molin. Opera, Par. 1681, tom. iv. pp. 308—9, § 18, 19. Some clauses have here been interchanged, to render the history correct.—Ed.]

Exordium.

lord and king. Wherefore let every man consider the compass and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a bishop or servitor ecclesiastical, was in the old law to offer sacrifice, to burn incense, to pray for the people, to expound the law, to minister in the tabernacle, with which office it was not lawful for any prince or man else to intermeddle: as we read how Uzziah was punished for offering incense, and Uzzah for touching the ark, so now the office of christian ministers, is, to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, to pray, to bind and loose where cause urgently requireth; to judge in spiritual cases; to publish and denounce free reconciliation and remission in the name of Christ; to erect and comfort troubled consciences, with the rich grace of the gospel; to teach the people the true difference betwixt the law and the gospel, whereof the one belongeth to such as be not in Christ, and come not to him, the other pertaineth to the true believers in the Son of God: to admonish also the magistrates erring or transgressing in their office.

The office of the ecclesiastical minister.

The office of civil rulers and magistrates.

And as these properly belong to the function of the ecclesiastical sort, so hath the civil governor or magistrate again his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of justice and judgment, to defend with power the right of the weak that suffer wrong, to defend from oppression the poor oppressed, to minister with equity that which is right and equal to every man, to provide laws good and godly, to see the execution of the same as cause moveth: especially to see the law of God maintained, to promote Christ's glory and gospel in setting up and sending out good preachers; in maintaining the same; in providing bishops to be elected that be faithful; in removing or else correcting the same being faulty or negligent; in congregating the clergy, when need is of any counsel or election, to hear their learning in causes propounded; and, according to the truth learned, to direct his judgment in disposing such rites and ordinances for the church as make to edification, not to the destruction thereof: in conserving the discipline of the church, and setting all things in a congruous order. Briefly, the office of the civil ruler and magistrate extendeth to minister justice and judgment in all courts, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; to have correction over all transgressors, whether they be laymen or persons ecclesiastical. And finally, all such things as belong to the moving of the sword whatsoever (that is to say, all outward punishment) are referred to the jurisdiction of the secular magistrate, under whose subjection the ordinance of God hath subjected all orders and states of men.

Here we have the witness also of Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, which being well weighed, maketh the matter plain, that princes have to deal in spiritual causes also, not only in temporal: where the said Hormisdas writeth to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople in this sort: "Clara cœlestis misericordiæ demonstratio procedit, quando reges seculi causas de fide cum gubernatione politiæ conjungunt." etc.[1] And thus much, and too much peradventure, concerning the matter of jurisdiction, in which point this new church of Rome hath swerved from the ancient church of Rome which was, as is sufficiently proved.

The third point wherein the church of Rome hath broken, and is

(1) Ex Act. v. univers. concil. Constantinop. anno 528; [518 in Labbé, tom. v. col. 151.—Ed.]

Exordium.

departed from the church of Rome, is the form of style and title annexed to the bishop of that see. As where he is called pope, most holy father, vicar general, and vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, universal bishop, prince of priests, head of the church universal,[1] head bishop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor man, but a thing between both, etc.; for all these terms be given him in popish books. Albeit the name "pope," being a Greek name, derived of Πάππας, which soundeth as much as father in the Syracusan speech, may peradventure seem more tolerable, as one which hath been used in the old time among bishops; for so Augustine was called of the council of Africa, of Jerome, of Boniface, and others. Also Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was called *papa*.[2] Item, Clovis or (as Rhenanus calleth him) Louis, first christian king of France, calleth a certain simple bishop, *papam*;[3] Jerome also, in his Epistle to Chromatius, calleth Valerian by the name of pope; and likewise writing to Eustathius and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius, "*beatum papam*." In the Apologies of Athanasius, we read oftentimes that he was called *papa*, and *archiepiscopus*. Ruffinus also calleth him *pontificem maximum*.[4] Also Aurelius, president in the sixth council of Carthage, was called of the said council *papa*.[5] And before this, Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, writing to king Lucius, the first christian king in this land, calleth him in his Epistle, the vicar of Christ, etc. But that any of these terms were so peculiarly applied to the bishop of Rome that other bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one bishop above the rest had the name of œcumenical, or "universal," or "head," to the derogation of other bishops, or with such glory as is now annexed to the same; that is not to be found neither in histories of the old time, nor in any example of the primitive church, nor in the testimonies of ancient approved doctors. First, before the council of Nice, it is evident by pope Pius II.[6] that there was no [special] respect had then to the church of Rome, but every church was ruled by her own governance, till the year of our Lord, 325. Then followed the council of Nice, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole university of Christ's church, which was now far spread over all the world, certain provinces or precincts, to the number of four, be appointed, every one to have his head church, and chief bishop, called by them metropolitan or patriarch, to have the oversight of such churches as did lie about him.[7] In the number of which patriarchs or metropolitans, the bishop of Rome had the first place, the bishop of Alexandria was the second, the bishop of Antioch the third, the bishop of Jerusalem was the fourth patriarch. Afterward, to the number of these patriarchs came in also the bishop of Constantinople, ranking above the bishop of Alexandria.[8] So these four or five metropolitans or patriarchs had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them

The third proof that the church of Rome is altered from the church of Rome.

The titles and styles of the bishop of Rome.

Papa, a common name in the old time to all bishops of higher knowledge and virtue.

The four patriarchs appointed by the council of Nice.

(1) "Summus orbis Pontifex, Stupor mundi."
(2) [Causa] 24. q. 1. cap. [18.] "Loquitur;" Dist. 50. cap. [35.] "De eo tamen." cap 26. "Absit." [There is no title of "Papa" given to Cyprian in the first of these references in the edit. of Paris, 1687.—Ed.
(3) Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 27.—Ed. (4) Ruffin. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 28.—Ed.
(5) Ex Epistolâ Pii II. 301. [See his Epistles, Lugduni, 1505, but in the collected works, (Basil, 1571,) the passage appears in Epist. 288, p. 802. "Ante Concilium Nicænum, sibi quisque vivebat, et ad Romanam ecclesiam parvus habebatur respectus."—Ed.]
(6) Ex Epist. Pii II. 301. See Note (4) p. 39.
(7) Ex concil. Nicæn. can. 6, 7. Labbé, Con. Gen. tom. ii. cols. 31 and 327.—Ed.
(8) Ex I. concil. Constantinop. can. 3. Labbé, tom. ii. col. 948.—Ed.

Exordium.

should not deal within another's precinct, and also that there should be among them equality of honour, whereupon we read so oft in the decrees of the old councils of "equal degree of thrones, and of honour among priests and ministers."[1] Again, speaking of the said patriarchs or primates, we read in the second and third chapters of the council of Constantinople, "That bishops should not invade the diocese of other bishops without their borders, nor confound churches together," etc.[2] Moreover, the old doctors, for the most and best part, do accord in one sentence, that all bishops wheresoever placed in the church of God, "be of one merit, of like honour, and be all successors together of the apostles."[3] Also, he that is the author of the book, called Dionysius Areopagita, calleth all the bishops "of equal order, and of like honour," etc.[4] All this while the bishop of Rome was called a patriarch, and a metropolitan, or bishop of the first see; but no œcumenical bishop, nor head of the universal church, nor any such matter. Insomuch, that he, with all other bishops, was debarred from that, by a plain decree of the council of Carthage, in these words, "That the bishop of the first see shall not be called the prince of priests, or the high priest, or any such thing."[5]

And lest any here should take occasion of cavilling, to hear him called "bishop of the first see," here is to be expounded what is meant by the "first see," and wherefore he was so called: not for any dignity of the person, either of him which succeedeth, or of him whom he is said to succeed, but only of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainly proved by the council of Chalcedon, wherein is manifestly declared the cause why the see of Rome, among all other patriarchal sees, is numbered for the first see by the ancient fathers: "The fathers," saith the council, "did worthily attribute the chief degree of honour to the see of old Rome," for why? "because," saith the council, "the principal seat of empire was in that city."[6] The same also is confirmed by Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, who declareth, "That the excellency of the Roman empiry did advance the popedom of the Roman bishop above other churches."[7] Moreover, saith the said Eusebius, "The council," saith he, "of Nice gave this privilege to the bishop of Rome, that like as the king of the Romans is named emperor, above all other kings, so the bishop of the same city of Rome should be called pope, above other bishops."[8] By these places hitherto alleged (and such other, many more than be

(1) "Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῶν θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς."—Ex concil. Constantinop. ii. cap. 26.

(2) "Ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας."—Ex concil. Constantinop. I. can. 2. [Labbé, tom. ii. col. 948.—Ed.]

(3) "Ejusdem meriti et honoris et successores apostolorum."

(4) "Ὁμοταγεῖς, καὶ ἰσοτίμους."

(5) "Ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἐξαρχὸν τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιουτότροπον τι πότε."—Ex concil. Carthag. can. 39. [Labbé, tom. ii. col. 1069.—Ed.]

(6) "Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης· διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδωκάσι τὰ πρεσβεῖα."—Ex concil. Chalcedon. cap. 28. [Act 15. can. 28. p. 330, edit. Binii, 1618, or in Labbé, tom. iv. col. 770. "The modern Romanists do all they can to suppress or baffle this canon. The editors put a note before it, that it is not in their Greek MSS.; but that is no wonder, since it has been long the design of their church to conceal this canon; but that such a canon was really made at Chalcedon is apparent, not only from the 16th Action, where it was read at large, and allowed by the whole council, and confirmed by the lay-judges, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope's legates—but it is also found in all the Greek collectors, cited in Photius's 'Nomocanon,' (written above 900 years ago,) and is also extant in the old Latin interpreter," etc. See Comber's "Roman Forgeries in the Councils," (Lond. 1689,) part iii. p. 109; and Howel's "View of the Pontificate," (Lond. 1712.) p. 69.—Ed.]

(7) "Quod excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Romani pontificis supra alias ecclesias."—Ex Gabri. Biel. [Gabrielis Biel "Sacri Canonis Missæ Expositio," 4to. Tubingen, 1499, Lectio xxiii.—Ed.]

(8) "Nicena synodus hoc contulit privilegium Romano pontifici, ut sicut Romanorum rex Augustus præ cæteris appellatur, ita Romanus pontifex præ cæteris episcopis papa vocaretur."—Ibid.

here alleged), it appeareth that though these titles of superiority had been attributed to the bishop of Rome, yet it remaineth certain, that the said bishop received that preferment[1] by man's law, not by the law of God. And so is the distinction of the pope's proved false, where is said, "That the church of Rome took not its primacy by any council, but only by the voice of God."[2] And this is to be said: although it were true that these titles and terms were so given to the bishop of Rome in the old time, yet how and by whom they were given, ye see.

Exordium.

The pope's decree proved false.

Now, to try this matter, as joining an issue with our adversaries, whether these aforesaid titles of sovereignty were applied in the old time of the primitive church to the bishop of Rome, as to be called the vicar-general of Christ, the head of the whole church, and universal bishop, remaineth to be proved. Whereto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the bishops of Rome of some (peradventure) were so called by the names of higher pre-eminence [in respect] of that city, of some going about to please them, or to crave some help at their hands; yet that calling, First, was used then but of a few: Secondly, neither was given to many: Thirdly, was rather given than sought for, of the most: Fourthly, was not so given that it maketh or can make any general necessity of law why every one is so bound to call them, as the bishop of Rome now seeketh to be taken and called, and that by necessity of salvation; as the decree of pope Boniface VIII. witnesseth, where is said, "That it standeth upon necessity of salvation, to believe the primacy of the church of Rome, and to be subject to the same," etc.[3]

Four points.

As touching therefore these titles and terms of pre-eminence aforesaid, orderly to set forth and declare what histories of times do say in that matter, by the grace of Christ, First, we will see what be the titles the bishop of Rome doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them. Secondly, when they first came in; whether in the primitive time or not, and by whom. Thirdly, how they were first given to the Roman bishops; that is, whether of necessary duty, or voluntary devotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few; and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the city, or else of the worthiness of the bishop which there sat. Fourthly, and if the aforesaid names were then given by certain bishops, unto the bishop of Rome, whether all the said names were given, or but certain, or what they were. Fifthly, or whether they were then received of all bishops of Rome, to whom they were given, or else refused of some. Sixthly, and finally, whether they ought to have been refused being given, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertain to the profession rather of divines than historians, and would require a long and large debating, yet, forsomuch as both in these and divers other weighty

Six points.

(1) Jure, non divino, sed humano.

(2) "Romanam ecclesiam non a concilio aliquo, sed a divinâ voce, primatum accepisse."

(3) "Quod sit de necessitate salutis ut credatur primatus ecclesiæ Rom. et ei subesse."—Boniface VIII. extravag. de majoritat. et obedient. [lib. i. tit. 8.] "unam." A more accurate citation of this passage will be: "Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus dicimus definimus et pronunciamus esse de necessitate salutis. Datum Laterani, Pontif. nostri anno 8." See "Corpus Juris Canonici," tom. ii. pp. 394, 395. In the life of Boniface, by Rubei, (Romæ 1651,) the date is more particular, "xiv Cal. Decemb.;" p. 102. This solemn affirmation has received the distinct applause of several eminent writers in the church of Rome, which may be seen in "Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy," pp. 8, 9, edit. Oxford, 1836.—Ed.

Exordium. controversies of divinity, the knowledge of times and histories must needs help divines disputing about the same, so much as the grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will join to the seeking out of truth such help as I may.

What names and titles be attributed to the bishop of Rome. And first, to begin with the names and titles now claimed and attributed to the see and bishop of Rome, and what they be, is sufficiently declared above, that is, "the chief priest of the world," "the prince of the church," "bishop apostolical," "the universal head of the church," "the head and bishop of the universal church," "the successor of Peter," "most holy pope," "vicar of God on earth," "neither God nor man, but a mixed thing between both," "the patriarch or metropolitan of the church of Rome," "the bishop of the first see," etc.[1] Unto the which titles or styles is annexed a triple crown, a triple cross, two crossed keys, a naked sword, seven-fold seals, in token of the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Ghost; he being carried pick-back upon men's shoulders, after the manner of the heathen kings, having all the empire and the emperor under his dominion. And that it is not convenient for any terrene prince to reign there, where he sitteth, having the plenary fulness of power, as well of temporal things as spiritual things in his hands. That all things are his, and that all such princes as have given him any thing, have given him but his own: having power at his will and pleasure to preach indulgences, and the cross against christian princes whatsoever. And that the emperor, and certain other princes, ought to make to him confession of subjection at their coronation: having authority to depose, and that he, *de facto*, hath deposed emperors and the king of France; also to absolve the subjects from their allegiance to their princes: whom kings have served for footmen to lead his horse, and the emperor to hold his stirrup. That he may and doth give power to bishops upon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to have prisons: without whose authority no general council hath any force; and to whom appellations in all manner of causes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equal with the decrees of the Nicene council, and are to be observed and taken in no less force than if they had been confirmed with the heavenly voice of St. Peter himself.[2] Item, that the said bishop of Rome hath the heavenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another.[3] Item, that he can of nothing make something; and cause the sentence, which before was null, to stand in effect; and may dispense above the law, and of injustice make justice, in correcting and changing laws, for he hath the fulness of power. And again,[4] if the pope do

The form of the pope's regality to his titles appertaining. Regalia sancti Petri.

(1) Sext. Decret. lib. i. de elect. et electi potest. tit. 6, cap. 17, in proœmio glossæ.
(2) Ex frat. Barth. et aliis.
(3) [Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i.] tit. 7. § 3. De translat. Episc. "Quanto."
(4) "Dist. 40, cap. [6] si Papa." [The conclusion of the sentence quoted by Foxe is, "nisi deprehendatur a fide devius," which, in the present day, might be considered a great omission: but who is to judge *him* from whom there is no appeal? For we read in "Causa ix. quæst. 3, cap. 17," the following decision, "Cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia, quod sacrosancta Romana ecclesia fas de omnibus habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio." A reforming member, however, of the church of Rome, John, bishop of Chiemsee, suffragan to the archbishop of Saltzburg, fully enters into this idea of the errability of a pope, so inconsistent to be held by a Latin priest: "At si papa, suæ et fraternæ salutis oblitus, tyrannus esse deprehenditur, aut inutilis, et remissus in suis operibus, a bono insuper taciturnus, officit sibi et omnibus: quoniam salus omnium ex ipso dependet, similiter et ejus perversitas in damnationem plurium cedit. Ideo perversus papa sine spe veniæ condemnandus est, ut diabolus." See "Onus Ecclesiæ, auctor est Joh. Epis. Chiemensis," etc. Colon. 1531, cap. 19, § 4.—Ed.]

lead with him innumerable souls by flocks into hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faults in this world. Item, That it standeth upon necessity of salvation to believe the primacy of the see of Rome, and to be subject to the same, etc. *Exordium*

These things thus declared, now let us see whether these names and titles, with the form and manner of this authority and regality above rehearsed, were ever attributed by any in the primitive time to the bishop of Rome: for all these he doth challenge and claim unto him by old possession from the time of St. Peter. And here a question is to be asked of our adversaries the papists, Whether they will avouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole form and tenor of regality to the same belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their allegations; which they never have done yet, nor ever shall be able. If they will not, or cannot avouch them altogether in manner as is specified, then why doth the bishop claim them altogether so stoutly, usurp them so falsely, and obtrude them upon us so strictly? Moreover, if the said our adversaries, being convicted by plain evidence of history and examples of time, will yield unto us (as they must needs) in part, and not in the whole; let us come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regality they will defend, and derive from the ancient custom of the primitive church, that is, from the first five hundred years, I mean after Christ. First, in the council of Nice, which was A.D. 325, in the sixth canon of the said council we find it so decreed,[1] that in every province or precinct some one church, and bishop of the same, was appointed and set up to have the inspection and regiment of other churches about him. "After the ancient custom,"[2] as the words of our council do purport, "let the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, forasmuch as the like custom hath obtained in the case of the bishop of Rome. In like manner, also, in the province of Antioch and in the other provinces let the pre-eminence be reserved to the metropolitan churches." It then follows in the seventh canon, that the bishop of Jerusalem, also, should enjoy the honour which belonged to him by usage and ancient tradition, provided only, that his metropolitan be not defrauded of his proper dignity. In this council, and in the said sixth and seventh canons, First, whereas the bishops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch are joined together in one like manner of dignity, there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein: Secondly, forsomuch as in the said two canons, after mention made of them immediately followeth, that no bishop should be made without consent of the metropolitan, yea and that the bishop also of Jerusalem should be under his metropolitan, and (can. 4.) that the metropolitan should have the full power to confirm every bishop made in his province;[3] therefore it may be well suspected, that the third epistle decretal of pope Anacletus and of pope Stephen, with other more, are forged;[4] wherein these bishops, and especially the bishop of Rome, is exempted and dissevered from the name of a

(1) Ex concil. Nicæn. canon.
(2) "Secundum morem antiquum." Dist. 65, cap. 6. "Mos antiquus."
(3) Ex concil. Nicæn. canon. 4, 6, 7. Labbé, tom. ii. cols. 30, 31, 1595.
(4) [Most truly so: Blondel considers that the former was written A.D. 780. "Examen Epist. Decretal." (Genevæ, 1635,) p. 144; see also p. 336.—ED.]

Exordium.

metropolitan or an archbishop, to the name of a patriarch or primate, as appeareth in the decrees.[1] Wherefore, as we must needs grant the bishop of Rome to be a metropolitan or archbishop by the council of Nice; so we will not greatly stick in this also, to have him numbered with patriarchs or primates. Which title seemeth in the old time to be common to more cities than to Rome, both by the Epistle of Anacletus, of pope Stephen, of pope Julius and Leo, etc.

The bishop of Rome called metropolitan, archbishop, patriarch, primate.

After this followed a general council in Africa, called the sixth council of Carthage, A.D. 419, where were congregated two hundred and seventeen bishops, among whom was also Augustine, Prosper, Orosius, with divers other famous persons. This council continued the space of five years,[2] wherein was great contention about the supremacy and jurisdiction of Rome; the [occasion whereof arose the year before, by Zosimus,] then Roman bishop. This Zosimus had received into the communion of the church, without any examination, one that came to complain to him out of Africa, named Apiarius, a priest, whom Aurelius the metropolitan, with the council of Africa, had worthily excommunicated for his detestable conditions before.[3] Upon this, Zosimus, after that he had received and showed such favour to Apiarius, for that he did appeal to him, sendeth to the council his legates, to wit, Faustinus, bishop of Potenza, and two priests of the church of Rome, named Philippus and Asellus, with these four requests: First, that Apiarius, whom he had absolved, might be received of them again, and that it might be lawful for bishops or priests to appeal from the sentence of their metropolitans, and [even] of a council, to the see of Rome. Secondly, that bishops should not sail over importunely "ad comitatum."[4] Thirdly, that if any priest or deacon were wrongfully excommunicate by the bishops of their own province, it should be lawful for them to remove the hearing and judging of their cause to their neighbour bishops.

The sixth council of Carthage.

Urban bishop of Sicca.

The popes of Rome taken with the manner in falsifying the decree of Nicene council.

Fourthly, that Urban, Aparius's bishop, either should be excommunicated, or else sent up to Rome, unless he would correct those things that were to be corrected. For the maintenance whereof, the said Zosimus alleged for himself the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene council. The African council hearing this, and remembering no such thing in the council of Nice to be decreed, and yet not suspecting that the bishop of Rome would dare wrongfully to falsify the words of that council, writeth to Zosimus, declaring that they never read, to their remembrance, in their common Latin exemplar of the Nicene council any such canon, yet notwithstanding, for quietness' sake, they would observe the same till they might procure the original copies of that council to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to pope Boniface, who shortly after succeeded Zosimus; and thirdly also to Celestine, who succeeded Boniface.

In the mean time this aforesaid council sent their legates, Marcellus and Innocent, to Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, and to Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentic copies in Greek of

(1) Dist. 22. cap. 2. "Sacrosancta"
(2) This was rather a succession of councils, than one continued council.—Ed.
(3) Foxe's account of the affair of Apiarius has been made more accurate by a few changes in his text. See Appendix.—Ed.
(4) "Ad comitatum," to the imperial court, or camp.—Ed.

Exordium.

the Nicene council; which being sent unto them, and they, finding in the true originals no such canon as the bishop of Rome had falsely forged, [they sent them to pope Boniface. After him succeeded Celestine, A.D. 422, who likewise sent his legates to the bishops of Africa, in behalf of Apiarius: whereupon] they wrote a sharp and [yet] a handsome letter to pope Celestine, (calling him in the said letter, by the way, "Domine frater,") declaring to him, how they had perused all the copies of the council of Nice, and could find no such canon as he and his predecessors had falsely alleged, and (therewithal, reciting the sixth canon afore mentioned) declaring how the decrees of the Nicene council had committed all and singular persons ecclesiastical, as well bishops as others, unto the charge of their metropolitans. Moreover, expounding the same decree, they showed the reason thereof.

Five reasons why matters of controversy ought not to be had out of other countries unto Rome.

First, For that (say they) the fathers of that council did most prudently and justly provide, that all controversies be ended "in iisdem locis," where they began.

2. For that it is not to be supposed contrary, but that the grace of God will be as prest and ready in one province as in another, to instruct his ministers both prudently to understand judgment, and constantly to maintain the same.

3. Specially, for that there is no need to seek further to any foreign help, because that the party, who is not contented with the determination of his judges or commissioners, may lawfully appeal either to a provincial or else to a general council.

Every country to appeal first to his own metropolitan, secondly, to a provincial or general council.

4. That way to be better than to run to any foreign judge, it must needs be granted; because it is not likely that our God will inspire justice, in hearing and determining causes, into one bishop, and deny it unto a multitude congregated in a whole council.

5. Neither can it be, that any foreign judgment can stand good, for that the necessary witnesses will never be able to attend, either through infirmity of sex, of age, or of sickness, or some other impediment. Wherefore, as by these and other reasons they thought it not convenient for them to carry their matters over thence unto Rome; so neither was it to be found (say they) by any council of the old fathers decreed, that any legates should be sent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said bishop of Rome, that he would not introduce "Fumosum typhum (or rather as I may call it, 'typhos') seculi in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis et humilitatis Deum videre cupientibus præfert:" that is, "That he would not introduce the fuming and swelling pride of the world into the church of Christ, which church showeth and giveth the light of simplicity and of humility to such as desire to behold God."[1]

In these aforesaid letters, moreover, is signified, how the forenamed malefactor Apiarius, whom the bishop of Rome before had absolved and received to the communion of the church, was afterward found culpable; and therefore the council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so enjoined him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the bishop of Rome before proceeding.

Nine points gathered out of the council of Carthage against the pope.

In sum, out of this council of Carthage these points are to be noted. First, How glad the bishops of Rome were to receive such as came to them for succour.

2. What pride they took by the occasion thereof, thinking and seeking thereby to have all under their subjection.

3. To the intent to allure others to seek to them, how ready they

(1) "Fumosum typhum seculi." [See Labbé, tom. ii. cols. 1589, 1599, 1671, 1676; "Ad rationes Campiani respons. G. Whitakeri." (Lond. 1581) rat. 7, pp. 131, 132; and Bp. Jewel's "Replie to Harding," art. 4, p. 198, edit. 1611. See also Mr. Gibbing's preface to "An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius." Dublin, 1837, p. 82.—Ed.]

Exordium.

were to release and quit this Apiarius as guiltless, who afterwards was to be tried culpable by his own confession.

4. How, contrary to the acts and doings of the Romish bishop, this council condemned him whom the said bishop of Rome before had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the Romish church.

5. How the bishops, of old time, have been falsifiers of ancient councils and writings, whereby it may be suspected, that they which shamed not to falsify and corrupt the council of Nice, much less would they stick to abuse and falsify the decretal epistles and writings of particular bishops and doctors for their own advantage, as no doubt they have done many one.

6. In this aforesaid council, whereat Augustine himself was present, and where Aurelius, president of the same, was called *papa*, the bishop of Rome was called expressly in their letters but "bishop of the city of Rome," and *dominus frater*, that is, "brother lord bishop."

7. The dominion of this Roman patriarch, in the said council of Carthage, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of Africa to appeal over the sea to him, nor for him to send over his legates to them, for ending their controversies. Whereby it may sufficiently appear, that the bishop of Rome in those days was not at all admitted to be the chief of all other bishops, nor the head of the universal church of Christ in earth, etc.

8. We hear in this council, five causes or reasons given, why it is not necessary nor yet convenient for all foreign causes to be brought to one universal head or judge, as is before recited.

The highest title belonging to a bishop, is to be called the bishop of the first see.

Ninthly and lastly, By the said council of Carthage we hear a virtuous exhortation to be given to the bishop of Rome, that he would not introduce into the meek and humble church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the world, as is before declared. In this, or in some other council of Carthage, it was moreover provided by express law, and also specified in the pope's decrees, that no bishop of the first see should be called the prince of priests, or the chief priest, or any such like thing; but only the bishop of the first see, as followeth more in the said decree. "Be it enacted, that no bishop, no, not the bishop of Rome, be called universal bishop."[1] And thus much concerning this aforesaid council of Carthage.

The bishop of Rome forbidden to be called universal bishop.

Not long before this council, was celebrated in Africa another council, called the second synod of Milevis, about A.D. 416, at the which council also St. Augustine was present, where it was decreed, under pain of excommunication, that no minister or bishop should appeal over the sea to the bishop of Rome.[2] Whereby it may appear that the bishop of Rome, all this space, was not universally called by the term of œcumenical or universal bishop, but bishop of the first see: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the city of Rome only, but the first see then was called the metropolitan church; as by the words of the Nicene council, and other constitutions more, is to be seen, where the four patriarchs were called πρῶτοι or πρωτένοντες

No bishop to appeal over the sea.

The bishop of the first see, what it meaneth

(1) "Universalis autem, nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur."—Dist. 99, cap. 3, "Primæ sedis epis."

(2) Conc. Milev. II. can. 22, 24. See Labbé, Conc. Gen. tom. ii. cols. 1542, 1667.—Ed.

Exordium.

or προεστῶτες, as, namely, by the words of the council of Carthage may appear, which be these, "Except he have some special license or exception, by the consent of the proper bishop of the first see in every country, that is, of him that is the primate in the said country."[1] Also the words of the thirty-ninth canon of the council of Carthage, before touched, be these, "That the bishop of the first see be not called prince of priests, or head priest, or else any such like."[2] Again, Anicetus, the tenth bishop of Rome, and pope Stephen, and pope Felix, making a difference between a primate and metropolitan, write thus: "Let no archbishops be called primates, but only such as have the first see."[3] Thus it is made plain, how the bishop of the first see, or first bishop, or primate, is none other but he which was called patriarch, and belonged not only to the church of Rome, but to all such cities and places where before, among the gentiles, were "primi flamines."[4] And here, by the way, is to be noted the repugnance to truth of such as craftily, but falsely, have counterfeited the pope's decretal epistles; which, besides other great and many conjectures, hereby also may be gathered. For, whereas Clement, Anacletus,[5] Anicetus, and others, joining together the office of patriarchs and primates,[6] do divide the same from the order of metropolitans, or archbishops, alleging there-for the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, that is to be found false by the canons of the apostles, by the council of Nice, and by the council of Antioch, with others more. For in the canons of the apostles,[7] whereas in almost every canon mention is made of bishops, priests, and deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the bishop, or lower than the deacon; save only in the thirty-third canon, setting an order among bishops, the canon willeth the bishops of every nation to know their first or chief bishop, and him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but "the head of those bishops." And where? Not in Rome only, but plainly and expressly in every nation, for so the words purport: "The bishops of every nation ought to know the first or chief among them."[8] Moreover, the council of Antioch, reciting the aforesaid canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, instead of τὸν πρῶτον writing τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, which is as much to say, "metropolitan;" and in the end of the said canon, calleth him τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, that is, "metropolitanum."[9] Whereby it is concluded that to be false, that Clement and Anacletus and Anicetus are reported (but

The papists in their decrees contrary to themselves.

The first bishop or head bishop expounded, how it is to be taken.

(1) "Εἰ μὴ μετὰ ψηφίσματος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας τοῦ ἰδίου ἑκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτ' ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος κατεξαίρετον λάβῃ."—Conc. Car. can. 23. Labbé, ii. cols. 1062, 1171.

(2) "Ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα ἢ τοιοῦτον τι πότε."—Concil. Car. can. 39. Labbé, ii. col. 1070.

(3) Ex Epist. Decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.

(4) Dist. 80, cap. "Urbes," et "loca," ibid. cap. "In illis." (5) Epist. 3.

(6) ["Jam monuimus sæculo Anacleti Christianam ecclesiam nullos patriarchas agnovisse; idem de primatibus sentiendum. Prima primatum mentio habetur Conc. 2. Carthag. cap. 12. A.D. 390. (Valent. IV. et Neoterio Coss); et Concil. Sardic. cap. 6. num. 347. Erant autem inter Afros primates non soli Carthaginenses episcopi totius Africanæ dioceseos rectores; sed antiquissimi singularum Afric. provinciarum episcopi; sive in metropoli sive alibi sederent. Vide Augustin. Epist. 217 et 261. Patriarchæ nulli nisi inter hæreticos, ad A.D. 380. Hieronymo teste Epist. 54." Which is then quoted with other evidence by Blondel, Examen. Epist. Decret. (Genevæ, 1635), p. 127.—Ed.] (7) Cano. Apost. 24. Labbé, tom. i. col. 29.—Ed.

(8) "Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον."—Cano. Apost. 33. Labbé, tom. i. col. 32.—Ed.

(9) Conc. Ant. Can. 9. Labbé, tom. ii. col. 565. The Greek of the Antiochian canon is also given in the "Cor. Rom." of the Corpus Jur. Can. Causa 9, quæst. 3, cap. 2, "Per singulas provincias."—Ed.

Exordium.

falsely)[1] to put a difference between primates or patriarchs, and metropolitans or archbishops: whereas, by sufficient authority it is to be proved, that in the old church both primates, first bishops, bishops of the first see, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops of the mother-city, and archbishops, were all one. First, that primates and metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the canons of the apostles, and by the council of Antioch aforesaid. Again, that patriarchs and archbishops were all one, is evident by the 123d Novella of Justinian,[2] who in the said constitution, reciting the five patriarchs above mentioned,[3] calleth them by the name of archbishops: and, a little after, calleth the patriarch of Constantinople archbishop, by these words: "Which be under the archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople."[4] And after, speaking most plainly in the matter, he setteth another order, divers from that of Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, in placing these aforesaid persons, first beginning with bishops, then over them setting the metropolitan, and over him again the archbishop, and there stayeth, making no further mention of any other above him: whose words be these, "If a bishop be accused, the metropolitan to have the examination of those things that are brought against him: if the metropolitan be accused, then the archbishop to have the hearing thereof, under whom he dwelleth."[5] And in the same constitution moreover, "If any suit or supplication be brought against a bishop by a minister, or any other, first the metropolitan to have the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the judgment thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the archbishop."[6]

Archbishop and metropolitan not to be both one.

An item against the forged epistles decretal.

In this constitution of Justinian, although the metropolitan be placed above the bishop, and the archbishop above the metropolitan, yet, notwithstanding, by this are sufficiently confuted the forged constitutions of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephen, and Felix; who, in their epistles decretal, join together in one form and order both archbishop and metropolitan, and above them both do place the patriarch, and above the patriarch the apostolical see, to wit, the bishop of Rome; as may appear in reading the first epistle of Clement:[7] the second epistle of Anacletus.[8] Also the epistle of pope Stephen I.[9] (where note by the way, that Gratian referreth this place of the epistle to pope Lucius): item, the first epistle of pope Felix II.[10] In all which aforesaid epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken: that the first and principal place is given to primates or patriarchs, the second to metropolitans or archbishops, the third to bishops; and finally, above all these, is extolled the apostolical see of the bishop of Rome, contrary to all that which before hath been alleged out of Justinian, the council of Nice, and of Antioch, etc.

(1) Dist. 99, cap. "Anacletus." (2) Novella Justiniani 123, cap. 3. (3) See suprà p. 27.

(4) "Οἱ τίνες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ πατριάρχην εἰσίν." Novel. Justin. 123, cap. 9.

(5) "Εἴπερ ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ὑφ' ὃν τελεῖ." Novell. 137. cap. 5.

(6) "Εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικοῦ, ἢ ἄλλου οἱουδήποτε προσέλευσις κατὰ ἐπίσκοπον γένηται, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω, καὶ εἰ τίς τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντείποι, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα," etc. Novell. 123. cap. 22. See Appendix.

(7) "In illis autem civitatibus," etc. Labbé, tom i. col. 91.—Ed.

(8) Art. 4, "Provinciæ," dist. 99, cap. "Nulli Archiepiscop." [Anicetus is the bishop referred to in the Corpus Juris Canonici; but see Blondel (ut supra) pp. 15, 126, 202. Labbé, tom. i. cols. 524, 528, 581.—Ed.]

(9) Art. 6. [Epist. 2. See Labbé, tom. i. col. 734, and Blondel, p. 336.—Ed.]

(10) Art. 12. Labbé, tom. ii. col. 852.—Ed.

Whereby it may appear, that either Justinian in preferring archbishops above metropolitans, had not read these epistles decretal, if they were genuine; or if they were forged, they which forged the said epistles in their names did not well consider what Justinian had written in this matter before. *Exordium.* Repugnance between the institutions of Justinian, and the epistles decretal.

Thus then these titles above recited, as "bishop," "metropolitan," "the bishop of the first see," "primate," "patriarch," "archbishop," that is to say, chief bishop, or head bishop to other bishops of his province, we deny not but were in the old time applied, and might be applied to the bishop of Rome, like as the same also were applied to other patriarchs in other chief cities and provinces. Terms used in the primitive time of the church.

As touching the name likewise of "high priest," or "high priesthood," neither do I deny but that it hath been found in old monuments and records of ancient times; but in such wise and sort as it hath been common to bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one bishop or see. Whereof testimony we have out of the seventh general council, where the bishop's office is called "summum sacerdotium,"[1] "the high priesthood," in these words: "Substantia summi sacerdotii nostri sunt eloquia divinitus tradita, (id est) vera divinarum scripturarum disciplina," etc.: that is, "The substance (say they) of our high priesthood, is the word or discipline of holy Scriptures given us from above." High priest or high priesthood.

And likewise the council of Agda maketh relation "of bishops set in the high priesthood,"[2] meaning not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomsoever. Also Fabian, bishop of Rome, A.D. 240, writing in general to his brethren and to all bishops and ministers ecclesiastical, doth attribute to them the same title of "summum sacerdotium," in these words: "God, which hath preordained you brethren, and all them which bear the office of high priesthood."[3] With like phrase of speech Anacletus also, in his second epistle, speaking of bishops in general, calleth them "summos sacerdotes:" "Unde liquet quod summi sacerdotes, (id est) episcopi, a Deo sunt judicandi," etc.: "The high priests, that is, bishops," saith he.[4] And moreover in the same place he calleth them "apostles," and "successors of the apostles." So doth Innocent I. in A.D. 405.[5] Also Zosimus,[6] bishop of the said city of Rome, in A.D. 418; speaketh "de summo sacerdotio," that is, "of high priesthood," not only of the church of Rome, but of all other churches. The same Zosimus, in his writings alleged by Gratian, referreth the name and place *summi pontificis*, of "the high bishop," not only to the see of Rome, but uniformly to every bishop, as there appeareth.[7] Bishops called the successors of the apostles.

And thus much as touching the name or title of high priest, or supreme bishop; which title as I do not deny to have been used in manner and form aforesaid, so do I deny this title and style of *summus orbis pontifex*, as it is now used in Rome, to have been used, or usually received during all the primitive time of the church Summus orbis pontifex.

(1) Dist. 38, cap. 6, "Omnes."
(2) "De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis." Ex Concil. Agathensi, can. 6. Labbé, tom. iv. col. 1383. Causa 12, q. 3, cap. 3, "Pontifices."—Ed.
(3) "Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinavit vos, et omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur," etc. Causa 3, q. 1, cap. 6, "Deus ergo."
(4) Ex Anaclet. epist. prim. Labbé, tom. i. col. 521. Causa 2, q. 7, cap. 15, "Accusatio."—Ed.
(5) Dist. 61, cap. 4, "Miserum." (6) Dist. 59, cap. 1.
(7) Ex Urban I. dist. 59, cap. 2, "Si officia." [This chapter should be attributed to Zosimus, not to Urban. See Rom. Corr. in loc.—Ed.]

Exordium. that is, five hundred years after Christ (after the manner and sort I mean of that authority and glory, which in these days now is used and is given to the same), until the time of Phocas, the wicked emperor, which was after the year of the Lord 608. The which title as it is too glorious for any one bishop in the church of Christ to use, so is it not to be found in any of the approved and most ancient writers of the church, namely, these: Cyprian, Basil, Fulgentius, Chrysostome, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, or Tertullian: but rather written against by the same, especially of the last. And therefore not without cause it is written and testified of Erasmus, who, speaking of the said name of "summus orbis pontifex," denieth plainly the same to be heard of among the old writers, whose words be these: "Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omnium scriptis licet colligere," etc.[1] as whosoever readeth the same authors, shall find to be true.

Presumptuous titles. The like is to be affirmed also of other presumptuous titles of like ambition, as "the head of the universal church," "the vicar of Christ in earth," "prince of priests," with such like: which all be new found terms, strange to the ears of the old primitive writers and councils, and not received openly and commonly before the time of Boniface III. and the aforesaid Phocas.

Papa. Now remaineth the name of the pope, which, of its nature and by its first origin, being a word of the Syracusan speech called πάππας, signifieth as much as "pater," father, and was then used and frequented of them in the old time; not so as proper only to the bishop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other bishops or personages, whosoever were of worthy excellency, as is partly before declared. But now, contrarily, the generality of this name is so restrained and abused, that not only it is appropriate to the bishop of Rome, but also distincteth and dissevereth the authority, and pre-eminence of that bishop alone from all other bishops, for which cause it is now worthily come into contempt and execrations. No less is to be rejected also the name of "universalis" or "œcumenicus pontifex," "summus orbis episcopus," "caput universalis ecclesiæ," "Christi in terris vicarius," "princeps sacerdotum," etc. All which terms and vocables, tending to the derogation of other bishops and patriarchs, as they were never received nor allowed in Rome (if we believe Gregory) during the time of the primitive church, so now are worthily of us refused.

How they began first at Constantinople, to take the name of universal bishop. It cannot, indeed, be denied, but there were certain in the primitive time which began privately to assume that proud and wicked title of "universal bishop;" as John II. and Menna, patriarchs of Constantinople; as appeareth in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 536, wherein both Menna,[2] and also John, is titled "œcumenicus patriarcha."[3] Afterward, the patriarch John IV. (surnamed the Faster), holding a council at Constantinople, A.D. 588, went about to establish and ratify this title, and to dignify his throne therewith, by

(1) Ex Erasm. epist. lib. iii. epist. 1, art. 73, [p. 119, Edit. 1540.—Ed.]

(2) Ex quinta synodo universali, actione primâ, cap. "Post consulatum." [Foxe erroneously calls this the 5th General Council, which was indeed held at Constantinople, but not till A.D. 553, under the patriarch Eutychius; and he does not properly distinguish between John II. and John IV. his text has, accordingly, been somewhat altered here. In Labbé's Concil. General. tom. v. col. 50, actio. 2, Menna is spoken of as ἁγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου; see also cols. 71, 81, 89, 97, 253.—Ed.

(3) Labbé, ut suprà, actio 5, cols. 157, 161, 180, 185. John II. was patriarch A.D. 517—520, Menna A.D. 536—552, John IV. A.D. 582—595. L'Art de Verif. des Dates.—Ed.

Exordium.

the consent of the council and the emperor of Constantinople, and obtained the same. Concerning the which title, although it was then used in Constantinople through the sufferance of the emperors, being then willing to have their imperial city advanced, yet notwithstanding, this aforesaid title, all this while, was not in the city of Rome. And in Constantinople it stood not then in force "jure aliquo divino," but only by man's law. And thirdly, it was then but only "verbalis titulus," having no true domination over all other churches, nor any real authority, belonging to the same; forasmuch as neither the bishop of Rome, nor any of the west churches were subject or did acknowledge service unto them, but rather did repugn the same, namely, Pelagius II. and Gregory I., both bishops of Rome at that period; whereof Pelagius, writing to all bishops, saith plainly in these words, "That no patriarch should take the name of universality at any time; because that if any be called "universal," the name of patriarch is derogated from all others."[1] "But let this be far," saith he, "from all faithful men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honour of his brethren is diminished." Wherefore the said Pelagius chargeth all such bishops, that none of them in his letters will name any patriarch to be universal, lest he take from himself the honour due to him, while they give that which is not due to another. What can be more evident than these words of Pelagius, who was bishop of Rome next before Gregory, A.D. 583? In like manner, or more plainly and more earnestly, writeth also Gregory of this matter in his register, proving and disputing that no man ought to be called "universal bishop;" moreover, with sharp words and rebukes detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane; and such, that to consent unto it is as much as to deny the faith. He addeth further and saith, "that whosoever goeth about to extol himself above other bishops, in so doing followeth the example of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal or like unto other angels." In his epistles how oft doth he repeat and declare the same to repugn directly against the gospel, and ancient decrees of councils? affirming that none of his predecessors did ever usurp to himself that style or title; and concludeth that whosoever so doth, declareth himself to be a forerunner of Antichrist.[2] With this judgment of Gregory well agree also the words of St. Augustine,[3] where, reciting the words of Cyprian, he thus saith: "For none of us doth ever set himself to be bishop of bishops, or after a tyrannical manner doth subdue and bring under his fellows unto the necessity of obedience." By these words of Cyprian and Augustine it is manifest, that in their time was no supremacy or universal title among bishops received, nor that any great respect was had to the bishop of Rome (as pope Pius II. saith[4]), before the council of Nice. And after, in that council, the said bishop of Rome had no further authority to him limited, than only over his province, and places suburban, bordering about the city of Rome.[5]

Gregory against the universality of the bishop of Constantinople.

To be bishop of bishops forbidden by Cyprian and Augustine.

The pope's primacy resisted

(1) Ex Pelagio, epist. 8. [apud Blondel examen. p. 638;] dist. 99, cap. 4, "Nullus." Labbé, tom. v. col. 948.

(2) Ex Antonino, tit. 12. cap. 3. §13. Labbé, tom. v. cols. 1184, 1185, 1269, 1273, 1275, 1276.—Ed.

(3) "Neque enim quisquam nostrum se episcopum episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit," etc. De Baptismo contra Donat. lib. ii. cap. 2, § 3.—Ed.

(4) Epist. 301. [See supra, p. 27, Note (5).—Ed.]

(5) See note in the Appendix on p. 31.

Exordium. Against whose primacy divers churches also did resist long after that; as the churches of Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia. Also the Greek churches have resisted the same to this day, likewise the churches of Asia, Russia, Moscow, Wallachia, and other more.[1]

But to return again to Gregory, who, confirming the sentence of Pelagius his predecessor above mentioned, had no small conflicts about this title-matter, both with the patriarch and with the emperor of Constantinople, as witness Antoninus and others, etc.[2] The history is thus: After that John, being made, of a monk, patriarch of Constantinople, by his flattery and hypocrisy had obtained of Mauritius the emperor to be extolled above other bishops, with the name of "universal patriarch," and that he would write to Gregory (then bishop of Rome) for his consent concerning the same, Gregory, abiding still in his constancy, did set himself stoutly against that antichristian title, and would give no place. At the same time the Lombards had invaded the country of Italy and the city of Rome, the emperor keeping then at Constantinople, and setting in Italy an overseer called "exarchus," to rule in Ravenna. Gregory, perceiving the emperor Mauritius to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Constantina the empress, arguing and declaring in his letters, that for him to be universal patriarch would be in him presumption and pride, for that it was both against the rule of the gospel and the decrees of the canons, namely, the sixth canon of the Nicene council; and the novelty of that new-found title would declare nothing else, but that the time of Antichrist was near. Upon this, Mauritius the emperor, taking displeasure with him, calleth home his soldiers again from Italy, and inciteth the Lombards against the Romans, who, with their king Agilulph, thereupon, contrary to their league made before, set upon the city of Rome, and besieged it a whole year together; Gregory, yet notwithstanding, still remaining in his former constancy. After these afflictions thus overpast, Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the said Gregory in his letters, naming him "universal pope:" unto whom Gregory, refusing the same, answereth again as followeth.

The Letter of Gregory to the Patriarch of Alexandria.

Behold, in the preface of your epistle directed to me, ye have used a proud appellation, calling me "universal pope," which I beg your holiness hereafter not to do, for that is derogated from you, whatsoever is attributed to another more than reason requires. As for me, I seek not advancement in words, but in manners; neither do I account that any honour, wherein I see the honour of my brethren to be hindered: for my honour I take to be the honour of the universal church: my honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I really honoured, when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth; for, if your holiness call me "universal pope," in so doing you deny yourself to be that, which ye affirm me to be, universal: but that God forbid. Let go these words, therefore, which do nothing but puff up vanity, and wound charity.[3]

Gregory refuseth the name of universal pope.

It were too long here to infer all such letters and epistles of his concerning this matter, written to the emperor Mauritius and Constantina the empress, but that shall more largely appear hereafter (Christ willing) in the body of the history, when we come to the

(1) Illyricus, Tractatus "Contra Primatum Petri et Papæ," cap. 6.—Ed.
(2) Ex Antonino, tit. 12, capitul. 3. § 3, 13. See also Labbé, tom. v. col. 1184.—Ed.
(3) Dist. 99, cap. "Ecce." [Epist. 30. S. Gregorii, in tom. ii. p. 290 of "Epist. Decret. Romæ, 1591." See also Labbé, tom. v. col. 1305.—Ed.]

year and time of Gregory, which was well nigh six hundred years after Christ. In the mean season this is sufficient to declare, how the church of Rome, with the form and manner of their title of universal supremacy now used and maintained, hath utterly swerved from the ancient steps of the primitive church of Rome. *Exordium.*

A sophistical cavillation upon the words of Pelagius and Gregory answered.

Now let us see what the adversary-side hath to object again for the title of their universality, or rather singularity. And first, here cometh in a blind cavillation of a certain sophister, who, glossing upon the words of Pelagius above recited, laboureth to colour the plain text with a subtle meaning, as though the sense of the canon were this, not to deny absolutely that any one may be universal bishop, but only to deny it after this sense and meaning, viz. that he should be the proper pastor of every church alone, so that there should be no other bishop beside himself."[1] Thus goeth this sophister about to dash out this text; but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did John the patriarch then seek any such thing as to be bishop and proper pastor of every church alone; nor, if he had, would the council of Constantinople and the emperor Mauritius[2] ever have agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, what this glosser saith, viz. that Pelagius does not here forbid the primacy or supremacy of that patriarch, which indeed is the only intent of Pelagius in that canon, witnessing as well other historiographers, as namely Antoninus,[3] and also the gloss ordinary upon the same canon.

An objection of a certain late English writer refuted.

Out of the same fountain springeth the like or very same reason, of late renewed by a certain new-start English clerk in these our days, who, answering to the places of Gregory touching the said matter, laboureth to avoid the clear authority of him by a like blind cavillation, saying that John, bishop of Constantinople, by this title of "universal bishop," understood himself only to be a bishop, and none else; and that Gregory in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to prove this to be the very meaning of Gregory, he reciteth the words of Gregory, written to the said John archbishop of Constantinople as followeth: "For thou (John bishop of Constantinople) who sometime didst grant thyself unworthy the name of a bishop, art now come to this, that thou dost seek to be called a bishop alone."[4] Upon this word "episcopus solus," this glosser would ground a surmise, that Gregory did find fault with the archbishop, not for any primacy which he sought for above other bishops, but only for that he coveted to be a bishop and pastor alone in every church, in such sort, as there should be no other bishop or pastor else, but himself only. But, as is said, that was never the archbishop's seeking, nor the matter of Gregory's reprehension. For the said archbishop of Constantinople went not about to be bishop alone (which was much too absurd, and also impossible), but to be universal alone: nor to take away the office from others, but the honour from others; not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith Gregory "despectis fratribus," not "depositis fratribus:"

A place of Gregory examined.

(1) "Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse universalem episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quod esset cujusque ecclesiæ proprius rector, ita quod nullus alius esset episcopus," etc.

(2) Foxe says by mistake, "the council of Calcedon and the emperor Justinian," with neither of which was John IV. contemporary.—Ed.

(3) Anton. Tit. 12, capitul. 3, § 13.

(4) "Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, ut episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quandoque perductus es, ut despectis fratribus episcopus appetas solus vocari." Labbé, tom. v. col. 1191.—Ed.

Exordium.

so that this word "solus" here noteth a despising of others, not a deposing of others, and importeth a singularity in condition above others, and not the office or substance of ministration without others; that is, to be universal among many, and not to be one alone without any; nor to diminish the number of them, but only to increase the honour to himself. For the more evident probation whereof (although the thing itself is so evident, that it needeth no proof), what can be more plain than the words themselves of Pelagius and Gregory? wherewith they charge him for running before his brethren, for challenging superiority above them, for diminishing their honour by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the angel of pride in exalting himself, in admitting that to him, which the bishops of Rome and their predecessors had refused, being offered to them before: all which words declare, that he sought not to thrust out all other bishops out of their churches, and to be bishop himself alone, for that was never offered to the bishops of Rome by the council of Chalcedon,[1] that they should be bishops alone, and none other: neither did Lucifer seek to have no more angels in all heaven but himself, but he to be above all other alone.

Likewise the word "præcurrere," that is, "to run before other," in the epistle of Pelagius,[2] declareth that John sought not to be bishop alone, but bishop universal. We say not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone and no man followeth him; that is not properly "præcurrere," but "solus currere." Moreover, in seeking to be superior to other bishops, he seeketh not to take away other bishops, but to make other bishops inferior to himself: for where no inferior is, there can be no superior, forsomuch as these together are correlatives, and infer necessary respect mutually. And if it were true, as this glosser saith, that he had sought to be bishop alone, how would that council either have granted that unto him, or have offered it to the bishop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serve all churches, without any fellow-bishop to help him? And whereas this aforesaid clerk standeth so much upon the words of St. Gregory "solus episcopus," Gregory therefore shall expound Gregory, and one "solus" shall declare another. Wherefore, if this divine (whatsoever he be, doctor or bachelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what "only bishop" meaneth in this place, another place of the said Gregory may instruct him;[3] where Gregory, writing to Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria, giveth this reason why he refused the same title offered to himself, which before was offered to the said John, patriarch of Constantinople, saying, "For if one alone would be called a "patriarch universal," then should the name of patriarchs be derogated from all others." Whereby two things are to be noted; first, what thing it was which the patriarch of Constantinople did seek, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was given to John, which was to be called "patriarch universal." The second thing to be noted is, the cause why Gregory did rebuke this title, both given to John, and offered to him: "Because," saith he, "if one take upon him the

(1) A.D. 451. See Labbé, tom. v. col. 1192.—Ed.
(2) Pelag. II. epist. 8. [apud Blondel examen. Epist. Decret. p. 639.]
(3) "Quia videlicet si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, sed absit hoc," etc. Ex Epist. Greg. 36. lib. iv. [The same Epistle as is quoted suprà p. 40.—Ed.]

name of universal patriarch, then is the name patriarch taken from the rest." As who would say, If I would take upon me to be named universal patriarch, then should there be no other patriarch, but I should be bishop patriarch alone. And here cometh in your "solus episcopus." *Exordium.*

Furthermore the same Gregory, speaking of the said *solus* in another place by, seemeth to declare there, what he meaneth by this "solus" here, in these words as follow: "So that he would be subject to none, and would alone be chieftain to all other."[1] And so by this place may the other place be expounded: "Ut solus episcopus sit is, qui solus inter episcopos præesse appetat:" that is, "Solus episcopus meaneth one, who alone seeketh to be extolled above other bishops." But to be short in a matter that needeth not many words, he that thus cavilleth upon this place, "solus episcopus," in Gregory, must be desired here not to take "solus" alone, but join withal the word going before, which is, "despectis fratribus." By the which might seem sufficiently declared what Gregory meant by "solus episcopus;" meaning, that to despise other bishops, and to diminish their honour, to set up his own, and to be subject to none, but to prefer himself unequally before all others, is as much as to be counted bishop alone. And thus much touching this objection.

Another objection of our adversaries is this: Although (say they) no bishop of Rome was ever called, or would be called by the name of "universal bishop," yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not, to be heads of the universal church. Their reason is this: Another objection resolved.

'As St. Peter had the charge of the whole church (by the testimony of Gregory) committed unto him, although he were not called universal apostle: so no more absurd it is for the pope to be called the head of the whole church, and to have the charge thereof, although he be not called universal bishop.'

Wherein is a double untruth to be noted; first,[2] in that they pretend Peter to be the head, and to have the charge, of the whole church. If we take here "charge or head" for dominion or mastership upon or above the church in all cases judiciary, both spiritual and temporal; to that I answer, The words of the Scripture be plain, "Not as masters over the clergy," etc.[3]; "But you not so," etc.[4] Again, that the church is greater, or rather the head of Peter, it is clear, "All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas; either the world, death, or life; you be Christ's, Christ is God's," etc.[5] In which words the dignity of the church no doubt is preferred above the apostles, and above Cephas also. Moreover, as the dignity of the wife is above the servant, so must needs the honour and worthiness of the church (being the spouse of Christ) surmount the state of Peter or other apostles, who be but servants to Christ and to the church; yea, and though they were princes of the church, yet, after the mind of Baldus, "Magis attenditur persona intellectualis, quam organica."[6] Otherwise, if by this word "charge" he meant only the office and diligence of teaching; to that I answer, The same Lord that said to

A double untruth in one popish argument. The first untruth.

The dignity of the church above the apostles. Proofs and reasons that there was no inequality of preeminence among the apostles.

(1) "Ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur." Ex Epist. Greg. 38, lib. iv.
(2) The second untruth is specified in p. 48 infrà.—Ed.
(3) "Non dominantes in clerum." 1 Pet. (4) "Vos autem non sic." Luke xxii.
(5) I Cor. iii. 22. (6) Vide Baldum, Consi. 169, lib. iii. secundum novam impressionem; et secundum veterem Consi. 359, lib. i.

Exordium. Peter, "Feed my sheep," said also to the others, "Go and preach this gospel to all nations." And he that said to Peter, "Whatsoever thou loosest," said also to the others, "Whatsoever ye remit in the earth." Moreover, if the matter go by preaching, Paul the apostle laboured more therein than ever did Peter, by his own confession, "plus laboravi;" also suffered more for the same, "plus sustinui;" neither was his doctrine less sound, yea, and in one point he went before Peter, and was teacher and schoolmaster unto Peter, whereas Peter was by him justly corrected.[1] Furthermore, teaching is not always, nor in all things, a point of mastership, but sometimes a point of service. As if a Frenchman should be put to an Englishman to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kind of faculty, yet, it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulness of power upon him, to appoint his diet, to rule his household, to prescribe his laws, to stint his lands, and such other. Wherefore, seeing in travail of teaching, in pains of preaching, in gifts of tongues, in largeness of commission, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receiving the Holy Ghost, in vehemency of torments, and death, for Christ's name, the other apostles were nothing inferior to Peter; why Peter then should claim any special prerogative above the rest, I understand no cause; as indeed *he* never claimed any, but the patrons of the apostolical see do claim it for him, which he never claimed himself, neither if he were here, would no less abhor it with soul and conscience than we do now; and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or any vantage to ourselves, but only the vehemency of truth, and zeal to Christ and to his congregation. Moreover, if these men would needs have Peter to be the curate and overseer of the whole universal church (which was too much for one man to take charge of), and to be prince of all other apostles, then would I fain learn of them, what meaneth "dextræ societatis," "the right hand of society," between Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, mentioned in the Galatians.[2] What taking of hands is there between subjects and their prince, in way of fellowship? or, where fellowship is, what mastership is there? Or again, what state of mastership is it likely that Christ would give to Peter, who, being indeed master of all, took such little mastership upon himself, that he washed Peter's feet, to give Peter ensample to take no mastership upon him, but rather to humble himself, and that not only in inward affection, but also in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that Peter, in divers places of the Gospel, hath his commendation, neither do I deny Peter to be worthy of the same. But yet these words of commendation give to him no state of superiority, or jurisdiction upon all others, to have all under his subjection. As if a schoolmaster should give more special charge to some one of his scholars for his riper towardness; yet this giveth him no fulness of authority, or power coactive upon the rest, unless by special admission he be deputed thereunto. Whereof nothing can be gathered of Peter; for if it be true that St. Augustine saith,[3] that such things as were spoken to Peter have no lightsome understanding except they be referred to the church, whereof Peter did bear a figure, then hath the person of Peter nothing to claim by these words, but all redoundeth to the church, which, being

Office of teaching giveth no dominion further than the book.

Peter in no point excelleth the rest of the apostles.

Dextræ societatis.

(1) Gal. ii. 11. (2) Gal. ii. 9. (3) Aug. in Præf. Psal. ciii.

meant by Peter, hath power by this reason, both over the person of Peter, and all other persons in the Lord. *Exordium.*

But here stumbleth in an argument of our adversary again, which he, in the margin of his book, calleth an invincible argument, drawn out of the bowels of St. John Chrysostome,[1] whereby he supposeth to have given a shrewd blow to protestants, and to have gotten Hector's victory upon a certain English prisoner taken in plain field, and of all such as take his part. The text only of Chrysostome he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an invincible argument in the margin. But, because he either wist not, or list not to shew his cunning therein, I will form that argument for him which he would have done, but did not: and so will form it (the Lord willing) as he himself must of necessity be driven to do, if the matter ever come to the trial of act, and not to the trifling of words. First, he taketh his text out of Chrysostome, as followeth:—"For what cause, I pray you, did Christ shed his blood? Truly to redeem those sheep, whose charge he committeth to Peter and to Peter's successors." Upon this place of Chrysostome, this clerk taketh his *medium*, Christ's suffering. His conclusion is, that all which Christ died for, were committed to Peter; wherefore the form of the argument must needs stand thus, in the third figure:—Christ suffered for all men: Christ suffered for them whom he committed to Peter. *Ergo*, all that Christ died for, were committed to Peter.

Answer to an invincible argument, proving by Chrysostome, the whole church to be committed to St. Peter.

A popish perilous paralogism.

If this be the form of his insoluble argument, as it seemeth to be by the order of his reasoning, and also must needs be, taking that *medium*, and making that conclusion as he doth (for else in the first figure and first mood, the text of Chrysostome will not serve him), then must the form and violence of this inexpugnable argument be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of logic, making his conclusion universal, which in that figure must needs be particular, either affirmative or negative. And so this "argument invincible" falleth into one of these two straits; either concluding thus, the form will not serve him, or concluding, in another figure, the words of Chrysostome will not answer to his purpose, to prove that all the world was committed to Peter. Which proposition, as it is strange in Scripture, so neither is it the proposition of Chrysostome. And though it were, yet both without inconvenience might be granted of us, and being granted, serveth his purpose nothing, so long as the proposition is not exceptive, excluding other apostles. For the words of Chrysostome do not so sound, that the whole world was committed to Peter only, and to none other. Likewise then, as it may be well affirmed of us, that the world was committed to Peter: so can it not be denied of them that the world was also committed to John, James, Bartholomew, Paul, Barnabas, and other all and singular apostles. For he that said to Peter, "Feed my sheep," said also to all and singular his apostles, "Go into all the world and preach," etc.[2] Moreover, forasmuch as this man collecteth out of Chrysostome, that the whole world was committed to Peter, how shall we then join this meaning of Chrysostome with St. Paul, which saith that the gospel was committed to Peter over the circumcision, as was Paul over the uncircum-

The world was committed as well to other apostles as to Peter.

A place of Chrysostome examined by St. Paul.

(1) Chrysost. lib. ii. "De Sacerd." [p. 454, tom. i. Edit. Paris, 1834.—Ed.]
(2) Matt. xxviii. 19.

Exordium. cision? And here an answer to this doughty argument, both to the form and to the matter thereof: albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be said more of Peter's successors in the text of

The successors of Peter. Chrysostome. By the which successors is not meant the bishop of Rome only (as the papists would bear us in hand), but all such true and faithful pastors, whom the Lord's calling sendeth, and setteth over his flock, wheresoever, or whatsoever they be. For as Peter

Augustine. beareth a representation of the church, by the testimony of Augustine,[1] so the successors of Peter be all faithful pastors and overseers of Christ's church, to whom Christ our Lord hath committed the charge of his flock. Wherefore they are not a little deceived, who, looking upon the rock only of the person and not the rock of confession (con-

Hilary. trary to the rule of Hilary,[2]) do tie the apostleship or rock of Peter to one only bishop, and the succession of Peter to one only see of Rome; whereas this being a spiritual office and not carnal, hath no such carnal race or descent, after any worldly or local understanding; but hath a more mystical meaning, after a spiritual sense of succession, such as Jerome speaketh of, "All," saith he, speaking of bishops, "be successors of the apostles," etc.[3]

Of like force and fashion, and out of the same figure, the same author patcheth, moreover, another argument; proving that the bishop of Rome was titled the head of Christ's church, in the primitive time

An argument of the papists. of the old ancestors, before the age of Gregory. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure: St. Peter was called by the ancient fathers, head of Christ's church: St. Peter was bishop of Rome: *ergo*, the bishop of Rome was called head of the church in the old ancient time.

Answer to the argument. This argument expository, being clouted up in the third figure, and concluding singularly, hath rather a show of an argument, than maketh any necessary conclusion; standing upon no mood in the said figure, if the author thereof were put to his trial. Albeit, to leave the form, and to come to the matter of the argument. First, how well will he dispatch himself of the major, and prove us that St. Peter, although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome, and suffered at Rome; yet that he was bishop and proper ordinary of that city and special see of Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias, Orosius, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, Optatus, Augustine,[4] brought forth for his most advantage, to prove his major: thus I answer concerning Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, that whereas they speak of St. Peter's chair, or planting the faith at Rome, straightway this man argueth thereupon, that Peter was bishop of Rome. But that doth not clerkly follow: for the office of the apostles was to plant the faith in all places, and in every region, yet were they not bishops in every region. And as for the chair, as it is no difference essential that maketh a bishop (forsomuch as a doctor may have a chair, and yet be no bishop), so cannot he conclude, by the chair of Peter, that St. Peter was bishop of Rome. For all this proveth no further but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the faith of Christ, as Paul did also; and peradventure in a

(1) In Johan. Tract. 124, Prefat. in Psal. cviii.
(2) De Trinitate, lib. vi. [Bas. 1550, pp. 102, 103.—Ed.]
(3) "Omnes apostolorum successores sunt," etc. Epist. ad Evagrium.
(4) Orosius; Tertul. lib. de Præscript. advers. Hæres.; Cypr. lib. i. epist. 3; Hier. in Catal. et epist. 42.

chair likewise; yet we say not that Paul was therefore bishop of Rome; but that he was there as an apostle of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his feet, or sitting in a chair. In the Scripture commonly the chair signifieth doctrine or judgment, as sitting also declareth such as teach or judge, whether they sit in the chair of Moses, or in the chair of pestilence. "Planting," likewise, is a word apostolical, and signifieth not only the office of a bishop. Wherefore it is no good consequent, he sat, he taught, he planted at Rome, his chair and seat was at Rome; *ergo*, he was bishop of Rome.—And thus much touching Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine. *Exordium.*

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and such others—although we should have much wrong offered, and never should make an end, if we should be prest with the authority of every one that could or did move pen, in all the whole first age of the church, to be our judges in every ecclesiastical matter; and much more wrong should have, if the authors either corrupted or counterfeited should be laid unto us, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherein they wrote;—yet, to help and to salve the authorities of these authors, so much as we may, I answer to their allegations with this distinction of a bishop, which is to be taken either generally, or specially. After the first, a bishop is he to whomsoever the public cure and charge of souls is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of bishop is coincident with the office of apostle, or any public pastor, doctor, or curate of the universal flock of Christ. And thus may Paul, Peter, or any other of the apostles be called bishops. So also is Christ himself by express word called ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ποίμην, that is, "bishop and pastor;"[1] and thus may Peter well be named a bishop of these foresaid authors after this manner of taking. But this public and general charge universally over the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the apostles. For then were bishops by places and provinces appointed, to have special oversight of some particular flock or province, and so to be resident and attendant only upon the same. A double taking of the word bishop. Christ himself a bishop.

The other diversity of this name "bishop," is to be taken after a more special sort; which is, when any person, orderly called, is assigned namely and specially to some one certain place, city, or province, whereunto he is only bound to employ his office and charge, and no where else; according to the old canons of the apostles, and of the council of Nice.[2] And this bishop, differing from the other, is called "Episcopus intitulatus," having his name of his city or diocese. And thus we deny that Peter the apostle was ever bishop elected, installed, or intituled to the city of Rome: neither doth Optatus, Abdias, Ado, or Jerome affirm the same. And if Ado say that Peter was bishop of Rome five and twenty years, until the last year of Nero, that is easily refuted both by the scriptures and histories: for so we understand by the declaration of St. Paul,[3] that, fourteen years after his conversion, St. Paul had Peter by the hand at Jerusalem. Peter's being at Rome.

Moreover, the said Paul in the aforesaid epistle witnesseth that the

(1) 1 Pet. ii. 25.
(2) Canon. Apo. 13. 14. 34; Con. Nicæ. can. 15; Con. Antioch. cap. 3. 13. Labbé, tom. i. cols. 28, 32; tom. ii. cols. 36, 564.—Ed.
(3) Gal. ii. 1.

Exordium. charge apostolical was committed unto Peter over the circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also St. Paul writing to the Romans, in his manifold salutations to them in Rome, maketh no mention there of St. Peter, who doubtless should not have been unremembered, if he had been then in Rome. Again, St. Peter, dating his epistle from Babylon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, histories do record that Peter was at Pontus five years, then at Antioch seven years. How could he then be five and twenty years at Rome? Finally, whereas our adversary, alleging out of Ado, saith, that St. Peter was there five and twenty years, until the last year of Nero, how can that stand, when St. Paul, suffering under Nero, was put to death the same day twelve months, that is, a whole year after Peter? But especially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Christ should make Peter an apostle universal to walk in all the world? "Ite per universum orbem." Item, "Eritis mihi testes usque ad fines terræ." And our papists would needs make him a sitting bishop, and intitle him to Rome. How accord these, "apostolus" and "episcopus," "ire" and "sedere," "omnes gentes" and "Roma" together?

And thus have I resolved the first untruth of that popish demonstration before rehearsed, wherein they think to prove that as Peter, although he was not called "universal apostle," yet was the head of the whole church: so the pope might have had, and hath had, after him, the charge of the whole church, although he was not called "universal bishop" in the old time.

The second untruth of the argument above mentioned.

Now followeth the second untruth[1] to be touched in the same argument; which is, that because Peter was the head of the church, so therefore the pope must also be the head of the church, and was; albeit he was not called "universal bishop" for a long time. But this we do deny, yea, the matter denieth itself by their own position; for, being granted by them, that the title of "universal bishop" was not received at Rome, but refused to the time of Gregory, then must it necessarily be granted, that the bishops of Rome, before St. Gregory, had not the charge of the whole church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the church: forsomuch as there can be no head, but that which is universal to the whole body, neither can any have charge of the whole, but he must needs be universal to all and singular parts of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in sciences, whosoever hath knowledge and cunning in all the seven liberal sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal knowledge, is said to be a universal learned man: so, in office, to whomsoever the public charge of all churches doth appertain, how is he not to be called "bishop universal?" Now if before St. Gregory's time the name of "universal bishop" was repealed in Rome, how then can the name be refused, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or else let our adversaries tell us how they define a universal bishop, seeing this word "bishop" is properly the name of office whereto is annexed charge. Wherefore, if a bishop be he which hath the charge of all souls in his diocese committed to him, and must render account for them all; then to him whose charge extendeth to all and singular churches, and must render account for

What is an "universal bishop."

(1) The first untruth was stated suprà p. 43.—Ed.

Exordium.

every christian soul within the whole world, the name of an universal bishop cannot be denied, having the office of an universal bishop. Or, if he be not an universal bishop, he cannot then have the charge of the whole, that is, of all and singular churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition: "cui convenit definitio, eidem convenit definitum." Et contra: "cui adimitur definitio, eidem et definitum adimitur."

Regula definitionis: cui convenit definitio, convenit et definitum.

Although this word "universal" in the Greek writers signifieth that which we in our vulgar English tongue call "catholic," yet I suppose our adversaries here will not take "universal" in that sense. For after that meaning, as we do not deny that the bishops of Rome may be universal bishops, so neither can they deny but other bishops may also be as universal, that is, as catholic as they. But such as more distinctly and school-like discuss this matter, define universal or catholic by three things; to wit, by time, place, and person; so that whatsoever extendeth itself to all times, all places, and all persons, that is properly universal or catholic. And contrariwise, what thing is to be called universal or catholic, reacheth to all those three aforesaid, comprehending all places, times, and persons, and extendeth itself of his own nature to the same; or else it is not to be called properly universal or catholic. And thus three things there are, which most commonly we call catholic or universal: that is, the church, which is called the catholic church: faith, which is called the catholic faith: a man, whom also we call a man catholic: because these three of their own nature and disposition (no contrary obstacle letting) extend themselves so to all, that no time, place, nor person is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concur in the charge of the bishop of Rome, then is it an universal charge, and he an universal bishop: if not, then neither is his charge universal, nor he the head of the church, nor yet universal bishop. For how these three can be separated, I cannot see, except the adversary-part do prove it more evidently than they have done.

Universal, defined by three things, time, place, and person.

Three things commonly called catholic or universal.

To have universal charge, to be head of the universal church, and to be universal bishop, are all coincident together.

And thus much to the objection of our adversaries; arguing thus, that as St. Peter being not called universal apostle, yet was the head of the universal church; so the pope, although he was not first called universal bishop, had, and might have the charge of the whole church, and was the universal head of the same. Which objection containing (as is said) a double untruth, our adversaries, yet notwithstanding, do busy themselves greatly to fortify by sundry testimonies and allegations, patched out of old and ancient doctors, but specially out of Theodoret, Irenæus, Ambrose and Augustine, proving by them, that the see of Rome, having the pre-eminence and principality, hath been honoured above all other churches; whereupon the said adversary, before minded, grounded this consequent.

Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret affirm, that the church of Rome is the chief of all other churches:[1]—*ergo*, the bishop and head of that church is chief and head over all bishops, and head over all other churches.

An argument of the papists.

But this consequent is to be denied, for that the excellency of

Answer.

(1) Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 3; Amb. de Vocatione Gentium, lib. ii. cap. 16; [This work is now ascribed to Prosper, and is printed in his name. Cave, Hist. Lit. A passage to our purpose is in Ambrose, Epistol. Classis I. Ep. xi. § 4. See also Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. iii. cap. 17.—Ed.] Aug. Epist. 162.

Exordium.

the church or place doth not always argue the excellency of the minister or bishop, nor yet necessarily doth cause the same. For, in matters of the church which are spiritual, all pre-eminence standeth upon spiritual and inward gifts: "spiritualia enim spiritualibus comparantur," as faith, piety, learning and godly knowledge, zeal and fervency in the Holy Ghost, unity of doctrine, etc.; which gifts many times may excel in a church, where the minister or bishop is inferior to bishops or ministers of other churches. As the most famous school in a realm hath not alway the most famous schoolmaster, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in learning above all others; so, if our adversaries do mean by this pre-eminence of the church of Rome such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, unity, and peace of religion, then, say I, the excellency hereof doth not infer or argue the excellency of the bishop. And thus concerning the principality of the church of Rome, commended at that time of the doctors, it may be true, and so well expounded one way. And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and deny the consequent. But here will our adversaries peradventure reply again, and say, that the principality of the church of Rome, which is commended by the doctors, is not meant here so much of inward gifts and endowments belonging to a christian church, as of outward authority and domination over other churches. Whereto is to be answered, first, What necessity is there, or where did our papists learn, to bring into the spiritual church of Christ this outward form of civil regiment and policy; that as the Roman emperors, in times past, governed over all the world, so the Roman bishop must have his monarchy upon the universal clergy, to make all other churches to stoop under his subjection? And where then be the words of our Saviour, "Vos autem non sic?" If they hold[1] their affirmative "quod sic," where then is Christ's negative "non sic?" If they say, there must needs be distinction of degrees in the church, and in this distinction of degrees superiority must necessarily be granted for the outward discipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of schisms, for setting orders, for commencing of convocations and councils, as need shall require, etc.; against this superiority we stand not, and therefore we yield to our superior powers, kings and princes, our due obedience, and to our lawful governors under God of both regiments, ecclesiastical and temporal. Also in the ecclesiastical state, we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed or by the primitive church allowed, as patriarchs or archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons; for of these four we specially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person. For as we give to the minister place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop: so we see no cause of inequality, why one minister should be above another minister; one bishop in his degree above another bishop to deal in his diocese; or one archbishop above another archbishop. And this is to keep an order duly and truly in the church, according to the

Pre-eminence of a church esteemed after a double consideration.

Objection.

The first answer to the objection. Outward pre-eminence belongeth unto outward kingdoms, not to the church of Christ.

Superiority.

Distinction of degrees.

Diversity of dignities in degrees.

Order kept in the church.

(1) "Non sic," saith Christ: "Quod sic," saith the pope.

Exordium.

true nature and definition of order by the authority of Augustine, where he thus defineth that which we call order: "Order," saith he, "is a disposition or arrangement of all things, according as they are matches or not matches, giving to every one respectively his own right and proper place."[1]

Order defined.

This definition of St. Augustine standing with the things before premised, now here joineth the question between us and the papists; whether the metropolitan church of Rome, with the archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other metropolitan churches and archbishops through universal christendom, or not? To the answer whereof, if the voice of order might here be heard, it would say, "Give to things that be matches and alike, like honour; to things unlike, unlike honour." Wherefore, seeing the see of Rome is a patriarchal see appointed by the primitive church, and the bishop or archbishop thereof limited within his own bordering churches (which the council of Nice calleth "suburbicarias ecclesias,"[2]) as other archbishops be; he ought therefore orderly to have the honour of an archbishop (ordering himself thereafter), and such outward pre-eminence as to other archbishops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into presumption, and doeth wrong unto his fellows: and they also do wrong unto themselves, whosoever they be, who, feeding his humour of ambition, give more unto him than the aforesaid rule of order doth require. For, so much as they yield to him more than is his right, so much they take from themselves which is due to them. And the same is the cause, why Gregory reprehendeth them, who gave to the archbishop of Constantinople that which now the bishop of Rome claimeth to himself, charging them with the breach of order in these words: "Lest that while any singular thing is given to one person, all other priests be deprived of their due honour."[3] And for the like cause, Pelagius his predecessor exhorteth that no priest do give to any one archbishop the name of "universal bishop," "lest," saith he, "in so doing, he take from himself his due honour, while he yieldeth to another that which is not his due."[4] And also in the same epistle, "for," saith he, "if he be called the chief universal patriarch, then is the name of patriarch derogated from others," etc.[5] Wherefore, as is said, seeing the bishop of Rome is an archbishop, as others be, order giveth that he should have the dignity which to archbishops is due; whatsoever is added more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honour.

The second answer to the objection before moved.

The second reason and answer to the objection before moved is this: That being granted to the papists, that the doctors aforesaid (speaking of the principality of the church of Rome) do mean not only of the inward virtues of that church, but also of the outward

(1) "Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio." [Lib. xix. "De Civit. Dei," cap. 13.—Ed.]

(2) See Ruffinus' Version of the Nicene Canons, given in note on p. 31 in the Appendix; also Beveregii, Annotat. p. 51, tom. ii. "Pandectæ canonum." Oxon, 1672.—Ed.

(3) "Ne dum privatim aliquod daretur uni, honore debito sacerdotes privarentur universi." Ex Registro Greg. lib. iv. epist. 32. [See suprà, p. 39.—Ed.]

(4) "Ne sibi debitum subtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert indebitum." Ex Epist. 8. Pelagii II. dist. 99. cap. "Nullus."

(5) "Quia si summus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur." Ibid.

Exordium.

authority and jurisdiction of the same, above other churches: yet the cause wherefore they did attribute so much to that church, is to be considered; which was this, as before was alleged out of the council of Chalcedon, "for the rule and empery which that city of Rome had then above other cities;"[1] which cause, being outward and carnal, was neither then cause sufficient, and, now ceasing, importeth not to us the like effect, according as they say, "Sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus." So that by the reason thereof, the aforesaid principality of the church of Rome did not hold them "jure divino, sed humano." And as it holdeth by man's law, so by man's law it may be repealed again.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the pope sitteth and succeedeth in the chair of Peter, and also that he is the bishop of the greatest city in the world; yet it followeth not thereby that he should have rule and lordship over all other bishops and churches of the world. For First,[2] touching the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered: First, Whether Peter sat and had his chair in Rome, or not. Secondly, Whether he sat there as an apostle, or as a bishop. Thirdly, Whether the sitting in the outward seat of Peter maketh successors of Peter. Fourthly, Whether he sitteth in the chair and seat of Peter, which sitteth not in the doctrine of Peter. Fifthly, Whether the succession of Peter maketh not rather an apostle than a bishop, and so should we call the pope the "apostle" of Rome, and not the "bishop" of Rome. Sixthly, Whether ecclesiastical functions ought to be esteemed by ordinary succession of place, or by God's secret calling and sending. Seventhly and lastly, Whether it stand by scripture, any one succession at all to be appointed in Christ's church, or why more from Peter, than from other apostles.

Certain demands for the papists to answer unto.

All which interrogatories being well discussed (which would require a long process), it should well appear what little hold the pope hath to take this state upon him, above all other churches, as he doth. In the mean time, this one argument by the way may suffice, instead of many, for our adversaries to answer to at their convenient leisure. Which argument thus I form and frame in *Camestres*.[3]

An argument proving the popes of this latter church of Rome not to be successors of Peter.

Ca- All the true successors of Peter sit in the chair of the doctrine of Peter, and other apostles uniformly:

me- No popes of this latter church of Rome sit in the chair of St. Peter's and other apostles' doctrine uniformly:

stres. *Ergo*, No popes of this latter church of Rome be the true successors of Peter.

And when they have well perused the minor of this argument, and have well conferred together the doctrine taught them of St. Peter with the doctrine taught now by the popes, of justification of a christian man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largeness of sin, of men's merits, of free-will, of works of supererogation, of setting up images, of seven sacraments, of auricular confession, of satisfaction, of sacrifice of the mass, of communicating under one kind, of elevating

(1) Διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην. Ex Concil. Chalced. cap. 28. [Labbé, Conc. Gen. tom. iv. col. 769.—Ed.]
(2) This "First" answers to "Secondly" in next page.—Ed.
(3) See note page 8 of this volume.—Ed.

and adoring the sacramental elements, of Latin service, of invocation, of prohibition of meats and marriage, of vowing chastity, of sects and rules of divers religions, of indulgences and pardons; also with their doctrine taught now of magistrates, of the fulness of power and regality of the see of Rome, with many others like to these;—then will I be glad to hear what they shall say to the premises. *Exordium.*

Secondly,[1] if they would prove by the allegation of the doctors, Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoret aforesaid, the bishop of Rome to be the chief of all bishops therefore, because the city whereof he is bishop is the chief and principal above all other cities, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking, as I said, the principality of that church to stand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, that is, upon the principal dominion of that city), no more than this consequent followeth

London is the chief city in all England: *ergo*, the bishop of London is the chiefest of all bishops in this realm: which argument were derogatory to the archbishops both of Canterbury and York.

Yea, to grant yet more to our adversaries (which is all they can require) viz. that the aforesaid doctors, as Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret, in giving principality unto Rome, meant to have respect unto the virtue of succession from Peter, and not unto the greatness of the city: yet notwithstanding, for all this, their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered; to say,

A false consequent of the papists.

The apostolic see of Rome, having succession from Peter, with the bishops thereof, was chief then of all other churches in the primitive time of these doctors: *ergo*, the apostolical see of Rome, with the bishops thereof, having succession from Peter, ought now to be chief of all other churches in these our days.

Answer to the consequent.

This consequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if succession, which gave then the cause of principality, were the same now, as it was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession, in the time of these doctors, was as well in doctrine apostolical, as in place apostolical. Now, the succession of doctrine apostolical hath long ceased in the see apostolical: and nothing remaineth but only place, which is the least matter of true spiritual and apostolical succession. And thus much to the authority and testimony of these forenamed doctors.

Succession apostolical double-wise to be considered.

Besides these objections heretofore recited out of Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret; our adversaries yet object and heap up against us, moreover, examples of the primitive time of the church, testimonies of general councils, and opinions of ancient writers taken out of the book of councils and epistles decretal, whereby their intent is to prove the foresaid terms of "the head of the church," "ruler of the church," "chief of all other priests," to be applied not only to Peter, but also to the bishop of Rome within the compass of the primitive time. And here cometh in the testimony cited of Vincentius of Lerins; of the epistle of Paschasius and his fellows, writing to Leo from the council of Chalcedon; the testimony also of Justinian the emperor in his Codex, where John, then pope, is called "caput omnium ecclesiarum."[2] The testimony also of Athanasius, with his

Testimonies alleged for the principality of the pope.

(1) See note (2) last page.—Ed.

(2) Codex Justin. lib. i. tit. i. "De summâ trinitate et fide cath." [Corpus Juris Civilis, Par. 1628. tom. ii. col. 12; Labbé, Conc. Gen. tom. iv. col. 1743, 1745. This letter appears to be forged.—Ed.]

Exordium.

fellow-bishops of Egypt, of Thebais, and Lybia, in their epistles to popes Marcus, Liberius, and Felix. Likewise the testimony of Jerome,[1] of St. Ambrose,[2] of St. Augustine to Boniface,[3] of Theodoret, in his epistle to pope Leo,[4] and of Chrysostome.[5] By which testimonies our adversaries would prove St. Peter, and after him the bishop of Rome, to be called and taken for head of the church, chief bishop, prince and ruler of the whole clergy.[6] To all which objections fully and exactly to answer in order, would require a whole volume by itself. In the mean time, leaving the rest unto them unto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this one short distinction I answer these and all other such-like places, where St. Peter with his successors is called head of the church, chief of bishops, prince of the apostles, etc. In which places, the words "head," "chief," and "prince of the apostles," may be taken two manner of ways; to note either dominion or else commendation. For so we read sometimes "caput" and "princeps" to be words not of authority, but of excellency, whereby is declared the chiefest and worthiest part among many parts, and not possessor and governor of the whole. Like as, in the person of man, the head is the principal part of the whole body, being endued with reason, and furnished with most excellent senses, by the which the whole body of man is directed: so, thereof is derived by a metaphor, to what man or thing soever nature or condition hath given the greatest excellency of gifts and properties above other parts or members of the same society, that the same should be called "caput" or "princeps," head or prince, of the said parties. And yet the same head or prince, so called, hath not always dominion or jurisdiction of the rest. So we call those, in our vulgar speech, the head or chief men of the parish, who, for their riches, wisdom, or place, are most specially noted; after like phrase of speech we call him the head man of the inquest, that hath first place: and yet neither they, nor these, have any dominion or jurisdiction upon the residue. In a school, the chiefest scholar in learning is not therefore the master or governor of his fellows. Neither hath Marcus Cicero any title thereby to claim subjection and service of all other orators, because he is named "princeps eloquentiæ," and goeth before them in that kind of phrase. The same Cicero[7] calleth Cratippus, "principem hujus ætatis philosophorum:" as Homer may

Answer by a distinction.

"Caput" and "princeps" have a double understanding.

How Peter is "princeps apostolorum."

"Princeps eloquentiæ" Cicero.

"Princeps philosophorum" Cratippus.

(1) In Præf. in 4. Evang. Item Ep. 42. tom. i. Item Ep. 41. tom. ii.
(2) Epist. 66, tom. iii. fol. 209. Edit. Paris, 1529.—Ed.
(3) Ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 1. Item lib. ii. De Bapt. cap. 1.
(4) Epist. commentar. in Pauli Ep. præfixa.
(5) Epist. ad Innocentium, tom. x.
(6) "*Princeps* Latinis est idem ac primus; qua de re mox. Apud interpretes Græcorum patrum observavi hanc vocem persæpe esse positam pro Græca ἀρχηγὸς; quæ ductorem ordinis designat, non monarcham: sic quod dixerat de Petro Hieronymus in Catalogo, *princeps apostolorum*, recte versum est a Sophronio, ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων: vel pro κορυφαῖος, id est, *præsultor in choro*: vel alia simili, quæ dominationis nullam significationem continet: quam hodie in voce *Princeps* inesse volunt ex homonymia ejus vocis mox explicanda. Meminerit igitur lector, cum apud Græcorum patrum interpretes, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Eusebii, Hippolyti, aliorum, occurrit ea dictio Petro attributa, in Græco textu ejusmodi nomen extare, quod sine ulla ambiguitate primum in ordine significet, non eum qui cæteris dominetur. Exemplum unum afferam insigne. Eusebius Hist. lib. 2. cap. 14. Petrum appellat τὸν τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προήγορον, ad verbum, *reliquorum omnium prolocutorem*. Ruffinus hæc verba sic vertit: *primorum principem Petrum*; ineptissime, unde enim illud *primorum?* in Græco nihil ejusmodi: deinde προήγορος non est *princeps*; quod verbi apud Ruffinum si accipias pro dominatore, falsissimam Eusebio sententiam affinges: si pro primo, mentem illius ex altera tantum parte expresseris: nam προήγορος non est primus simpliciter; sed *primus locutor*; itaque absurdissima est Ruffini versio: nec multo melior aut fidelior *Christophorsoniana, reliquorum omnium apostolorum facile principem.*" Casaubon, "Exerc. xv. ad Annal. Eccles. Baronii," p. 268. edit. Francof. 1615.—Ed.
(7) Lib. i. Offic. [Rather "Principe hujus memoriæ philosophorum:" De Officiis, lib. iii. cap. 2. See also "De Naturâ Deorum;" lib. ii. § 66. "Socrates princeps philosophorum."—Ed.]

be also called "poetarum princeps:" and yet neither philosophers to Cratippus, nor poets to Homer, owe any thing else, but only fame and praise. *Exordium.*

And what if St. Peter, the blessed apostle, be called and counted by the old ancient doctors "Coryphæus apostolorum," which is, head and prince of the apostles, for his excellent faith, for his divine confession, and singular affection to the Lord Jesus; yet what interest or charge either hath he to challenge over the apostles, or the pope after him over all other bishops and the whole church of Christ, although the pope have the like excellency of Christ's faith which Peter had; as would God he had! As concerning these allegations therefore out of the doctors, two things are to be observed: first, that neither these names and titles, though they be given to Peter, do give him any state or dominion over other apostles; nor yet the succession of him doth further, any whit, this celsitude and regality of the pope to advance him above his fellow archbishops, as now he doth. Petrus 'princeps et Coryphæus apostolorum."

And (speaking of the writers and councils of the primitive age) if our adversaries would needs provoke us to the numbering of testimonies and dividing the house, for these aforesaid testimonies alleged on their side I could, on the contrary part, recite out of the witness of doctors, out of the examples of councils, and practices of emperors, no less than sixty voices, much more repugnant against their assertion, than there is for the pope. The tractation whereof for this present I do either refer to them that have more leisure at this time to discourse them, or else defer to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be to grant me further leisure in another book to treat thereof at large; in such order, as (if the Lord so grant) shall appear sufficient matter, to prove by the doctors, general councils, examples and histories of time, that the bishops of Rome, during the first five hundred years after Christ, although for the greatness of the empire they were somewhat more magnified than the others, and therefore were sought of many, and were flattered of some, and they themselves divers times did set forth themselves more than they should, yet, by the common consent of churches, were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consent of the most part, within the compass of that age, the bishops of Rome had not this regal state of title, jurisdiction, and fulness of power, which now they usurp, but were taken as archbishops of equal honour, of equal merit, with other archbishops and rulers of the church. And if any preferment was given unto them something above the rest, yet neither was it so given of all, nor of the most part: secondly, neither was it so given of them for any such necessity of God's word, "aut jure aliquo divino," as which did so bind them thereunto; nor yet so much for the respect of Peter, and his succession, as for certain other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteen.[1]

1. Of which, the first is the greatness of the city and monarchy of Rome. Thirteen causes of advancing of the see of Rome.

2. The second is the authority of the emperor Constantine the Great, the first of the emperors converted to the faith, and ruling in the same city; by whom the universal liberty of the church was first

(1) Taken apparently from Illyricus, "Cat. Test." Goul. col. 271, whence Foxe's text has been in several places improved.—Ed.

Exordium.

promoted; and by whom the causes of bishops, who might be at variance, were sometimes (as a matter of indulgence) committed to the bishop of Rome, and to other bishops near at hand, to be decided; as appeareth in Eusebius.[1]

3. The third was the council of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that church to have the oversight of the churches bordering about it.[2]

4. The fourth cause of advancing the church of Rome, was the unquiet state of the eastern church, much troubled in those days with sects, factions, and dissensions, whereof we may read in Socrates and Sozomen.[3]

5. The bishops of Rome being wont to be summoned, like other metropolitans, to attend synods, then, if it chanced them to be absent, and their sentence nevertheless to be required, by the occasion thereof they began at length to take it for a canon or rule ecclesiastical that their sentence *must* be required, and thereupon to disallow those acts of synods, whereto their sentence was not required.

6. Another cause was, that when any matter affecting the common interests of the church was in hand at any particular place, whatsoever was done, commonly the manner was to write to the Roman bishop for his approbation in the same, for public unity and consent to be had in Christ's church, as appeareth by Ambrose.[4]

7. Item, for that the testimonial sometimes of the Roman bishop was wont in those days also to be desired for admitting teachers and bishops in other churches, whereof we have example in Socrates.[5]

8. Moreover, this was a great setting-up of that church, when their sentence not only was required, but also received divers times of other bishops.[6] And when bishops of other provinces were at any dissension among themselves, they of their own accord appealed to the bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite up both parties, and to have the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Macarius and Hesychius send to Julius then bishop of Rome.[7]

9. Item, in that certain of the Arians, returning from their Arianism, offered up and exhibited unto the bishops of Rome their recantations, and were thereupon of them received again, as Ursacius and Valens did to Julius.[8]

10. The tenth cause was also, for that Gratian the emperor made a law, that all men should retain that religion which Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria did hold.[9]

11. And also, if the bishop of Rome happened to disallow the appointment of any minister or ministers, the popes, perceiving how diligent and ready such were to seek their favour, and to send up their messengers to Rome for their purgation, took thereby no little means of exaltation.[10]

12. Besides these aforesaid, the bishops of Rome had also another artificial practice, that in sending out their letters abroad, as they did so many, in all their epistles (if the epistles be theirs, and not forged)[11]

(1) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5. (2) See note in Appendix on p. 31.—Ed.
(3) Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 15; Sozom. lib. iii. cap. 8.
(4) Lib. x. Epist. 78. Ambros. ad Theophilum. (5) Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 37.
(6) Sozom. lib. vi. cap. 22. (7) Athanas. Apol. 2. (8) Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 24.
(9) Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 4. (10) Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 23.
(11) If any one cares to examine into this well-grounded suspicion of these letters being "forged," he may consult Blondel's "Examen Epist. Decretal." pp. 430—433, etc.—Ed.

ever they were harping of the greatness of their name, and of their apostolic see, and of the primacy of St. Peter, their predecessor and prince of all the apostles, etc. And this they used in every letter whensoever they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretal, namely, in the letters of Melchiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, etc. *Exordium.*

13. Again, if any of the eastern church directed any writing to them, wherein any signification was contained of ever so little reverence given unto them (as learned men commonly use for modesty's sake), that was taken by and by and construed for plain subjection and due obedience, as declareth the letter of Damasus, written to the bishops of the eastern church beginning thus: "Quod debitam reverentiam," etc. In English thus: "Whereas your charity yieldeth due reverence to the apostolical see, you in so doing, dear children, do much for yourselves," etc.[1] Whereas the bishops of the eastern church, notwithstanding, had shewed little or no reverence in their epistle to pope Damasus before.

Thus have ye the first and original grounds, by the means whereof, the archbishops of the Romish see have achieved this their great kingdom and celsitude over Christ's church, first beginning the mystery of their iniquity by that which was modestly and voluntarily given them; afterward, by use and custom, claiming it ambitiously unto them of duty and service; and lastly, holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possession, so that now in no case they can abide the birds to call home their feathers again, which they so long have usurped.

And thus much concerning the life, jurisdiction, and title of the Roman bishops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the church of Rome. To these I might also join the manner of government, wherein the said Romish bishops have no less altered, both from the rule of scripture, and from the steps of the true church of Rome; which government as it hath been, and ought to be, only spiritual, so hath the bishop of Rome used it of late years no otherwise than an earthly king or prince governeth his realm and dominions—with riches, glory, power, terror, outward strength, force, prison, death, execution, laws, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, revenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offences against God committed, using and abusing in all these things the word of God for his pretext and cloak to work his worldly purpose withal: whereas indeed, the word of God ministereth no such power to spiritual persons, but such as is spiritual: according to the saying of the apostle, "The armour and artillery," saith St. Paul, "of our warfare, are not carnal, but spiritual: such as serve not against flesh and blood, nor against the weak person of man; but against Satan, against the gates of hell, and the profundities of the wicked power."[2] Which armour as it is all spiritual, so ought they which have the dealing thereof to be likewise spiritual, well furnished with all such gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, as are meet for the governance of his spiritual church: as, with wisdom and knowledge in the scripture to instruct the ignorant; with inward intelligence and foresight of the crafty cogitations and opera-

This latter church of Rome differing from the first church of Rome in form of government.

How the church of Christ ought to be governed.

(1) Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 9, 10.
(2) "Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia," etc. 2 Cor. x. 4; Eph. vi. 12.

Exordium.

tions of Satan, and with power of the Spirit to resist the same; with practice and experience of temptations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of Satan; with heavenly discretion to discern spirits, and truth from untruth; with judgment and knowledge of tongues, and learning to convict error; with zeal of God's glory; with fervency of prayer; with patience in persecution; with a mind contented with all cases and states incident; with tears and compassion on other men's griefs; with stoutness and courage against proud and stout oppressors; with humility toward the poor and miserable; with the counsel of the Lord Jesus by his word and Spirit to direct him in all things to be done; with strength against sin; with hatred of this world; with gift of faith; power of the keys in spiritual causes—as to minister the word, the sacraments, and excommunication when the word biddeth, that the spirit may be saved, and to reconcile again as case requireth, etc. These and such like are the matters wherein consist the sinews and strength of the church, and for true governance of the same. But, contrary to these aforesaid, both the bishop and clergy of this latter church of Rome proceed in their administration and governance as those who, under the name and pretence of Christ and his word, have exercised of long time nothing else but a worldly dominion, seeking indeed their own glory, not the glory of Christ; riches of the world, not the lucre of souls; not feeding of the flock, but filling the purse; revenging their own wrongs, but neglecting God's glory; striving against man only, and killing him, but not killing the vice, nor confuting the error of man; strong against flesh and blood, but weak against the devil; stout against the simple, but meek against the mighty: briefly, doing almost all things preposterously, more like to secular princes, than spiritual pastors of Christ's flock, with outward enforcement, and fear of punishment, with prisoning, famishing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, slaying, murdering and burning, and warring also: on the other side, with their riches and treasures; with their guard and guardiance; with strength of men; with court and cardinals;[1] with pomp and pride about them; with their triple crown; with the naked sword; with their ordinary succession; with their laws and executions; their promotions and preferments; their biddings and commandings; threatenings and revengings, etc.

Preposterous government of the church by the pope.

Comparison between the kingdom of this world, and the kingdom of the pope.

In fine, to compare therefore the image of a worldly kingdom, with this kingdom of the pope, there is no difference, save only that this kingdom of the pope, under hypocrisy, maketh a face of the spiritual sword, which is the word of God; but, in very deed, doeth all things with the temporal sword; that is, with outward forcement and coaction, differing nothing from civil and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For, as in an earthly kingdom, first there is a prince or some chief magistrate

(1) The majesty, which attached to this rank formerly, is thus spoken of by an Italian writer, and we quote it the more readily, as the existence of such pretensions and ideas is not, we imagine, much known in England; nor, we may add, much believed:—"Tanta est hujus dignitatis majestas, ut non cardinalis solum, velut sacrosanctus, *absque sacrilegii culpâ, tangi non possit*, verum nec ille, qui ad capitale supplicium ducitur, si cardinali obviam factus, ejusque pileum aut vestem attigerit, (teste Baldo, quem alii, Barbatio et Albano testibus, communiter sequuntur) occidi nequeat."—Anast. Germonii de Sacrorum Immunitatibus; lib. iii. cap. 6. de Cardinalibus in Oper. Romæ, 1623. Nor were the privileges of the vestal virgins less in *Pagan* Rome; nay, a greater benefit was apparently derived by a criminal in meeting a vestal virgin, than in the other case of a cardinal: Ῥαβδουχοῦνται δὲ προϊοῦσαι (αἱ παρθένοι), κἂν ἀγομένῳ τινὶ πρὸς θάνατον αὐτομάτως συντύχωσιν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται.—"Plutarch. Vit. Numæ," § 10.—Ed.

appointed, having dominion over his nobles and commons, containing all his subjects under his statutes and laws (with the which laws notwithstanding he dispenseth at his pleasure), under whom all other inferior magistrates have their order and place to them appointed to rule over the subjects, and yet to be subject under him: so, if the state and form of the pope be well considered, we shall see it altereth nothing from the same, but only in the names of the persons. In civil government, all subjection is referred to one head ruler, whose authority surmounteth all the rest, and keepeth them under obedience: in like manner the government of the popish church is committed to one man, who, as chief steward, overseer, and ruler of Christ's household in his absence, hath supreme power over all churches, to moderate and direct all the affairs thereof. But here standeth the difference; in civil policy he is called a king or prince; here he is called a pope. *Exordium.*

The king hath next unto him his dukes and earls; the pope's nobility standeth in his cardinals and legates, who, though they be no dukes in name, yet in pomp and pride, will not only give check to them, but also mate to kings themselves, if they might be suffered, as did Theodore, Lanfranc, Anselm, and Thomas Becket; and so would Thomas Wolsey have done, had not the king given him a check to his mate betime. In civil policy, next to dukes and earls, followeth the order of lords, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, with mayors, sheriffs, constables, bailiffs, wardens, etc. The like race is to be seen also, although under other names, in the pope's policy: of primates, bishops, suffragans, provosts, deans, canons, vicars, archdeacons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, door-keepers, singsters, with other clerks. And as, in the other, under wardens cometh the order of scavengers, so neither doth the pope's monarchy lack his channel-rakers, to whom may well be compared the rabblement of abbots, provincials, priors, monks, friars, with their convents, and nunneries. Secular nobility compared with ecclesiastical nobility. Civil magistrates with ecclesiastical.

Moreover, from justices, judges, lawyers, sergeants, attorneys, which be necessary officers in the commonwealth, what differ the pope's inquisitors, canonists, doctors, and bachelors of the pope's law, commissaries, officials, proctors, promoters, with such others, which serve no less in the spiritual court and in the consistory, than the other aforesaid do in the temporal court or in the Guildhall? Now, whoso listeth to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other; also the power and strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other, and so the riches of the one, with the riches of the other, I suppose he shall see no great odds between them both, taking the pope's kingdom, as it hath stood in his full ruff, and yet doth stand where churches are not reformed. As for subtlety and politic practice, there is no man, that is indifferent, that doubteth, or that hath his eyes, that seeth not, that the pope's hierarchy in holding up their state, far excelleth all the empires and kingdoms of worldly princes, of whom all others may take example to learn. Officers of the temporal court with officers of the spiritual court. Glory and power compared. Riches. Subtlety.

Thus, in comparing the pope's regiment with civil governance, as they do little or nothing disagree, so, in comparing again the same with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old

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ancient church of Rome, we shall see no resemblance between them. As we read in the apostles' time, all the armour of Christ's ministers was spiritual, and full of godly power against the spiritual enemies of our salvation, governing the church then with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the sword of the spirit, the shield of faith, the breast-plate of righteousness, hearty charity, sincere faith, and a good conscience:[1] so, after the apostles, in the time of Ambrose, by his own testimony it is to be understood, that the armour of churchmen was then "preces et lachrymæ," prayers and tears; whereas now the armour of the pope's priesthood is nothing else but "ignis et ferrum," fire and sword, wherewith they keep all things under their subjection. And here cometh in the enormous and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, and interdiction, in cases frivolous or worldly; and for such things as for which the civil magistrate will not commit any citizens to the stocks, the pope's censure will not stick to commit a christian to the devil: not to speak of their other usurped dealings and doings in matters that belong to the civil sword, and which be to them impertinent; as, in punishing whoredom and adultery; in administration and probates of testaments; in bearing civil office, as, popes to be senators of Rome, and emperors also *sede vacante;* cardinals to be captains in war, and rulers of regions; bishops to be presidents or chancellors; priests to be stewards in great men's houses, or masters of mints, or clerks of the market, or gardeners to gentlemen, etc.: all which here I overpass, referring them to the deeper consideration of such as have more leisure to mark the order of their doings, and so to judge of the same with indifferency, according to the rule of truth taught in God's word, and public examples of the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time.

Difference between the pope's regiment, and the order of the primitive church.

The armour proper to churchmen.

Horrible abuse of excommunication in the pope's church.

His governing in matters to him not pertaining.

Thus, having discoursed sufficiently so much as concerneth the manner of life, title, jurisdiction, and government of the pope's see (in all which points it is to be seen how this latter church of Rome hath receded from the true ancient church of Rome), it now remaineth, according to my promise, and order prefixed, consequently to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of Doctrine: wherein consisteth the chiefest matter that maketh with us, and against them; in such sort as (their doctrine standing as it doth) neither are they to be reputed for true catholics, being altered so far from them; nor we otherwise than heretics, if we should now join with these. For the more trial whereof, let us examine the doctrine and rites of the said church of Rome, now used, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient catholics; to the intent that such simple souls as have been hitherto, and yet are, seduced by the false vizard and image of this pretensed and bastardly church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eschew the peril, if they list to be instructed, or, if not, to blame none but themselves for their own wilful destruction. And albeit I could here charge this new-fangled church of the pope with seven or eight heinous crimes, as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty and contrariety (in which it neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-

Corrupt doctrine of the pope's church.

False image of the pope's church.

(1) 2 Cor. x. 4; Ephes. vi. 14; 1 Tim. i. 19

elders, nor yet with themselves in sundry points), yet, after a more temperate sort to pass this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this doctrine of the pope now taught in the church of Rome, there is neither any consolation of conscience, nor salvation of man's soul. For, seeing there is no life, nor soul's health, but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but only by faith in the Son of God; what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life, or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least, are most esteemed? For, to say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the pope's law now set forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heap of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one jot to the justification of our souls before the terrible judgment of God. And therefore, as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the pope is void of all true comfort and salvation, so likewise it seemeth that these, who addict themselves so devoutly to the pope's learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart, never entered into any serious feeling of God's judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should soon have seen their own weakness, and have been driven to Christ; then should they have seen what a horrible thing it is, to appear before God the Father, or once to think on him (as Luther saith) without Christ. And, on the contrary side, then should they know what a glory, what a kingdom, what liberty and life it were, to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bond son of Hagar, but with the free son of Sarah; by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving: that God only might be praised, and not man.

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No comfort nor salvation in the pope's doctrine now taught.

The scope and sum of it, whither it tendeth.

Papists never afflicted deeply in conscience.

A horrible thing, to think of God without Christ.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by St. Paul writing to the Romans. The same did Cornelius the Roman, who was the first that was baptized of all the Gentiles, learn of St. Peter when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached: and in the same doctrine the said church of the Romans many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine the bishop of Rome, with his Romans, now also should still remain, if they were such ancient catholics as they pretend, and would follow the old mother church of Rome, and hold the first liquor wherewith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdour and scent of that liquor and pleasant must[1] is now clean put out through other unsavoury infusions of the pope's thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor piece remaineth of all that primitive doctrine, which St. Paul and other apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvel if the Romans now, in so long tract of time, have lost their first sap, seeing the church of the Galatians then, in the very time of St. Paul their schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had not so soon turned his back a little; but they were all turned almost from the doctrine of faith, and had much ado to be recovered again.

The right faith of the old Romans.

Cornelius, a Roman, first baptized of all the Gentiles.

The church of Rome hath lost the liquor wherewith it was first seasoned.

The Galatians almost gone from the faith, in Paul's time.

Of this defection and falling from faith, St. Paul expressly fore-

(1) "Must," sweet wine, fresh from the grapes. Perhaps it is in reference to the idea of freshness, that Foxe uses the term "verdour," which otherwise might be thought a slip for "odour."—Ed.

Exordium. telleth us in his letters both to the Thessalonians, and also to Timothy, where he showeth, that a defection shall come, and that certain shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error.[1] And to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth us to understand in the same place; where the said apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eat meats, ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiving, for man's sustenance; most evidently, as with his finger, pointing out unto us the church of Rome, which, not in these points only, but also in all other conditions almost, is utterly revolted from the pure original sincerity of that doctrine, which St. Paul planted in the church of the Romans, and of all other Gentiles.

The Sum of St. Paul's Doctrine delivered to the Gentiles.

First, the doctrine of St. Paul ascribeth all our justification freely and merely to faith only in Christ, as to the only means and cause immediate, whereby the merits of Christ's passion be applied unto us, without any other respect of work or works of the law whatsoever; and in this doctrine, the church of the Romans was first planted.

Salvation by mercy only, not by merits.

2. Secondly, the same doctrine of St. Paul, cutting off, and excluding all glory of man's deserving, stayeth only upon God's promise and upon grace, not man's merits; upon mercy, not man's labouring or running; upon election and calling, not man's willing, etc.

All flesh concluded under sin.

3. Thirdly, the same doctrine, casting down the strength of man and his integra naturalia (as the schools do term them), concludeth all flesh under sin, and maketh the same destitute of the glory of God.

Justitia Dei, justitia propria.

4. Item, it maketh manifest difference between the law and the gospel, declaring the use and end of them to be diverse: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemn, the other to justify; the one to have an end and a time, the other to be perpetual, etc.

Difference between the law and the gospel.

5. Item, the same doctrine of St. Paul, as it showeth a difference between the law and the gospel; so it maketh no less difference between "justitia Dei," and "justitia propria;" that is, the righteousness of God and the righteousness of man, abhorring the one, that is, man's own righteousness, coming by the law and works; and embracing the other, which God imputeth freely and graciously to us for Christ his Son's sake, in whom we believe.

The righteousness of God, and that of man, how they differ in Scripture.

6. Item, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoever, especially from binding of conscience; calling them beggarly elements of this world.

A true christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified.

7. Likewise it rejecteth and wipeth away all curious subtleties and superfluous speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ only crucified, which is the only object whereunto our faith looketh.

Original sin. Original justice.

8. Furthermore, as the same doctrine of St. Paul defineth all men to be transgressors by disobedience of one Adam, though they never touched the apple, they coming of his stock by nature; so doth it prove all men to be justified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, they being likewise born of him by spiritual regeneration and faith.

All men condemned by one. All men saved by one.

9. And therefore, as all men, coming of Adam, are condemned originally, before they grow up to commit any sin against the law; so all men regenerated by faith in Christ, are saved originally, before they begin to do any good work of charity, or any other good deed.

10. Item, the doctrine of St. Paul, perpending the high glory of a christian man's state in Christ Jesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with Almighty God:[2] secondly, exempteth him from all condemnation;[3] thirdly, it matcheth him with angels: it equalleth him with saints and fellow-citizens of heaven; it numbereth him with the household of God; and co-inheriteth him with Jesus Christ himself:[4] fourthly, it adopteth him from the state of a servant, to the state of a son of God, crying "Abba," Father:[5] fifthly, it

(1) 1 Tim. iv. 1. (2) Rom. v. 1. (3) Rom. viii. 1.
(4) Eph. ii. 19. (5) Gal. iv. 6.

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openeth to him a bold access and entrance to the high majesty and throne of grace:[1] sixthly, it subjecteth all things under him as ministers (yea, the apostles themselves in their highest office), death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole world besides; and assigneth him no spiritual head, but only Christ, saying, "And you are Christ's, and Christ is God's:"[2] seventhly, it advanceth and setteth him in a spiritual liberty or freedom, above all terrors of spirit, rising either of God's law or man's law, above all dreadful fears of sin, damnation, malediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory; above all servile bondage of ceremonies, men's precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customs, or what else soever oppresseth and entangleth the spiritual freedom of a conscience, which Christ hath set at liberty; and requireth, moreover, that we walk and stand stout in that liberty whereto we are brought with the free son of Sarah, and not suffer ourselves any more to be clogged with any such servile bondage—that is to say, although we must be content to subject our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet must we not yield our spiritual consciences and souls as slaves and servants, to be subject to the fear or bondage of any terrene thing in this world,[3] forsomuch as we are in that part made lords and princes over all things, whatsoever can harm, or bind, or terrify us.

The glorious state of christian liberty and spiritual freedom is Christ Jesus.

11. Item, the right vein of St. Paul's doctrine putteth no difference nor observation in days and times.[4]

Days and times indifferent.

12. Item, it leaveth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiving, to serve the necessity of the body, and not the body to serve them.[5]

Meats indifferent with thanksgiving.

13. Item, it permitteth marriage without restraint or exception, lawful and also expedient for all men, having need thereof.[6]

Marriage.

14. Item, it admitteth no sacrifice for sin but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done, once for all, with blood. For without blood there is no remission of sin, which is applied to us by faith only, and by nothing else.[7]

One sacrifice for sin, and no more.

15. Item, as touching the holy communion, by the letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians,[8] we understand, that the use then amongst them was, to have the participation of the bread called the Lord's body, and of the cup called the Lord's blood, administered not at an altar, but at a plain board or table, the congregation there meeting together after the time of their supper; where, not the minister alone did receive, while the others looked on, but the whole congregation together did communicate with reverence and thanksgiving; nor lifting over the priest's head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts; but either sitting at the supper, or standing after the supper. According to which form the Muscovites yet, to this day, following the old rite of their country (although being drowned otherwise in much superstition), use to receive it after they be risen from their dinner, standing. Experience whereof was seen here at London the first day of October, 1569.

The use of the holy communion in ancient time of the primitive church.

Muscovites.

16. Item, the said apostle, besides the sacramental supper, maketh mention of baptism, or washing of regeneration, although he himself baptized but few.[9] Of the other sacraments, he maketh no mention.

No more sacraments mentioned in St. Paul, but the Lord's supper and baptism.

17. Item, by the same doctrine of St. Paul, no tongue is to be used in the congregation, which is not known, and doth not edify.[10]

18. Item, the rule of St. Paul's doctrine subjecteth every creature under the obedience of kings and princes and ordinary magistrates, ordained of God to have the sword and authority of public regiment, to order and dispose in all things, not contrary to God, whatsoever pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the evil; from whose jurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations or persons, whether they be ecclesiastical or political. And therefore to this office it appertaineth to preserve peace, to set things in lawful order, to conserve christian discipline in the church of Christ, to remove offences, to bridle the disobedient, to provide and procure wholesome and faithful teachers over the people, to maintain learning and set up schools, to have oversight, not only of the people, but also of all ecclesiastical ministers, to see every one to do his duty, and to remove or punish such as be negligent; also to call councils and synods, and to provide that the church goods be faithfully dispensed by the hands of true dealers; to the sustentation of the church, of true teachers, and to the public necessity of the poor, etc.

The authority and office of the civil magistrates.

(1) Eph. ii. 20; Heb. iv. 16. (2) 1 Cor. iii. 23. (3) Gal. iv. 3; Col. ii. 20.
(4) Gal. iv. 10; Col. ii. 8. (5) Col. ii. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 3. (6) 1 Cor. vii. 2.
(7) Heb. ix. 22. (8) 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, 21; xi. 20, &c. (9) 1 Cor. i. 16.
(10) 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

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The office and authority of bishops how far it doth extend.

19. Furthermore, by St. Paul's doctrine, the ministers and superintendents of Christ's church have their authority and armour likewise to them limited; which armour is only spiritual and not carnal, whereby they fight not against flesh and blood, but against the power of darkness, error, and sin; against the spiritual seduction and craftiness in heavenly things, against the works and proceedings of Satan, the prince of this world, in comforting weak consciences against the terrors of the devil and desperation; and, finally, against every cogitation lifted up against Christ, to subdue every celsitude to the subjection and power of Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Another Brief Recapitulation of St. Paul's Doctrine, reduced to Five Points.

Briefly to reduce the whole doctrine of St. Paul into a compendious sum, it consisteth chiefly in these five points:—

The great mercy of God in Christ.

1. First, in setting forth the grace, great love, and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Jesus his Son, to mankind, "which so loved the world, that he hath given his own Son for the redemption thereof:"[1] "Which gave his Son to die for us being his enemies:"[2] "Which hath quickened us, being dead in sin:"[3] "Which so mercifully hath reconciled the world to himself by his Son, and also by his ambassadors desireth us to be reconciled unto him:"[4] "Who hath given his own Son to be sin for us:"[5] "To be accursed for us:"[6] "Which, by firm promise, hath assured us of our inheritance:"[7] "Which, not by the works of righteousness that we have done, but of his own mercy, hath saved us by the washing of regeneration."[8]

The glory and majesty of Christ Jesus set forth by St. Paul.

2. The second point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant majesty of Christ Jesus the Son of God, and the excellency of his glory; "Who, being once dead in the infirmity of flesh, rose again with power, and ascending up with majesty, hath led away captivity captive:"[9] "Sitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heavenly things above all principates and potestates, powers and dominations, and above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come:"[10] "At whose name every knee is to bend both in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue to confess our Lord Christ Jesus to the glory of God the Father:"[11] "In whom and by whom all things are made both in heaven and earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates or potestates, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things consist in him who is the head of his body the church, the beginning and first born from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fulness:"[12] "To whom the Father hath given all judgment, and judgeth no man himself any more:"[13] "To whom the Father hath given all things to his hands:"[14] "To whom the Father hath given power of all flesh:"[15] "To whom all power is given in heaven and earth:"[16] "In whom all the promises of God are Yea and Amen."[17]

The virtue and effect of Christ's death, and what exceeding benefits proceed thereof.

3. Thirdly, he declareth the virtue of his cross and passion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to us by the same. "By whose blood we have redemption and remission of our sins:"[18] "By whose stripes we are made whole:"[19] "By whose cross all things are pacified, both in heaven and in earth:"[20] "By whose death we are reconciled:"[21] "Who hath destroyed death, and brought life to light:"[22] "Who by death hath destroyed him which had the power of death, that is, the devil; and hath delivered them which lived under fear of death all their life in bondage:"[23] "By whose obedience we are made just; by whose righteousness we are justified to life:"[24] "By whose curse we are blessed, and delivered from the malediction of the law:"[25] "By whose blood we that once were far off, are made near unto God:"[26] "Who in one body hath reconciled both Jews and Gentiles unto God:"[27] "Who, by his flesh, hath taken away the división and separation between God and us, abolishing the law which was set against us in precepts and decrees:"[28] "Who is our peace, our advocate, and

(1) John iii. 16. (2) Rom. v. 10. (3) Eph. ii. 1. (4) 2 Cor. v. 20.
(5) 2 Cor. v. 21. (6) Gal. iii. 13. (7) Rom. iv. 16. (8) Tit. iii. 5.
(9) Eph. iv. 8. (10) Eph. i. 20. (11) Phil. ii. 11. (12) Col. i. 16—19.
(13) John v. 22. (14) John xiii. 3. (15) John xvii. 2. (16) Matt. xxviii. 18.
(17) 2 Cor. i. 20. (18) Ephes. i. 7. (19) Isaiah liii. 5. (20) Col. i. 20.
(21) Rom. v. 10. (22) 2 Tim. i. 10. (23) Heb. ii. 14. (24) Rom. v. 9.
(25) Gal. iii. 13. (26) Eph. ii. 13. (27) Eph. ii. 16. (28) Eph. ii. 14, 15.

propitiation for the sins of the whole world:"[1] "Who was made accursed, and sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him:"[2] "Who is made of God for us, our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption:"[3] "By whom we have boldness, and entrance with all confidence through faith in him:"[4] "Who forgiveth all our sins, and hath torn in pieces the obligation or hand-writing, which was against us in the law of commandments; and hath crucified it upon the cross, and utterly hath dispatched and abolished the same; and hath spoiled principates and potestates, as in an open show of conquest, triumphing over them openly in himself:"[5] "Who justifieth the wicked, by faith:"[6] "In whom we are made full and complete," etc.[7]

Exordium.

Faith only the mean cause of salvation and nothing else.

4. The fourth branch is, to teach us and inform us, to whom these benefits of Christ's passion and victory do appertain, by what means the same is applied and redoundeth unto us; which means is only one, that is, only faith in Christ Jesus, and no other thing; which faith it pleaseth almighty God to accept for righteousness. And this righteousness it is, which only standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the scriptures, and especially by the doctrine of St. Paul. Which righteousness, thus rising of faith in Christ, St. Paul calleth the righteousness of God, where he, writing of himself, utterly refuseth the other righteousness which is of the law, and "desireth to be found in him, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith."[8] Again, the said apostle, writing of the Jews, which sought for righteousness and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, showeth the reason why: "Because," saith he, "the one sought it as by works and the law, and came not to it; who, knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own righteousness, did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God. The other, which were the Gentiles, and sought not for it, obtained righteousness, that righteousness which is faith."[9] Also, in another place of the same epistle, St. Paul, writing of this righteousness which cometh of faith, calleth it the righteousness of God, in these words: "Whom God," saith he, "hath set up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, whereby to make manifest the righteousness which is of himself, in tolerating our sins," etc.[10] By the which righteousness it is evident that St. Paul meaneth the righteousness of faith, which Almighty God now revealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the gospel. Wilt thou see yet more plainly this righteousness of God, how it is taken in St. Paul for the righteousness of faith, and therefore is called the righteousness of God, because it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deserved of man?—In the same epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: "The righteousness of God," saith he, "is by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all that do believe," etc.

The righteousness of the law.

The righteousness of the gospel.

The places of St. Paul expounded.

The righteousness of faith, God's righteousness.

Wherefore, whosoever studieth to be accepted with God, and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learn diligently, by the doctrine of St. Paul, to make a difference and a separation, as far as from heaven to earth, between these two, that is, between the righteousness of works, and the righteousness of faith; and in any wise beware he bring no other means for his justification or remission of his sins, but only faith, apprehending the body or person of Christ Jesus crucified. For, as there is no way into the house but by the door, so is there no coming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith.[11] And as the mortal body, without bodily sustenance of bread and drink, cannot but perish; so the spiritual soul of man hath no other refreshing but only by faith in the body and blood of Christ, whereby to be saved. With this faith the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Jesus Christ, and received thereby righteousness. Cornelius, the first baptized Roman, so soon as he heard Peter preach Christ, received straightway the holy Ghost.[12] Peter himself confessed, and, for his confession, had the keys of heaven.[13] Zaccheus received the person of Christ into his house, and, withal, received salvation both to him and his whole household.[14] What a sinner was Mary, who had no less in her than seven devils; and yet, because she set her heart and affection upon that person, many sins were forgiven her.[15] The right-hand thief, how far was he from all works of

A lesson out of St. Paul's doctrine, of all christians to be observed.

Salvation cometh only by faith.

(1) 1 John ii. 12. (2) 2 Cor. v. 21. (3) 1 Cor. i. 30. (4) Eph. iii. 12.
(5) Col. ii. 13—15. (6) Rom. iv. 5. (7) Col. ii. 10. (8) Phil. iii. 9.
(9) Rom. ix. 30, 32. (10) Rom. iii. 25. (11) Rom. ix. 32. (12) Acts x. 45.
(13) Matt. xvi. 19. (14) Luke xix. 9. (15) Luke vii. 47.

Exordium.

the law; and yet by faith entered he justified into paradise the same day with Christ.[1] In like manner, although the poor publican came to the church with less holiness, after the law, yet went he home to his house more justified than the Pharisee with all his works, and all by reason of faith.[2] The parable of the prodigal son who was lost, yet revived again; also of the lost groat, and of the lost sheep which went astray and was found again: what do these declare, but that which is lost by the law is to be recovered by faith and grace? And how oft do we read in the gospels, "Thy faith hath saved thee," etc.[3] "Jesus seeing their belief," etc.[4] "He that believeth in me, I will raise him up in the last day," etc.[5] "Believe also in me," etc.[6] "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life," etc.[7] "Without me ye can do nothing," etc.[8] "He that is in me," etc.[9] "He that loveth me," etc.[10] "He that heareth me," etc.[11] "He that abideth in me," etc.[12] "He that receiveth me," etc.[13] "Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood," etc.[14] "That they may receive remission of sins, by their faith in me," etc.[15] "To him all the prophets give witness, to have remission of sins, whosoever believeth in his name," etc.[16] "He that believeth and is baptized."[17] "He that believeth in me, shall do the works that I do, and greater than these," etc.[18]

That which is lost by the law is recovered by faith.

The writings of St. Paul full of the name of Christ Jesus.

And likewise in the writings of St. Paul, how often do we hear the name of Christ almost in every third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: "In Christo Jesu," "per Christum Jesum," "per Jesum Christum dominum nostrum," etc. "Qui credunt in ipso," etc. "Omnes qui credunt in eo," etc. "Credentes in illo, in eum," "credentes illi," "in nomen ejus," "in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi," etc. "Believe," saith St. Paul to the jailor, "in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house," etc.[19]

Belief only in Christ saveth.

The efficient and instrumental causes of salvation.

Christ the only object of faith.

The brazen serpent.

Thus, then, thou seest, as the passion of Christ is only the efficient or personal cause immediate of our salvation; so is faith only the instrumental or mean cause that maketh the merits of Christ to us available. For as the passion of Christ serveth to none but such as do believe, so neither doth faith itself (as it is only a bare quality or action in man's mind) justify, unless it be directed to the body of Christ crucified, as to its object, of whom it receiveth all its virtue. And therefore these two must always jointly concur together; faith, and Christ Jesus crucified. As for example, when the children of Israel were bidden of Moses to look up to the brazen serpent, neither could the serpent have helped them, except they had looked up, nor yet their looking upward have profited them, unless they had directed their eyes upon the said serpent, as the only object set up to the same purpose for them to behold; so our faith, in like case, directed to the body of Jesus our Saviour, is the only means whereby Christ's merits are applied unto us, and we now justified before God; according to the doctrine of St. Paul, who, in express words defining to us what this faith is, and how it justifieth, saith: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe with thy heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saved," etc.[20] Besides this, what action or quality soever is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and believing, be it never so true, except it apprehend this object, that is, the body of Christ the Son of God, it serveth not to justification. And that is the cause why we add this particle "only" to faith, and say that faith only in Christ justifieth us; to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts or works of man, from the cause of justifying; forsomuch as there is no other knowledge nor gift given of God to man, be it never so excellent, that can stand before the judgment of God unto justification, or whereunto any promise of salvation is annexed; but only this faith looking up to the brazen serpent, that is, to the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified.

What faith is by St. Paul.

Faith only.

Divers sorts of believing.

The Turk's faith.

The Jew's faith.

As for example, when the Turk saith, that he believeth in one living God that made heaven and earth, his belief therein is true, yet it justifieth him not, because it lacketh the right object, which is Christ. So, when the Jew saith, that he believeth in one God, maker of heaven and earth, and believeth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, just, and true of promise, and that he hath elected the seed of Abraham: true it is that he believeth, and yet all this

(1) Luke xxiii. 43. (2) Luke xviii. 14. (3) Luke xviii. 42. (4) Matt. ix. 2.
(5) John vi. 40. (6) John xiv. 1. (7) John vi. 47. (8) John xv. 5.
(9) John vi. 56. (10) John xiv. 21. (11) John v. 24. (12) John xv. 5.
(13) Matt. x. 40. (14) John vi. 54. (15) Acts xxvi. 18. (16) Acts x. 43.
(17) Mark xvi. 16. (18) John xvi. 12. (19) Acts xvi. 31. (20) Rom. x. 9.

serveth him not, because Christ the Son of God is not joined withal. And though the said Jew should be never so devout in his prayers, or charitable in alms, or precise in keeping the law, and believe never so steadfastly that he is elect to be saved; yet he is never the nearer to salvation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded upon the head corner-stone, which is the person and body of Jesus Christ, the true Saviour. After like sort it may be said of the papist, when he saith, that he is baptized, and believeth in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, and also confesseth Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, who died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness, etc.; his belief therein is true, and indeed would save him, if he did stay his salvation in this faith, and upon Christ his Saviour only, according to the promise and grace of God, and go no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ only to be his perfect Saviour without the help of other patrons, heads, advocates, and mediators, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ only to be the means of his justification; but setteth up other bye-means, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, confession, penance, satisfaction, merits, and pardons; supposing thereby to work his justification before God, contrary to the word of promise, to the gospel of grace, and to the doctrine of St. Paul, whereof we shall see more, the Lord willing, hereafter.

Exordium.

Every truth may be believed; but the believing of every truth saveth not. The papist's faith.

Hope and charity no parts of our justification.

And thus much of the true causes of our justification after the doctrine of St. Paul. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore, by the way, is to be added, that, as touching the original causes of our salvation, which be divers and sundry, some are external and without us; some are internal and within us. Of the external causes which are without us, the first and principal is the mercy and grace of God. Of this followeth predestination and election. Then cometh vocation. The last and next cause to us is the death and bloodshed of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, and all these be external causes, because they are without us.

Divers causes of our salvation distinguished.

Of internal causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more in Scripture appointed, that is our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in us. Besides this, there is no gift of God given to man, virtue, work, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of salvation, but only this gift of faith, to believe in Christ Jesus. And this is the cause why we hold that faith only justifieth; meaning that amongst all the works, deeds, actions, labours, and operations, whatsoever man doeth or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh salvation, but only his faith given to him of God to believe in Christ his Son; following therein the true trade of St. Paul's teaching, who, in precise words, so ascribeth justification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the same epistle to the Romans, St. Paul, reasoning of the glory of justifying, asketh this question, How this glory is excluded; whether by the law of works? And concludeth No, ascribing only the glory thereof to the law of faith; and consequently upon the same he inferreth: "We hold that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." [1]

The meaning and cause why faith only justifieth.

All works of man excluded from the glory of justifying.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our justification, which St. Paul utterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalf? Of such like exclusives and negatives, the whole course of St. Paul's doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: "It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man should glory," etc. "Not of the works of righteousness, which we have done, but of his own mercy," etc. "Not after our works, but after his own purpose and grace which is given to us," etc. Again, "A man is not justified by works," etc. Also, "To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for righteousness," etc.[2]

By these exclusives and negatives in St. Paul's doctrine, what doth he else mean, but utterly to seclude all kind of man's merits, and works of the law from the office and dignity of justifying? And although he expresseth not the word, "only," yet, upon his exclusives and negatives, this exceptive must needs be

The exclusives and negatives of St. Paul.

(1) "Colligimus enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis." Rom. iii. 28.
(2) "Sine operibus;" "absque operibus legis;" "non ex operibus, Dei donum est;" "secundum misericordiam;" "non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur." Eph. ii. "Non ex operibus justiciæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum propositum suum et gratiam," etc. Tit. iii. 5. "Non secundum opera nostra," etc. 2 Tim. i. 9. "Non justificatur homo ex operibus," etc. Gal. ii. 16. "Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, fides imputatur ad justiciam," etc. Rom. iv. 5.

Exordium. inferred. For in all logic the consequence is necessary and formal, as, One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one: *ergo*, one man only is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ proved to be the only mean, or instrumental, or conditional cause of our salvation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of St. Paul taught to the ancient Romans.

The fifth branch. 5. The fifth branch, which I note in St. Paul's doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established us in certainty of our salvation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth us vehemently, and with all instance, to good works, showing the true use and end of good works; which is, First, to show our obedience and dutiful service (as we may) unto God, who hath done so great things for us: secondly, to relieve our neighbours with our charity and kindness, as God hath been kind to us his enemies: thirdly, to stir up others, by our example, to praise God, to embrace the same religion, and to do the like. For requisite it is, that as God hath been so merciful to us and gracious in eternal gifts, we should be merciful likewise to others, in temporal commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him, of his fatherly goodness (of our parts so little deserved), to call us to so high a vocation, to give the blood of his Son for us, to forgive us all our sins, to deliver us from this present wicked world, to make us citizens of heaven, yea, his children, more than servants: little then can we do, and well may we think those benefits ill bestowed, if we forgive not our neighbours, and show not something again worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called us, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heavenly things: and finally, if we, being provoked with such love and kindness, render not again some love for love, some kindness for kindness, seeking how to walk in the steps which he hath prepared for us to walk in, serving him (so much as we may) in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. And though our obedience shall always be imperfect, do the best we can, yet reason would that some obedience we should show, as loving children to such a loving Father.

The true use and end of good works.

Good works justify not but follow the justified. And this is the cause why St. Paul is so vehement and urgent to call for good works, not that works should justify, but that we, being justified so mercifully and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vain, but endeavour ourselves to our uttermost to render our service again to him, in such conversation of life as may most make to his glory, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our Saviour seem, in some places, to attribute to our obedience and charity here in earth great rewards in heaven, that is, of his own free grace and goodness, so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for us to claim any meed thereby or thank at his hand, as by any worthiness of our doings: no more than the servant can, who, when he cometh from the plough and serving the cattle in the field, serveth first his master at home and waiteth upon his table: the master is not bound (saith Christ) to thank his servant there-for, and bid him sit down: "So you," saith he, "when you have done that is commanded you, say ye are unprofitable servants; ye have done but what your bound duty was to do." [1]

Faith justifieth three manner of ways. Again, here also is to be understood, that where such rewards be ascribed unto men's deeds, it is not for the worthiness of the deed itself, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the work to be good in God's sight; for else if an infidel should do the same work that the christian doth, it were nothing but mere sin before God. In that, therefore, the christian man's work is accepted, be it never so small (as to give a cup of cold water), the same is only for his faith's sake that doth it, and not for the work which is done. Whereby again we may learn how faith only doth justify a man, and that three manner of ways.

First, it justifieth the person, in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to do any good work. Secondly, it justifieth a man from sin, in procuring remission and forgiveness of the same. Thirdly, it justifieth the good deeds and works of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office of faith, and the office of the law compared. The office therefore of faith and works is divers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and justifieth him in the sight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and making his good deeds

(1) Luke xvii. 10.

acceptable to God; climbing up to heaven, and there wrestling with God and his judgment for righteousness, for salvation, and for everlasting life. Works and charity follow faith, and are exercised here upon the earth, and glory only before man, but not before God, in showing forth obedience both to God and to man. Further than this, our good works do not reach, nor have any thing to do in the judgment of God touching salvation. I speak of our good works (as St. Paul speaketh[1]) as they be ours, and imperfect. For else, if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh, that is, if we could perform them, and transgress never a jot, so might we live in them; as it is said, "Qui fecerit ea, vivet in eis." But now, seeing the imbecility of our flesh cannot attain thereto, it followeth thereof that all glory of justifying is taken from works, and transferred only to faith.

Exordium.

The works of man be imperfect, and therefore have nothing to do with justification.

And thus much concerning the principal contents of St. Paul's doctrine; wherein the church of the ancient Romans was first grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitive state of the church. Likewise the same form of doctrine the latter Romans also, that followed, should have maintained, and not have fallen away for any man's preaching, but hold him accursed, yea if he were an apostle or angel from heaven, teaching any other doctrine besides that institution which they have received;[2] for so were they warned before by the apostle St. Paul to do. And yet, notwithstanding all this forewarning and diligent instruction of this blessed apostle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, especially among the Romans, whereof the said apostle also foretold them so long before, fore-prophesying: "that the day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of sin should be revealed, the proud adversary of God," etc.[3] meaning, no doubt, by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the Holy Ghost had then planted by his ministry among the Gentiles, as we see it now come to pass in the church of Rome, which church is so gone from the faith that St. Paul taught, that if he were now alive, and saw these decrees and decretals of the bishop of Rome, these heaps of ceremonies and traditions, these mass-books, these portuses, these festivals and legends, these processionals, hymns, and sequences, these beads and graduals, and the manner of their invocation, their canons, censures, and later councils, such swarms of superstitious monks and friars, such sects, and so many divers religions, the testament of St. Francis,[4] the rule of St. Benedict, of St. Bridget, of St. Anthony, etc.; the intricate subtleties and labyrinths of the schoolmen, the infinite cases and distinctions of the canonists, the sermons in churches, the assertions in schools, the glory of the pope, the pride of the clergy, the cruelty of persecuting prelates with their officials and promoters: he would say, this were not a defection, but rather a plain *destruction*, and a ruin of faith; neither that this were any true church of Christ, but a new-found religion, or paganism rather, brought in under the shadow of Christianity; wherein remaineth almost nothing else but the name only of Christ, and the outward form of his religion, the true vein and effect whereof is utterly decayed; as to them which list to examine all the parts of this new Romish religion may soon appear.

Defection of faith in the church of Rome.

A view of the pope's catholic church.

The church of Rome degenerated again almost to new paganism.

(1) Rom. vii. 18. (2) Gal. i. 8. (3) 2 Thess. ii. 8.

(4) Such characters, as are here alluded to by Foxe, are not necessarily to be estimated according to the qualities for which their professed followers and eulogizers have most eagerly desired to honour them, and for which they have been most celebrated. The fictions of Romish hagiographers are quite notorious. Some Protestant writers have proposed to set aside all the peculiarities, miracles, and extravagances attributed to the heroes and founders of the various Romish orders, and have then claimed for them our approbation, or at least an absence of blame. 'Let the Franciscs, the Anthonies, and the Dominics' (say they) 'be stripped of their variegated fooleries and juggleries, *then* they become such as in all probability they were,—reasonable men, and still very praiseworthy characters.' We may charitably hope that this was the case with many of them. Protestants may then easily praise what they have themselves first purified, and helped to render respectable. But their professed admirers and followers, we apprehend, would then find nothing very attractive in them, and would strongly object to this mode of dealing with them: as it is *these very peculiarities* in their founders, which form the great boast of the different orders, and the ground for inducing persons to enter them. For an examination into the biographical representations of three eminent *canonized* Romish captains, we may refer to Zimmerman's "De miraculis, quæ Pythagoræ, Apol. Tyan., Francisco Assis., Dominico, et Ignatio Loyolæ, tribuuntur, libellus;" Duaci. 1734; and to "Ordres Monastiques—histoire extraite de tous les auteurs qui ont conservés ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre;" 6 vols. Berlin, 1751. The fourth chapter in Bishop Stillingfleet, "On the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome" will repay consultation.—Ed.

Exordium. For, save only that they pretend the solemn form and words of the Creed, and are baptized, confessing the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: as touching all other points and true sincerity of the christian faith, which they outwardly profess, they are utterly degenerated from that which St. Paul and the word of God first had taught them.

The pope's church only in words catholic, in deed heathenish. First, they confess the Father in word, but his will, in his word expressed, they renounce. His grace they acknowledge not; his benefits and promises, given unto us in his Son, they receive not; the vigour of his law they feel not; the terror of his judgments earnestly they fear not; his commandments they obscure by traditions and commandments of their own.

Likewise the name of Christ his Son in word they confess, but his office in deed they deface and diminish: his glory they seek not, but under his name they do seek their own; the power of his blood and passion they know not, or else dissemble it, whom neither they admit to be the head of his church alone, nor Saviour alone, nor to be our only patron and advocate, but match him with our Lady and other patrons, so that every parish almost in Christendom hath its peculiar patron besides Christ to hold by.

The pope's church proceedeth contrary to the working of the Holy Ghost. In like manner they confess the name of the Holy Ghost; but God himself knoweth how far they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taste of the Holy Ghost; as well may appear by their councils, by their expounding of scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies; by their outward worshipping and idolatrous invocation to stocks and stones, and to dead creatures; by their scrupulous observation of days, times, places, numbers and gestures: and no less also by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poor hearts of simple Christians of their due consolation, joy, and liberty in the Holy Ghost, and keepeth them still in a servile bondage, and a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation, contrary to the working of the Holy Spirit of God.

Pretendeth a fair face of religion, but is void of the effect thereof. The old pharisees and the latter church of Rome. The pope's church, under the name of the catholic church, persecuteth the true catholic church. And thus the church of Rome, pretending only the name of Christ and of his religion, is so far altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that, under the name of Christ, it persecuteth both Christ and his religion; working more harm to the church of Christ, than ever did the open tyrants and persecuting emperors among the heathen: not much unlike herein to the old synagogue of the scribes and pharisees, who, under the name of God, crucified the Son of God, and, under pretence of the law, fought against the gospel; and, under the title of Abraham's children, persecuted the children of Abraham. And as they, bragging so highly of "the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord," did indeed destroy the true temple of the Lord; right so these pretensed catholics, in these days, after they have raised up a catholic church of their own, and have armed the same with laws, and have gathered unto them a power of priests, prelates, abbots, priors, of religious men, of cardinals, and also of secular princes to take their part; now, under the name of the catholic church they persecute the true catholic church, and, colouring their proceeding still with "in nomine Domini," most cruelly put them to death who die "pro nomine Domini;" condemning them for heretics, schismatics, and rebels, not who deny any part of the creed, which they themselves profess, nor such whom they can convict by any scripture; but only such, who will not join with their errors and heresies, contrary to the honour of God and truth of his word.

And lest any should think this, that we here protest against the corrupt errors and manifold deformities of this latter church of Rome, to proceed of any rancour or private affection, rather than upon necessary causes and demonstrations evident, my purpose is (by the Lord's leave) to take herein some little pains, as I have collected, a little before, the sum and contents of St. Paul's doctrine, wherewith the old church of Rome was first seasoned and acquainted, so now as in a like summary table to descry the particular branches and contents of the pope's doctrine now set forth, to the intent that all true christian readers, comparing the one with the other, may discern what great alteration there is between the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that was planted by the apostles in the primitive time. And to the end to open unto the simple reader

some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error; first we will propound certain principles or general positions, as infallible rules or truths of the scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined, as with the touchstone, may the more easily be judged whether they be true or the contrary, and whether they make against the scripture or no. *Exordium.*

Certain Principles, or general Verities, grounded upon the truth of God's Word.

The first principle.—As sin and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: so righteousness and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith and baptism.[1]

The second.—The promise of God was freely given to our first parents, without their deserving, that "the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head."[2]

The third.—Promise was given freely to Abraham before he deserved any thing, that in "his seed all nations should be blessed."[3]

The fourth.—To the word of God neither must we add, nor take from it.[4]

The fifth.—"He that doeth the works of the law shall live therein."[5]

The sixth.—"Accursed is he which abideth not in every thing that is written in the book of the law."[6]

The seventh.—God only is to be worshipped.[7]

The eighth.—"All our righteousness is like a defiled cloth of a woman."[8]

The ninth.—"In all my holy hill they shall not kill nor slay, saith the Lord."[9]

The tenth.—God loveth mercy and obedience more than sacrifice.[10]

The eleventh.—The law worketh anger, condemneth and openeth sin.[11]

The twelfth.—The end of the law is Christ, to righteousness, to every one that believeth.[12]

The thirteenth.—Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.[13]

The fourteenth.—A man is justified by faith without works, freely by grace, not of ourselves.[14]

The fifteenth.—There is no remission of sins without blood.[15]

The sixteenth.—Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.[16] Without faith it is impossible to please God.[17]

The seventeenth.—One mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.[18] And he is the propitiation for our sins.[19]

The eighteenth.—Whosoever seeketh by the law to be justified, is fallen from grace.[20]

The nineteenth.—In Christ be all the promises of God, *Est* and *Amen*.[21]

The twentieth.—Let every soul be subject to superior powers, giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's.[22]

These principles and infallible rules of the scripture, as no man can deny, so, if they be granted, the doctrine then of the pope's church must needs be found not to be catholic, but rather full of errors and heresies, as in the sequel following remaineth more expressly and particularly, by the grace of Christ, to be convinced

(1) Rom. v. 17. (2) Gen. iii. 15. (3) Gen. xii. 3. (4) Deut. iv. 2.
(5) Gal. iii. 12. Lev. xviii. 5. (6) Deut. xxvii. 26. Gal. iii. 10. (7) Deut. vi. 5. Luke iv. 8.
(8) Isa. lxiv. 6. (9) Isa. xi. 9; lxv. 25. (10) Hosea vi. 6. 1 Sam. xv. 22.
(11) Rom. iii. 19. (12) Rom. x. 11. (13) Mark xvi. 16. (14) Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8.
(15) Heb. ix. 22. (16) Rom. xiv. 23. (17) Heb. xi. 6. (18) 1 Tim. ii. 5.
(19) 1 John ii. 2. (20) Gal. v. 4. (21) 2 Cor. i. 20. (22) Rom. xiii. 1.

Exordium.

A SUMMARY COLLECTION OF THE ERRORS, HERESIES, AND ABSURDITIES, CONTAINED IN THE POPE'S DOCTRINE, CONTRARY TO THE RULES OF GOD'S WORD, AND THE FIRST INSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME:—AND FIRST: OF FAITH AND JUSTIFICATION.

First, as touching the only means and instrumental cause of our justification, whereby the merits of Christ's passion be applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how St. Paul ascribeth the same only to faith; as appeareth by all his epistles, especially that to the Romans, wherein he, excluding all kind of works, ascribeth all our salvation, justification, righteousness, reconciliation, and peace with God, only unto faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine, the pope and his church have set up divers and sundry other means of their own devising, whereby the merits of Christ's passion (they say) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of sins, and for our justification; as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of saints, and holy orders, the pope's pardons, etc. So that Christ's sacrifice, stripes, and suffering, by this teaching, doth not heal us, nor is beneficial to us, though we believe never so well, unless we add also these works and merits above recited. Which if it be true, then it is false what Isaiah the prophet doth promise: "In his stripes we are all made whole," etc.[1] This error and heresy of the church of Rome, though it seem at first sight to the natural reason of man to be but of small importance, yet, if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresy that ever almost crept into the church; upon the which, as the only foundation, all, or the most part of all the errors, absurdities, and inconveniences of the pope's church are grounded. For, this being once admitted, that a man is not justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be sought by our own working and merits to apply the merits of Christ's passion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor end in setting up new means and merits of our own devising for remission of sins. Neither hath there been any heresy that either hath rebelled more presumptuously against the high majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath injured the souls of the simple, than this doctrine.

The means of applying Christ's merits unto us by the pope's doctrine.

The taking away of this article of faith only to justify, is the root of great inconvenience in Christ's church.

No heresy to be compared to the heresy of papists.

First of all it subverteth the will and testament of God: for whereas almighty God of mercy hath given us his Son to die for us, and with him hath given out his full promise, that whosoever believeth upon him should be saved by their faith; and assigneth none other condition, either of the law, or any of works, but only of faith, to be the means between his Son and us: these men take upon them to alter this testament that God hath set, and adjoin other conditions, which the Lord in his word never appointed nor knew. To whom the words of Jerome upon the epistle to the Galatians, speaking of such, may be well applied: "Which make of the gospel of Christ the gospel of men, or rather the gospel of the devil," etc.[2]

The first inconvenience.

No condition limited of God to man for salvation but one.

(1) Chap. liii. 5.
(2) "Qui de evangelio Christi faciunt hominis evangelium, vel quod pejus est, diaboli," etc. Hierom. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. 1.

Exordium.

Secondly, whereas the christian reader in the gospel, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his Son, might thereby take much comfort of soul, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God; there cometh in the pestiferous doctrine of these heretics, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God to choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghost, and oppress christian liberty, and bring us into spiritual bondage.

The second hurt which cometh by taking away the article of justification.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they show themselves manifest enemies to God's grace, so are they no less injurious to christian men, whom they leave in a doubtful distrust of God's favour and of their salvation, contrary to the word and will of God, and right institution of the apostolic doctrine. And whereas our new schoolmen of late, to maintain the said wicked point of doctrine, do object unto us that we rather leave men's consciences uncertain, forsomuch as, if life, say they, were not a due reward, it were uncertain; and now forsomuch as due debt is certain, and mercy or favour is uncertain, therefore, say they, we, leaving men's consciences to the mercy of God, do leave them in a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation:—to this I answer, that due debt, if it be proved by the law duly deserved, must be certain; but if the law shall prove it imperfectly or insufficiently due, then it is not certain, neither can there be any thing duly claimed. Now, as touching mercy, so long as it remaineth secret in the prince's will, and not known to his subjects, so long it is uncertain. But, when this mercy shall be openly published by proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will and testament, established in blood, and sealed with sacraments, then this mercy remaineth no more doubtful, but ought firmly to be believed of every true faithful subject. And therefore St. Paul, to establish our hearts in this assurance, and to answer to this doubt, in his epistle to the Romans doth teach us, saying, "And therefore of faith, that, after grace, the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed of Abraham," etc.:[1] meaning hereby, that works have nothing to do in this case of justifying; and noteth the reason why. For then our salvation should stand in a doubtful wavering, because, in working, we are never certain whether our deserts be perfect and sufficient in God's judgment or no. And therefore, saith St. Paul, to the intent our salvation should be out of all doubt, and certain, it standeth not of works in deserving, but of faith in apprehending, and of God's free grace in promising.

The third inconvenience.

Objection of the papists answered.

The papists do teach the mercy of God to be uncertain.

Mercy of God made certain by his promises.

Salvation standeth sure and certain by God's promise.

Fourthly, as in this their sinister doctrine, they break this principle of christian religion, which saith that a man is justified by "faith without works," so again it breaketh another principle above rehearsed. For this rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to God's word, nor taken from it, then have these men done wickedly in adding (as they do) to God's word. For whereas the word of God limiteth our justification to no condition but faith; "Believe," saith he, "in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house," etc.;[2] these justiciaries do add thereto divers and sundry other conditions besides, and such as the word also precisely excludeth, as hope, charity, the sacrifice of the mass, the work of the

The fourth principle, above recited, broken.

(1) Rom. iv. 16. (2) Acts xvi. 31.

Exordium. priest *ex opere operato*, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deeds, etc.

And thus much concerning the doctrine of faith and justification; whereby it may appear into what horrible blindness and blasphemy the church of Rome is now fallen, where this kind of doctrine is not only suffered, but also publicly professed, which, speaking against faith, thus blasphemously dare say: "That faith wherewith a man firmly believeth, and certainly assureth himself, that for Christ's sake his sins be forgiven him, and that he shall possess eternal life, is not faith, but rashness; not the persuasion of the Holy Ghost, but presumption of a man's boldness."[1]

OF WORKS AND THE LAW.

As touching the doctrine of good works and the law, what the teaching of St. Paul was to the Romans, ye heard before; who, although he excludeth good works from the office of justifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practice and conversation of christian life, but most earnestly calleth upon all faithful believers in Christ, to walk worthy their vocation, to lay down their old conversation, to give their members servants of righteousness, and to offer their bodies up to God a lively sacrifice. The like example of whose teaching, if the churches now reformed do not follow, let their sermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings, and lives, also bear record; who, although they cannot say with Christ, "Which of you can blame me of sin?" yet they may say to the adversaries, Whosoever of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproach against us. Wherefore Hosius[2] and Pighius, with their fellows, do them open wrong, and slanderously belie them in comparing them in this behalf to Ætius, Eunomius, and other heretics called *Anomoi*, who, taking the good sentences of St. Paul, did abuse the same to filthy license of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life.

The first error of the papists, touching good works.

But to let these slanders pass, now what the errors be of the church of Rome touching this part of doctrine, remaineth to be declared; whose error first standeth in this; that they, misunderstanding the definition of good works, do call good works, not such as properly are commanded by the law of God, but such as are agreeable to the pope's law; as building of abbeys and churches, giving to the high altar, founding of trentals, finding of chantries, gilding of images, hearing of masses, going on pilgrimage, fighting for the holy cross, keeping of vows, entering to orders, fasting of vigils, creeping to the cross, praying to saints, etc. All which are not only reputed for good works, but so preferred also before all other works; that to these is given pardon from the pope, double and triplefold, more than to any other good work of charity commanded in the law of almighty God.

The second error.

Another error also may be noted in the papists, touching the efficient or formal cause of good works: for, albeit they all confess

(1) "Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, et certo statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata, seseque possessurum vitam æternam, non fides est, sed temeritas; non Spiritûs sancti persuasio sed humanæ audaciæ præsumptio." Ex Lindano, in epitome doctrinæ evangelicæ. [The passage will be found in a small collection, entitled "De M. Lutheri et aliorum sectariorum doctrinæ varietate opuscula," etc. (Colon. 1579,) p. 277.—Ed.]

(2) Hosius in ii. tom. Confessionis, cap. 1.

Exordium.

in their books, that "Gratia Dei gratis data" is the chief and principal cause thereof, and worketh in us "justitiam primam," as they call it, yet the good works after regeneration they refer to other subordinate causes, under God; as to free will, or to "habitum virtutis," or "ad integra naturalia," and nothing at all to faith, whereas faith only, next under God, is the root and fountain of all well doing: as in the fruits of a good tree, albeit the planter or the husbandman be the principal agent thereof, and some cause also may be in the good ground; yet the next and immediate cause is the root that maketh the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God, in a soft and repentant mollified heart, planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good root cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but springeth forth, and maketh both the tree fruitful, and also the fruit thereof to be good, which otherwise had no acceptation or goodness in them, were it not for the goodness of the root from whence they spring. So St. Paul, although he had certain works in him (such as they were) before his conversion, yet had he no good works before the grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So Mary Magdalene the sinner, and Zaccheus the publican—so all the nations of the Gentiles—began to bring forth fruit, and especially good fruit, when they began to be engrafted in Christ, and to receive the root of his faith, whose fruits, before that, were all damnable and unsavoury. As touching the cause therefore of good works, there is no other in man but faith, whose office as it is to justify us in heaven, so the nature of it is here in earth to work by love, as the root worketh by the sap. For as a man seeth and feeleth by faith the love and grace of God toward him in Christ his Son, so beginneth he to love again both God and man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to him.[1] And hereof properly springeth the running fountain of all good works and deeds of charity.

Faith the root and cause of good works.

Works are not to be called good, but by reason of faith.

Faith justifies, and brings forth good works.

Fides per dilectionem operans.

Thirdly, as they err in the cause of good works, so do they err much more in the end of the law, and of good works; for, whereas St. Paul teacheth the law to be given to this use and end, to convict our transgressions, to prove us sinners, to show and condemn our infirmity, and to drive us to Christ, they take and apply no other end to the law, but to make us perfect, to keep us from wrath, and to make us just before God. And likewise whereas St. Paul proveth all our good works to be imperfect, and utterly secludeth them from the end of justifying, they, contrariwise, do teach as though the end of good works were to merit remission of sins, to satisfy unto God, to deserve grace, to redeem souls from purgatory, and that by them the person of the regenerate man doth please God, and is made just before God. For so they teach most wickedly and horribly, saying, that Christ suffered for original sin, or sins going before baptism; but the actual sins, which follow after baptism, must be done away by men's merits.[2] And so they assign to Christ the beginning of salvation, or obtaining the first grace, as they call it; but the perfection or consummation of grace they give to works and our own strength. Neither can they in any case abide, that we be justified freely by the mercy of God through faith only, apprehending the merits of Christ. Howbeit neither do all papists in this their error

The third error, touching the end of the law, and good works. Perversion.

(1) Gal. v. 14. (2) Tho. Aquin.; Hosius in ii. tom. Confessionis, cap. 1.

Exordium.

agree in one; for some make distinction, and say, that we are justified by Christ, "principaliter," that is, "principally:" "et minus principaliter," that is, "less principally," by the dignity of our own deeds, contrary to the eighth principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith, but by our virtues that follow after. Some again do thus expound the saying of St. Paul, "We are justified by faith:" that is (say they) by faith preparing us, or setting us in a good way to be justified. Others expound it by the figure *synecdoche*, that is, by faith conjoined together with other virtues; others thus: "by faith," that is, being formed with charity. Thus all these do derogate from the benefit of Christ, and attribute unto works a great or the greatest part of our justification, directly against the true vein of St. Paul's doctrine, and first institution of the ancient church of Rome, and against all the principles of holy scripture.

Divers opinions of the papists, about faith.

The pope's doctrine against the principles of scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the said doctrine of the law and good works, they err in misunderstanding the nature of the law, and works. For whereas St. Paul disputeth that the law is spiritual, and requireth of us perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we, being carnal, are never able to accomplish; they affirm otherwise, that the law doth require but only outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they say) man is not only able to perform, but also to do more and greater things than the law requireth. Whereof rise the works of supererogation, contrary to the sixth and eighth principles above specified. Also there be, say they, among others, certain works of the law, which pertain not to all men, but are "consilia," counsels, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and these they call "opera perfectionis," or "opera indebita;" adding unto these other new devices to serve God, after their own traditions and beside the word of God; as monastical vows, wilful poverty, difference of meats and garments, pilgrimage to relics and saints, worshipping of the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, etc., with such like: And these they call works of perfection, which they prefer before the others commanded in the law of God; insomuch that in comparison of these, the other necessary duties and functions commanded and commended by the word of God (as to bear office in the commonwealth, to live in the godly state of matrimony, to sustain the office of a servant in a house), are contemned, and accounted as profane in comparison of these, contrary to the tenth principle above mentioned.

The fourth error, touching the imperfection of man in satisfying the perfection of the law. Against the principles of scripture.

Precepts and counsels.

Works of supererogation.

Men's traditions preferred before the works of God's law. Against the principles of scripture.

OF SIN.

Of sin, likewise, they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the apostles and the ancient church of Rome, while they consider not the deepness and largeness of sin; supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the strength of sin extendeth not only to these, but also comprehendeth the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge and true fear of God, the untowardness of man's mind to God-ward, the privy rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the undelighting will of man to God

Erroneous doctrine of the latter church of Rome concerning sin.

and his word. The sense of flesh[1] St. Paul also calleth an enemy against God, and feeleth in himself, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sin. *Exordium.*

As touching also original sin, wherein we are born, which is the destruction of original justice, and of God's image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtiness against the law of God, and never ceasing so long as man liveth), this original sin the pope's doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the same; and holdeth that this inward concupiscence and vicious affections, not bursting out in us with consent of will, are no mortal nor damnable sin, but only "fomes peccati:" and say moreover, that this "concupiscentia" in us is no depravation of the higher, but only of the lower, parts of man, being a thing *ἀδιάφορον*, indifferent, and no less natural in us, than is the appetite to eat and drink; and that the same is left to remain in the saints after baptism, to be to them occasion of more meriting. Original sin, what it is. "Fomes peccati." "Concupiscentia." Original sin extenuated.

OF PENANCE OR REPENTANCE.

Of penance, this latter Lateran church of Rome, of late, hath made a sacrament; contrary to the fourth principle before: which penance (say they) standeth of three parts; contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free-will without the law and the Holy Ghost, "per actus elicitos," through man's own action and endeavour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sin. In confession they require a full rehearsal of all a man's sins, whereby the priest, knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sins *ex opere operato* deserveth remission; contrary to the fourteenth principle before. Satisfactions they call "opera indebita," enjoined by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away and changeth eternal punishment into temporal pains, which pains also it doth mitigate. And again, these satisfactions may be taken away by the pope's indulgence. Their false doctrine touching penance. Contrition. Confession. Satisfaction.

This unsavoury and heathenish doctrine of penance far differeth from the true teaching of holy scripture; by the which teaching, repentance properly containeth these three parts: contrition, faith, and new life. Contrition is called in scripture the sorrow of heart, rising upon the consideration of sin committed, and of the anger of God provoked, which sorrow driveth a man to Christ for succour; whereupon riseth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newness of life, which we call new obedience, working fruits worthy of repentance. True doctrine of repentance by the scripture. Parts of repentance.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

As there is nothing more necessary and comfortable for troubled consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference between the law and the gospel, so is the church of Rome much to blame in this behalf, because it confoundeth together those two, being in nature so diverse and contrary one from another; as threatenings with Blind ignorance of the pope's church.

(1) Τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς. Rom. viii. 6.

Exordium. promises, things temporal with things eternal, sorrowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedom, etc.: teaching the people that whatsoever the law saith, the gospel confirmeth; and whatsoever the gospel saith, the same is agreeable to the law, and so make they no difference between Moses and Christ; save only that Moses (they say) was the giver of the old law, Christ is the giver of the new and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the gospel to be nothing else but a new law given by Christ, binding to the promises thereof the condition of our doings and deservings, no otherwise than to the old law. And so divide they the whole law after this distinction, into three parts: to wit, the law of nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ. And as for the gospel, they say it is revealed for no other cause, but to show to the world more perfect precepts and counsels, than were in the old law, to the fulfilling whereof they attribute justification; and so leave the poor consciences of men in perpetual doubt, and induce other manifold errors; bringing the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though he were not a remedy against the law, but came as another Moses to give a new law to the world.

Babylonical confusion in doctrine.

Difference of the papists between Moses and Christ.

Papists make the gospel a new law.

How papists divide the law.

Furthermore, as they make no difference between the nature of the law, and the nature of the gospel, confounding Moses and Christ together, so neither do they distinguish or discern the time of the law, and the time of the gospel, asunder. For whereas St. Paul bringeth in the law to be a schoolmaster, and limiteth him his time unto Christ, and saith that Christ is "the end of the law" (that is, where the law ceaseth, there Christ beginneth, and where Christ beginneth, there the law endeth), they, contrary, make the law to have no end nor ceasing, but give to it immortal life and kingdom equal with Christ, so that Christ and the law together do reign over the soul and conscience of man. Which is untrue; for either Christ must give place, and the law stand; or else the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law, I mean) must end, and Christ reign.[1] For both these, Christ and the law, grace and malediction, cannot reign and govern together. But Christ the Son of God, who once died, can die no more, but must reign for ever. Wherefore the law with his strength, sting, and curse, must needs cease and have an end. And this is it that St. Paul, speaking of the triumph of Christ, saith, that he, "ascending up, led away captivity captive,"[2] and hath set man at liberty; not at liberty to live as flesh lusteth, neither hath freed him from the use and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, so that, "there is now no condemnation to them that be in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh."[3] And in another place St. Paul, speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, saith, that "Christ had taken the obligation written against us in decrees, and hath nailed it upon the cross, triumphing over all."[4] So that as the kingdom of Christ first began upon the cross, even so upon the same cross, and at the same time, the kingdom of the law expired; and the malediction of the law was so crucified upon the cross, that it shall never rise again, to have any power against them that be in Christ Jesus. For like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, and

The pope's church blind to the office of Christ.

The times of the law, and of the gospel.

Malediction of the law ceaseth in Christ.

Christ and the law cannot reign together.

The power of the law is for a time.

The power of Christ is eternal.

The malediction of the law giveth place to Christ.

(1) Eph. i. 20. (2) Eph. iv. 8. (3) Rom. viii. 1. (4) Col. ii. 14.

hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power over her; even so we, now being espoused unto Christ our second husband, are discharged utterly from our first husband, the Law,[1] and (as St. Paul in another place[2] saith) "are no more under the law," that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, "but under grace;" that is, under perpetual remission of all sins, committed not only before our baptism, but as well also after baptism, and during all our life long. For therein properly consisteth the grace of God, in not imputing sin to us, so often as the repenting sinner, rising up by faith, flieth unto Christ, and apprehendeth God's mercy and remission promised in him, according to the testimony both of the psalm, "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin,"[3] and also of all the prophets, "who," as St. Peter saith, "give record to him, that, through his name, all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sins."[4] Which being so, as it cannot be denied, then what need these private and extraordinary remissions to be brought into the church by ear-confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the pope's pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the law, and if this law itself, which was the first husband, be captived, crucified, abolished, and departed, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Christ Jesus, or by whom should it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and general deliverance for all men, once gotten by the victory of Christ, from the penalty of the law, what needeth then any particular remission of sins at sundry times to be sought at the priest's hands, or the pope's pardons? He that hath a general pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for sin be general and perpetual, once gotten for ever, to all them that be in Christ Jesus, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confession? If it be not general and perpetual, how then is it true that St. Paul saith, "The law is crucified, and condemnation abolished?" or how standeth redemption perpetual and general, if remission be not general? For what is redemption else, but remission of sin, or sins bought out? or what else to kill the law, but to discharge us from condemnation for ever? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemy's hand, doth him a pleasure; but he that killeth the enemy once out of the way, giveth perpetual safety. So, if remission of sins by Christ were for some sins, and not for all, the law then must needs live still. But now the killing and crucifying of the law importeth full remission and absolute, and our safety to be perpetual. But here, percase, will be objected of some: How standeth remission of sins certain and perpetual, seeing new offences, being daily committed, do daily require new remission? Hereto I answer: Albeit sins do daily grow, whereby we have need daily to desire God to "forgive our trespasses;" yet, notwithstanding, the cause of our remission standeth ever one and perpetual; neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the body of Christ sacrificed once upon the cross for all sins that either have been or shall be committed. Besides this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor men's pardons, that remitteth sins.

Exordium.

[1] The curse of the law is crucified, and shall never rise again.

To be under the law and under grace expounded.

[3] One remedy for the remission of sins, and no more.

Auricular confession no remedy for remission.

Remission standeth upon a general cause, not a particular.

The law crucified by Christ, what it meaneth.

Objection.

Answer.

The cause of remission ever one and perpetual.

Furthermore, as the cause is one and ever perpetual which worketh

(1) Rom. vii. 3. (2) Rom. vi. 14. (3) Ps. xxxii. 2. (4) Acts x. 43.

Exordium. remission of sins unto us, so is the promise of God ever one, once made, and standeth perpetual, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the said promise of God is always sure and cannot fail, which offereth remission to all them that believe in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time soever a repenting sinner believeth, and by faith applieth to himself the sacrifice of Christ, he hath, by God's own promise, remission of his sins, whether they were done before, or after, baptism.

The promise of remission ever perpetual.

Remission of sins freely promised.

Remission is by faith.

The promise free and absolute.

And moreover, forsomuch as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner by no other means nor condition, but only one, that is, by faith in Christ, therefore, excluding all other means and conditions of man's working, we say, that what repenting sinner soever believeth in Christ, hath already in himself (and needeth not to seek to any priest) perpetual assurance of remission, not for this time or that time only, but for ever and a day. For the promise saith not, He that believeth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sin no more; neither doth it say, that the law is stayed, or the sentence reprieved, but saith plainly, that the law, with her condemnation and sentence itself, is condemned and hanged up, and shall never rise again to them that be in Christ Jesus; and promiseth indeterminately, without limitation, remission of sins, "to all that believe in his name."[1] And likewise in another place, the scripture, speaking absolutely, saith, "Sin shall not prevail over you," and addeth the reason why, saying, "Because ye are not under the law, but under grace."[2] Adding this lesson withal (as followeth in the same place), not that sinners should sin more therefor, because they are under grace, but only that weak infirmities might be relieved, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the praise of God's glory. For, as God forgiveth not sinners because they should sin, so neither doth infirmity of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrate the same, as it is written, "My strength is made perfect in infirmity."[3] And again, "Where sin aboundeth, there grace superaboundeth also."[4]

Man's infirmity impaireth *not* the grace of Christ, but augmenteth it.

Four things concur in remission of sins.

In remission of sins therefore, these four things must concur together: first, the cause that worketh, which is the sacrifice of Christ's body; secondly, the promise that offereth; thirdly, faith that apprehendeth; fourthly, the repenting sinner that receiveth. And, although sins daily do grow, which daily provoke us to crave remission, yet as touching the cause that worketh remission of our daily sins, and the means which apprehend and apply the said cause unto us, they remain always one and perpetual; besides which no other cause nor means is to be sought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners, and be in Christ Jesus, there is no law to condemn them, though they have deserved condemnation: but they are under a perpetual kingdom, and a heaven, full of grace and remission, to cover their sins and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The pope's errors touching remission of sins.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first, which seek any other cause of remission, than only the blood of our

(1) Acts x. 35. (2) Rom. vi. 14. (3) 2 Cor. xii. 9. (4) Rom. v. 20.

Saviour; secondly, which assign any other means to apply the blood-shedding of Christ unto us, besides only faith; thirdly and especially, which so limit and restrain the eternal privilege of Christ's passion, as though it served but only for sins done without and before faith, and that the rest, after baptism committed, must be done away by confession, pardons, and satisfactory deeds. And all this riseth because the true nature of the law and the gospel is not known, nor the difference rightly considered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither again do they make any distinction between the malediction of the law, and use of the law. And therefore, whensoever they hear us speak of the law (meaning the malediction of the law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander us, as though we spake against the good exercises of the law, and gave liberty of flesh to carnal men to live as they list: whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) as place and time shall hereafter require.

Exordium.

What inconvenience riseth for lack of distinction between the law and the gospel.

OF FREE-WILL.

Concerning free-will, as it may peradventure in some case be admitted, that men without grace may do some outward functions of the law, and keep some outward observances or traditions, so, as touching things spiritual and appertaining to salvation, the strength of man, being not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent, that he can perform nothing, neither in doing well, nor willing well; who, after he be regenerated by grace, may work and do well, but yet in such sort that still remaineth, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetual repugnance between the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original church of the ancient Romans first instructed. From whom see now how far this latter church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may perform the obedience of the law, and prepare themselves to receive grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and, of congruity, obtain grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly perform the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requireth: and so those works of condignity deserve everlasting life. As for the infirmity which still remaineth in nature, *that* they nothing regard nor once speak of.

Erroneous doctrine of the papists concerning free-will.

Meritum de congruo.

Meritum de condigno.

OF INVOCATION AND ADORATION.

Over and besides these uncatholic and almost unchristian absurdities and defections from the apostolical faith, above specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men; saying that saints are to be called upon, "tanquam mediatores intercessionis," "as mediators of intercession:" "Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis;" "and Christ as the mediator of salvation." And affirm moreover, that Christ was a mediator only in time of his passion: which is repugnant to the words of St. Paul, writing to the old Romans, where he speaking of the intercession of Christ:[1] "which is," saith he, "on the right

False doctrine concerning invocation.

Mediators of intercession, and of salvation.

Christ a continual mediator.

(1) Rom. viii. 34.

Exordium. hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." And if Christ be a mediator of salvation, what needeth then any other intercession of the saints for our suits? for salvation being once had, what can we require more? or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the saints, who is sure to be saved only by Christ? And then, in their catholic devotions, why do they teach us thus to pray to the blessed virgin, "Save all them that glorify thee," &c.;[1] if salvation belong only to Christ? unless they study of purpose to seem contrary to themselves.

What needeth any other mediation? Salvation falsely attributed to the blessed virgin.

Idolatrous adoration of relics and sacraments. Profanation of the Lord's supper.

Hitherto also pertaineth the worshipping of relics, and the false adoration of sacraments; that is, the outward signs for the things signified, contrary to the seventh principle before. Add to this also the profanation of the Lord's supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the communion ministered, in setting it to sale for money, and falsely persuading both themselves and others, that the priest doth merit both to himself that saith, and to him that heareth, "Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis," that is, "Only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him."

OF SACRAMENTS, BAPTISM, AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

False doctrine touching sacraments.

As touching sacraments, their doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

First, They err falsely in the number: for where the institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth principle above prefixed) have added to the prescription of the Lord's word, five other sacraments.

Cause final.

Secondly, In the cause final they err: for where the word hath ordained those sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions of spiritual things, they, contrariwise, do teach that the sacraments do not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual without faith; "Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis." As is to be found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, and others more.

The operation.

Thirdly, In the operation and effect of the sacraments they fail, where they, contrary to the mind of the Scriptures, do say that they give grace, and not only do signify, but also contain and exhibit that which they signify; to wit, grace and salvation.

The application.

Fourthly, They err also in application, applying their sacraments both to the quick and the dead; to them also that be absent; to remission of sins, and releasing of pain, etc.

Errors and abuses of baptism.

Baptizing of bells.

In the sacrament of baptism they are to be reproved, not only for adding to the simple words of Christ's institution divers other newfound rites and fantasies of men; but also, where the use of the old church of Rome was only to baptize men, they baptize also bells; and apply the words of baptism to water,[2] fire, candles, stocks, and stones, etc.

Concerning the Lord's supper.

But especially in the supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthily swerveth from the right mind of the Scripture, all order, reason, and fashion; most worthy to be exploded out of all christian

(1) "Salva omnes qui te glorificant." (2) See vol. vi. p. 381.—Ed.

churches. Touching which sacrament, the first error is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking, and kneeling unto it; in reserving also and carrying the same about in pomp and procession in towns and fields. Secondly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving there no substance of bread and wine to remain, but only the real body and blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called bread his body, therefore (say they) he made it his body, and so, of a wholesome sacrament, make a perilous idol: and that which the old church of Rome did ever take to be a mystery,[1] they turn into a blind mist of mere accidents, to blear the people's eyes, making them believe they see that they see not, and not to see that which they see: and to worship a thing made, for their Maker, a creature for their Creator: and that which was threshed out of a wheaten sheaf, they set up in the church, and worship for a Saviour: and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father: and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pix, where, if he corrupt and putrefy before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well, by the Scriptures, that the body of Christ can never corrupt and putrefy, yet, for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them which believe not that which is against true christian belief.

Exordium.

Idolatry committed in the sacrament.

The sacrament turned to an idol.

Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

OF MATRIMONY.

What order and rule St. Paul hath set for marriage in his epistle to the Corinthians it is manifest; where, as he preferreth single life, in such as have the gift of continence, before the married estate, so again, in such as have not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other; willing every such one to have his wife, "because of fornication."[2] Furthermore, how the said apostle alloweth a bishop to be the husband of one wife (so he exceed not, after the manner of the Jews, who were permitted to have many), and how vehemently he reproveth them that restrain marriage, his letters to Timothy do record.[3] Moreover, what degrees be permitted by the law of God to marry, in the book of Leviticus is to be seen, chap. xviii. 3—20. Also how children ought not to marry without consent of their parents, by manifest examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Absurdities and errors of the pope's church touching matrimony.

Contrary to these ordinances of the Scripture, the new catholics of the pope's church, first do repute and call marriage a state of imperfection, and prefer single life, be it never so impure, before the same; pretending that where the one replenisheth the earth, the other filleth heaven. Furthermore, as good as the third part of Christendom, if it be not more, both men and women, they keep through co-acted vows from marriage, having no respect whether they have the gift or no. Ministers and priests, such as are found to have wives, not only they remove out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death upon

Single life, never so impure, preferred before matrimony.

The third part of Christendom stopt from marrying.

1) It will be remembered that Transubstantiation was no point of faith till the Council of Lateran, in 1215.—Ed.

(2) 1 Cor. vii. 2. (3) 1 Tim. iii. 12; iv. 3.

Exordium

them, and account their children for bastards and illegitimate. Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extend further than ever did the law of God, even to the fifth or sixth degree; which degree notwithstanding they release again, when they list, for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new-found prohibition of spiritual kindred, that is, that such as have been gossips (or godfathers and godmothers) together, in christening another man's child, must not by their law marry together. Briefly and finally in this doctrine and cases of matrimony, they gain and rake to themselves much money from the people, they augment horrible sodomitry, they nourish wicked adultery and much fornication, they fill the world with offensions and bastards, and give great occasion of murdering infants.[1]

The third part of the year exempted from marriage.

Gossips inhibited to marry by the pope's law.

OF MAGISTRATES AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Ye heard before what rules and lessons St. Paul gave to the old Romans concerning magistrates, to whose authority he would have all human creatures to be subjected; and how they are the ministers of God, having the sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right.[2] Now let us survey, a little, the pope's proceedings, and mark how far he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points, almost, from true christianity.

Corrupt doctrine of the pope's church concerning civil rulers and magistrates.

First, the pope with all his clergy exempt themselves from all obedience civil.

Secondly, they arrogate to themselves authority to ordain and constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary magistrate.

Thirdly, yea they take upon them to depose and set up rulers and magistrates, whom they list.

OF PURGATORY.

The paradoxes, or rather the fantasies of the latter church of Rome concerning purgatory, be monstrous; neither old nor apostolical.

The fantasies and antics of the pope's church concerning purgatory.

1. First (say they), there is a purgatory, where souls do burn in fire after this life.

2. The pain of purgatory differeth nothing from the pains of hell, but only that it hath an end: the pains of hell have none.

3. The painful suffering of this fire fretteth and scoureth away the sins before committed in the body.

4. The time of these pains endureth in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.

5. After which time of their pains being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.

6. The pains of purgatory be so great, that if all the beggars of the world were seen on the one side, and but one soul of purgatory on the other side, the whole world would pity more that one, than all the others.

7. The whole time of punishment in this purgatory must continue so long,

(1) See vol. ii. p. 13 (note 1), and p. 645; also Bp. Hall, "Honour of the Married Clergy," b. i. § 2; b. iii. § 3.—Ed.

(2) Rom. xiii. 4.

till the fire have clean fretted and scoured away the rusty spots of every sinful soul there burning, unless there come some release. *Exordium.*

8. Helps and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, by the pope's pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the altar, diriges and trentals,[1] prayer, fasting, meritorious deeds out of the treasure-house of the church, alms and charitable deeds of the living, in satisfying God's justice for them, etc.

9. Lack of belief of purgatory bringeth to hell.[2]

Manifest defection of the pope's church from the old faith of Rome.

Many other false errors and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, vanities, and follies, besides their blasphemous railings and contumelies, may be noted in the said latter church of Rome, wherein they have made manifest defection from the old faith of Rome, as in depriving the church of one kind of the sacrament; in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of God's word; in praying and speaking to the people, and administering sacraments in a tongue unknown; in mistaking the authority of the keys, in their unwritten verities; in making the authority of the Scripture insufficient; in untrue judgment of the church, and their wrong notes of the same; in the supremacy of the see of Rome; in their wrong opinion of Antichrist.

Contrariety between the religion of Christ and of the pope briefly noted.

But because these, with all other parts of doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other books, both in Latin and English, set forth in these our days, I shall not need further herein to travail; especially seeing the contrariety between the pope's church and the church of Christ; between the doctrine of the one, and the doctrine of the other, is so evident, that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no hands almost that feeleth it not.

No outward thing is required in Christ's doctrine to make a christian man, but only baptism and the Lord's supper.

All doctrine of the pope's standeth only in outward things.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend that which may suffice for all), whereas the doctrine of Christ is altogether spiritual, consisting wholly in spirit and verity, and requireth no outward thing to make a true christian man, but only baptism (which is the outward profession of faith), and receiving of the Lord's supper; let us now examine the whole religion of this latter church of Rome, and we shall find it, wholly from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremonial exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priest's hand, outward sacrifice of the mass, buying of pardons, purchasing of obits, extern worshipping of images and relics, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward works of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meats, difference of times and places, peculiar rites and observances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigils, keeping of holidays, coming to church, hearing of service, external succession of bishops and of Peter's see, external form and notes of the church, etc. So that by this religion to make a true christian and a good catholic, there is no working of the Holy Ghost almost required; as for example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let us here define a christian man after the pope's making: whereby we may see the better what is to be judged of the scope of his doctrine.

(1) A "trental," *trigintal*, or *tricennal*, was a service of thirty masses, rehearsed for thirty days successively, after the death of the party. It takes its name from the Italian "trenta," *thirty*. See Du Cange in v. "Trentale;" and Mr. Russell's note, from which the above is extracted, vol. i. page 553 of the "Works of the English Reformers; Tyndale and Frith:" London. 1831. —Ed.

(2) Ex Thom. Moro et aliis.

Exordium.

A CHRISTIAN MAN AFTER THE POPE'S MAKING, DEFINED.

After the pope's catholic religion, a true christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptized in the Latin tongue (where the god-fathers profess they cannot tell what); then confirmed by the bishop; the mother of the child to be purified; after he be grown in years, then to come to the church; to keep his fasting-days; to fast the Lent; to come under *Benedicite* (that is, to be confessed of the priest); to do his penance; at Easter to take his rites; to hear mass and divine service; to set up candles before images; to creep to the cross; to take holy bread and holy water; to go on procession; to carry his palms and candle, and to take ashes; to fast the ember-days, rogation-days, and vigils; to keep the holidays; to pay his tithes and offering-days; to go on pilgrimage; to buy pardons; to worship his Maker over the priest's head; to receive the pope for his supreme head, and to obey his laws; to receive St. Nicholas' clerks; to have his beads, and to give to the high altar; to take orders, if he will be a priest; to say his matins; to sing his mass; to lift up fair; to keep his vow, and not to marry; when he is sick to be annealed, and take the rites of the holy church; to be buried in the church-yard; to be rung for; to be sung for; to be buried in a friar's cowl; to find a soul-priest, etc.

Corporal exercise serveth to small profits. 1 Tim. iv. 8.

All which points being observed, who can deny but this is a devout man, and a perfect christian catholic; and sure to be saved, as a true faithful child of the holy mother-church?

Now look upon this definition, and tell me, good reader, what faith or spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost, in all this doctrine, is to be required. The grace of our Lord Jesus give the true light of his gospel to shine in our hearts. Amen!

Συν τῷ Χριστῷ.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING

THE THREE HUNDRED YEARS NEXT AFTER CHRIST, WITH THE TEN PERSECUTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

THESE things before premised, having thus hitherto prepared the way unto our story, let us now (by the grace and speed of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter: that as we have heretofore set forth, in a general description, the whole state as well of the primitive as of the latter times of this church of Rome, so now consequently, we may discourse, in particular sort, the acts and doings of every age, by itself, in such order as is before prefixed: declaring— *Primitive Church.*

First, of the suffering time of the church, which containeth about the time of three hundred years after Christ. Five heads or divisions.

Secondly, of the flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred years.

Thirdly, of the declining time of the church and of true religion, other three hundred years.

Fourthly, of the time of Antichrist, reigning and raging in the church, since the loosing of Satan.

Lastly, of the reforming time of Christ's church, in these latter three hundred years.

In the tractation of all which things our chief purpose and endeavour shall be (so near as the Lord will give us grace), not so much to intermeddle with outward affairs of princes or matters civil (except sometimes for example of life), as specially minding, by the help of the Lord, to prosecute such things as to the ecclesiastical state of the church are appertaining: as first, to treat of the establishing of christian faith: then, of the persecutions of tyrants; the constancy and patience of God's saints; the first conversion of christian realms to the faith of Christ (namely of this realm of England and Scotland, first beginning with king Lucius; and so forward, following the order of our English kings here in this land): lastly, to declare the maintenance of true doctrine, the false practice of prelates, the creeping in of superstition and hypocrisy, the manifold assaults, wars, and tumults of the princes of this world against the people of God. Wherein

Primitive Church. may appear the wonderful operation of Christ's mighty hand, ever working in his church, and never ceasing to defend the same against his enemies, according to the verity of his own word, wherein he promised to be with his church while the world shall stand, as, by the process of this story, may well be proved, and will be testified in the sequel thereof.

Two things in this history chiefly to be noted.

In the tractation of all which things two special points I chiefly commend to the reader, as most requisite and necessary for every christian man to observe and to note, for his own experience and profit; as, first, the disposition and nature of this world; secondly, the nature and condition of the kingdom of Christ; the vanity of the one, and stableness of the other; the unprosperous and unquiet state of the one, ruled by man's violence and wisdom, and the happy success of the other, ever ruled by God's blessing and providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God on the one, and his mercy on the other.

The world.

The world, I call all such as be without or against Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by heathenish life not following him, or by violence resisting him.

The kingdom of Christ in this world is the visible church.

On the other side, the kingdom of Christ in this world, I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ, and here take his part in this world against the world; the number of whom although it be much smaller than the other, and always, lightly, is hated and molested of the world, yet it is the number which the Lord peculiarly doth bless and prosper, and ever will.

The church of Christ divided in two sorts of people.

And this number of Christ's subjects is it, which we call the visible church here in earth; which visible church, having in itself a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be divided into two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward profession only, the other of such as by election inwardly are joined to Christ: the first in words and lips seem to honour Christ, and are in the visible church only, but not in the church invisible, and partake the outward sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other are both in the visible, and also in the invisible church of Christ, which not in words only and outward profession, but also in heart do truly serve and honour Christ, partaking not only the sacraments, but also the heavenly blessings and grace of Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the world and the kingdom of Christ there is a continual repugnance, so between these two parts of this visible church aforesaid ofttimes groweth great variance and mortal persecution, insomuch that sometimes the true church of Christ hath no greater enemies than those of their own profession and company; as happened not only in the time of Christ and his apostles, but also from time to time almost ever since;[1] but especially in these latter days of the church under the persecution of Antichrist and his retinue; as by the reading of these volumes more manifestly hereafter may appear.

A.D. 26.

At the first preaching of Christ, and coming of the gospel, who should rather have known and received him than the Pharisees and Scribes of that people which had his law? and yet who persecuted and rejected him more than they themselves? What followed?

God's punishment for refusing the gospel.

They, in refusing Christ to be their king, and choosing rather to be subject unto Cæsar, were by the said their own Cæsar at length

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 1.

destroyed; whereas Christ's subjects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the gospel of God, when it is so gently offered. *Primitive Church.*

The like example of God's wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the Romans also themselves. For when Tiberius Cæsar, having learnt by letters from Pontius Pilate of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himself also moved with belief of the same, and did confer thereon with the whole senate of Rome, [and proposed] to have Christ adored as God; they, not agreeing thereunto, refused him, because that, contrary to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated (said they) for God, before the senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him.[1] Thus the vain senate (following rather the law of man than of God, and being contented with the emperor to reign over them, and not contented with the meek King of glory, the Son of God, to be their king) were, after much like sort with the Jews, scourged and entrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and rejected Christ, so the just permission of God did stir up their own emperors against them in such sort, that both the senators themselves were almost all destroyed, and the whole city most horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred years together. For first, the same Tiberius, who, for a great part of his reign, was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother [Livia], nor spared his grandsons[2] [Drusus and Nero], nor the princes of the city, such as were his own counsellors, of whom, being of the number of twenty, he left not past two or three alive; and so cruel was he to the citizens, that, as the story[3] recordeth, "Nullus a pœnâ hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer." Suetonius reporteth him to be so stern of nature, and tyrannical, that, in time of his reign, very many were accused, and condemned, with their wives and children; maids also first deflowered, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty persons to be drawn to the place of execution.[4] By whom[5] also, through the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and sent to Rome, [where he was accused before Caligula,] deposed, then banished to the town of Vienne in Dauphiny,[6] and at length did slay himself.[7] Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long escape, of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa the elder, also, by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored.[8] In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus, the Son of

Why the senate of Rome refused Christ.

The senate and city of Rome plagued for refusing of Christ.

Pilate.

A.D. 40.

Herod.

Caiaphas.

Agrippa.

(1) Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 2: who quotes Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.
(2) Suetonius says "Nepotes," which Foxe mistranslates "Nephews." They were the sons of Germanicus, who was Tiberius's adopted son.—Ed.
(3) Suetonius in Vitâ Tiberii, cap. 61.—Ed. (4) Ex Suet. in Vitâ Tiberii, cap. 50, 51, 54, 55, 61.
(5) Rather "in whose reign."—Ed.
(6) Foxe says "Lyons;" on what authority, does not appear.—Ed.
(7) Pilate was accused to Vitellius, governor of Syria, for cruelty to the Samaritans: in consequence of which he was sent to Rome, to answer for his conduct there: but Tiberius died just before he got there. So far Josephus, Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. iv. § 1, 2. Eusebius states (Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 7), that he fell into great troubles in Caligula's reign, and that he died in despair, by his own hands, but without mentioning where: in his Chron. he places this event under the third year of Caligula. Baronius, in his Annals, records the death of Pilate under the same year, and adds, on the authority of Ado, archbishop of Vienne in Dauphiny in the ninth century, that he died at Vienne. M. Tillemont (L'Histoire des Empereurs, Ven. 1732, tom. i. p. 432) follows this authority, and refers us for Ado's words to Bibl. Patrum, tom. vii. p. 338.—Ed.
(8) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 6.

Primitive Church.

God, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, which was the sixteenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Jews suffered his blessed
A.D. 30. passion for the conquering of sin, death, and Satan the prince of this world, and rose again the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection, this aforesaid Tiberius Claudius Nero (otherwise [for his wine-bibbing], called Biberius Caldius Mero[1]) lived seven years, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the christians, through the commandment of the emperor.

March 16, A.D. 37.

St. Paul converted.

In the reign also of this emperor, and the year which was the next after the passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more,[2] St. Paul was converted to the faith.

After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned three-and-twenty years,[2] succeeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which three were likewise such scourges to the senate and people of Rome, that the first not only took other men's wives violently from them, but also deflowered three of his own sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as god, and temples to be erected in his name, and used to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set up in all temples, and also in the temple of Jerusalem; which caused great disturbance among the Jews, and then began the abomination of desolation spoken of in the gospel to be set up in the holy place. His cruelty of disposition, or else displeasure towards the Romans, was such that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one neck, that he, at his pleasure, might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod Antipas, the murderer of John Baptist and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably.[3] Caiaphas also, who wickedly sat upon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priest's room, and Jonathan set in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula, incensed against the Romans, had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, who slew him in the fourth year of his reign. After whose death were found in his closet two small books, one called the Sword, the other the Dagger: in which books or libels were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this Sword and Dagger, there was found also a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poisons were kept in glasses and vessels, for the purpose of destroying a wonderful number of people; which poisons, afterward being thrown into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish.[4]

Caligula commanded his image to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem.

The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

Herod miserably died in banishment.

Caiaphas deposed.

Jan. 24, A.D. 41.

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the same did the other two, which came after, bring to pass; namely, Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but especially the third of these Neros, called Domitius Nero, who, succeeding after Claudius, reigned fourteen years, with such fury and tyranny, that he

Oct. 13, A.D. 54.

(1) Suet. in Vitâ Tiberii, cap. 42.—Ed.
(2) From the death of Augustus, August 19th, A.D. 14, Tiberius reigned 22 yrs. 6 m. 26 d.—Ed.
(3) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7, and Bell. lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.
(4) Vid. Suet. in Calig. § 49; also Gotfrid. Viterbiens. part 15, apud Rerum Germanicarum Scripp tom. ii. p. 253, Ratisbonæ, 1726.—Ed.

slew the most part of the senators, and destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome.[1] So prodigious a monster of nature was he (more like a beast, yea rather a devil, than a man), that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous uncleanness, that he abstained not from his own mother, his natural sister, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife great with child, all his instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own kindred and consanguinity. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it six days and seven nights in burning,[2] while that he, to see the example how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the christian men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable emperor in his reign fourteen years, till at last the senate, proclaiming him a public enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death; for the fear whereof, he, flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his servant's in the country, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemy left, that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ, A.D. 67.[3]

Primitive Church.

Horrible wickedness and cruelty of Nero.

June 9, A.D. 68. Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the just scourge and heavy indignation of God from time to time ever follow, and how all things there go to ruin, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is contemned, and not received; as may appear, both by these examples of the Romans—who not only were thus consumed and plagued by their own emperors, but also by civil wars (whereof three happened in two years at Rome, after the death of Nero) and other casualties (as in Suetonius is testified); so that in the days of Tiberius aforesaid, five thousand Romans were hurt and slain at one time by the fall of a theatre—and also most especially by the destruction of the Jews, who about this same time in the year threescore and ten, and about forty years after the passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of St. Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus, and Vespasian his father, (who succeeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides those which Vespasian slew in subduing the country of Galilee; over and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand; two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of whom, part he gave to be devoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slain. By whose case all nations and realms may take example, what it is to reject the visitation of God's verity being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their salvation.

Sept. 8, A.D. 70. Vespasian and Titus his son. The destruction of the Jews.

A note for all realms to mark.

And as this wrathful vengeance of God thus hath been showed

(1) Suet. in Vitâ Claudii. cap. 29 says, 35 senators and more than 300 knights.—Ed.
(2) Sueton. in Vitâ Neronis, cap. 32.—Ed.
(3) St. Paul is supposed by some to have suffered martyrdom in the year 65; by others in 67. St. Peter obtained a similar honour in 66 or 67. Several of Foxe's dates hereabouts have been corrected from L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

Primitive Church.

upon this rebellious people, both of the Jews and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own emperors, so neither the emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their just reward. For among so many emperors who put so many christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them escaped either being slain themselves, or dying by some miserable end; or otherwise worthily revenged.

The Romans, for contemning Christ, punished by their emperors.

The just plague of God upon the Roman emperors' persecuting and resisting Christ till the time of Constantine.

First, of the poisoning of Tiberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Neros after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero Domitius, Galba, within ten months, was slain by Otho. And so did Otho afterward slay himself, being overcome by Vitellius. And was not Vitellius, shortly after drawn through the city of Rome, and, after he was tormented, thrown into the Tiber? Titus, a good emperor, is thought to be poisoned of Domitian his brother.[1] The said Domitian, after he had been a persecutor of the Christians,
A.D. 81. was slain in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Com-
A.D. 192. modus was murdered of Narcissus. The like end was of Pertinax and Julian. Moreover, after that Severus was slain here in England (who lieth at York), did not his son Bassianus[2] slay his brother Geta, and was not he, after, slain of Martialis? Macrinus with his son Diadumenus were both slain of their own soldiers. After whom Heliogabalus, that monstrous belly-paunch, was of his
A.D. 222. own people slain, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber. Alexander Severus, that worthy and learned emperor, who said he would not feed his servants, doing nothing, with the bowels of the commonwealth, although in life and virtues he was much unlike other emperors, yet proved the like end, being slain at Mentz with his godly mother Mammæa, by Maximin, whom the emperor
A.D. 238. before, of a muleteer, had advanced to great dignities: the which Maximin also, after three years, was slain himself of his soldiers. What should I speak of Maximus and Balbinus, in like sort both slain in Rome? Of Gordian slain by
A.D. 244. Philip; of Philip, the first christened emperor,[3] slain, or rather martyred, for the same cause; of wicked Decius drowned, and his son slain the same time in
A.D. 253. battle; of Gallus, and Volusian his son, emperors after Decius, both slain by conspiracy of Æmilianus, who rose against them both in war, and within three months after, was slain himself? Next to Æmilian succeeded Valerian, and Galienus his son, of whom Valerian (who was a persecutor of the Christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a riding fool of Sapor their king, who used him for a stool to leap upon his horse; while his son Galienus, sleeping at Rome, either would not, or could not, once proffer to revenge his father's ignominy; for, after the taking of Valerian, as many emperors rose up as there were provinces in the Roman monarchy. At length Galienus also was
A.D. 268. killed by Aureolus, who warred against him.

It were too long here to speak of Aurelian, another persecutor, slain of his secretary; of Tacitus, and Florianus his brother, of whom the first reigned six months, and was slain at Pontus; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at Tarsus: of Probus, who, although a good civil emperor, yet was destroyed by his soldiers. After whom Carus, the next emperor, was slain by
A.D. 283. lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Dioclesian, with his fellows Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, under whom all, at one time (during the time of Dioclesian), the greatest and most grievous persecution was moved against the Christians ten years together.
A.D. 305. Of whom, Dioclesian and Maximian deposed themselves from the empire. Galerius the chiefest minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderful sickness, having such a sore risen in the nether part of his belly, which consumed his privy-members, and so did swarm with worms, that, being curable neither by surgery nor physic, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the Christians; and so called in his proclamations against

(1) The dates in this Historical Summary are taken from L'Art de Verifier des Dates.—Ed.
(2) More commonly called Caracalla, sometimes Antoninus.—Ed.
(3) So says Eusebius in his Chronicon and (though more doubtfully) in his History, lib. vi. cap. 35. Elsewhere, with most of the ancients, he represents Constantine as the first christian emperor. It is doubtful whether Philip was a Christian at all.—Ed.

them. Notwithstanding he, not able to sustain, as some say, the stink of his sore, slew himself. Maximinus, in his war, being tormented with pain in his guts, thereof died. Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, and drowned in the Tiber. Licinius likewise, being overcome by the said Constantine the Great, was deposed from his empire, and afterward slain by his soldiers. But, on the other side, after the time of Constantine, when the faith of Christ was received into the imperial seat, we read of no emperor after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Julian, or Valens, or Basiliscus, (who expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himself); beside these, we read of no emperor to come to ruin and decay, as the others before mentioned.[1]

Primitive Church.

A.D. 311.

A.D. 312.

And thus have we, in brief sum, collected out of the chronicles the unquiet and miserable state of the emperors of Rome, until the time of Christian Constantine; with the examples, no less terrible than manifest, of God's severe justice upon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

Moreover, in much like sort and condition, if leisure of time or haste of matter would suffer me a little to digress unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like examples I could also infer of this our country of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and unthankful refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britons, and to exhort them unto repentance and amendment of life, and to warn them afore of plagues to come, if they repented not. What availed it? Gildas was laughed to scorn, and taken for a false prophet, and a malicious preacher. The Britons, with lusty courages, whorish faces, and unrepentant hearts, went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on every side, and destroyed them, and gave the land to other nations.

Britons.

Not many years past, God, seeing idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and wicked living, used in this realm, raised up that godly-learned man John Wickliff, to preach unto our fathers repentance; and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their papistry and idolatry, their hypocrisy and superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he, with his sermons, was despised, his books, and he himself after his death, were burnt. What followed? They slew their right king, and set up three wrong kings on a row, under whom all the noble blood was slain up, and half the commons [in addition] thereto. What in France, with their own sword in fighting among themselves for the crown; while the cities and towns were decayed, and the land brought half to a wilderness, in respect of what it was before. O extreme plagues of God's vengeance!

Wickliff and his books condemned, and he burnt for an heretic after his death.

Since that time, even of late years, God, once again having pity of this realm of England, raised up his prophets; namely, William Tyndale, Thomas Bilney, John Frith, doctor Barnes, Jerome, Garret, Anthony Peerson, with divers others, who, both with their writings and sermons, earnestly laboured to call us unto repentance; that, by this means, the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from us.

(1) Ex libro "Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ quam Tripartitam vocant: ex tribus Græcis auctoribus, Sozomeno, Socrate, et Theodorito," etc. [compiled and published by Cassiodorus, about A.D. 550, and extending from Constantine to Theodosius II. inclusive: it relates the death of Julian the Apostate, A.D. 363, in lib. vi. cap. 47, and the burning of Valens, A.D. 378, in lib. viii. cap. 15. It was published at Basil in 1539, with abridgements of Eusebius and Nicephorus, in a volume intituled "Scriptores Ecclesiastici:" Foxe may have used that volume in making this summary, for at p. 606 will be found the story of Basiliscus and Zeno, from Nicephorus; and most of the rest may be found in the selection of Eusebius. Basiliscus was deposed A.D. 477.—Ed]

Primitive Church. But how were they treated? How were their painful labours regarded? They themselves were condemned and burnt as heretics, and their books condemned and burnt as heretical. "The time shall come," saith Christ, "that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good service."[1]

Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this realm worthy the name of a plague, let the godly-wise judge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgiven us these our wicked deeds, as I trust he hath, let us not therefore be proud and high-minded, but most humbly thank him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like ungodly enterprises hereafter. Neither is there here any need to speak of these our lower and latter times, which have been in king Henry's and king Edward's days, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh, and cannot be forgotten. But let this pass; of this I am sure, that God, yet once again, is come on visitation to this church of England, yea, and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this visitation he hath redressed many abuses, and cleansed his church of much ungodliness and superstition, and made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the old form and state. And now how grateful receivers we be, with what heart, study, and reverence, we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that see our fruits, or to the sequel, which, peradventure, will declare it. But this by the way of digression.

God's benefits towards England.

A caveat for England.

Now to regress again to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the justice of God upon these Roman persecutors, so now we declare their persecutions raised up against the people and servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years after Christ; which persecutions in number commonly are counted to be ten, besides the persecutions first moved by the Jews, in Jerusalem and other places, against the apostles. In the which, first St. Stephen the deacon was put to death; with divers others more, in the same rage of time either slain or cast into prison. At the doing whereof, Saul the same time played the doughty pharisee, being not yet converted to the faith of Christ, whereof the history is plain, set forth at large by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles.

St. Stephen the first ringleader of all Christ's martyrs.

After the martyrdom of this blessed Stephen, suffered next James the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of John. Of which James mention is made in the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephen, king Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the congregation, among whom James was one, whom he slew with the sword. Of this James, Eusebius[2] also inferreth mention, alleging Clement, thus writing a memorable story of him.

St. James the apostle, brother of John, martyred.

A notable conversion of a wicked accuser, afterward a martyr.

"This James," saith Clement, "when he was brought to the tribunal seat, he that brought him and was the cause of his trouble, seeing him to be condemned and that he should suffer death, as he went to the execution, being moved therewith in heart and conscience, confessed himself also, of his own accord, to be a christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive him what he had done. After that James

(1) John xvi. 2.
(2) Hist. Eccle. lib. ii. cap. 9. ex Clement septima Hypotyposeon.

had a little paused with himself upon the matter, turning to him, 'Peace,' saith he, 'be to thee, brother;' and kissed him. And both were beheaded together, A.D. 36." *Primitive Church.*

Nicanor one of the seven deacons, with two thousand others, martyred; also Timon and Parmenas, the deacons; and Thomas, the apostle.

Dorotheus in his book named "Synopsis,"[1] testifieth, that Nicanor, one of the seven deacons, with two thousand others which believed in Christ, suffered also the same day, when Stephen did suffer. The said Dorotheus witnesseth also, that Timon, another of the deacons, bishop afterward of Bostra[2] in Arabia, was there burned. Parmenas also, another of the deacons, suffered.[3] Thomas preached to the Parthians,[4] Medes, and Persians, also to the Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Magians. He suffered in Calamina,[5] a city of India,[6] being slain with a dart. Jude, brother of James the younger, called also Thaddæus, and Lebbeus, preached to the Edessenes, and to all Mesopotamia: he was slain under Abgarus, king of the Edessenes, in Berytus.[7]

Thaddæus.

Jude, the apostle, and his brother Simon, martyred; also Simon Cananeus, or Zelotes, the apostle.

Simon, who was brother to Jude above mentioned, and to James the younger, who all were the sons of Mary Cleophas and of Alpheus, was bishop of Jerusalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt in the time of Trajan the emperor, as Dorotheus recordeth. Simon the apostle, called Cananeus and Zelotes, preached in Mauritania, and in the country of Africa, and in Britain: he was likewise crucified. But Abdias writeth, that he and the apostle Jude were both slain by a tumult of the people in Suanir, a city of Persia.[8]

Mark the evangelist burned.

Mark, the evangelist and first bishop of Alexandria, preached the gospel in Egypt, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burnt, and afterward buried in a place called there "Bucolus," under the reign of Trajan the emperor.[9]

Bartholomew the apostle crucified and beheaded.

Bartholomew is said also to have preached to the Indians, and to have converted the gospel of St. Matthew

(1) This is occasionally rather indifferent ground to found any assertion upon, as the book of Dorotheus is thus characterised by Miræus: "Sub nomine Dorothei Tyrii in Biblioth. vet. Patrum extat 'Synopsis de vita et morte Apostolorum, Prophetarum ac Discipulorum Christi,' quæ plena est fabulis; ut Molanus, Baronius, Bellarminus et alii observarunt." De Script. illust. p. 5. Rivet confirms this by several instances, and is surprised, consequently, that Bellarmine (de Pontif. Rom. lib. ii. cap. 4) should attempt, as he does, to support St. Peter's *Roman* episcopate from such a source. "Dorotheus Presbyter passus est sub *Juliano* circa 363. Episcopum fuisse existimavit *Sixtus Senensis*, qui biblioth. lib. 4, ascribit eidem synopsin univ. Scripturæ sanctæ, in qua omnium librorum utriusque Testam. argumenta complexus est. Hanc interpretatus est *Wolf. Musculus*, et excudit Frobenius Basileæ 1557 inter Eccles. Historiæ auctores." "Crit. sac." lib. iii. cap. 13. There is a translation of Dorotheus in Hanmer's Eusebius, and his testimony in the present case seems to be admitted; see "Martyrolog. Rom. a Baronio," Jan. 10.—Ed

(2) "Erroris arguitur et Dorotheus, dum in Synopsi hunc non Beroensem sed Bostrensem fuisse Episc. scribit." Martyrol. Rom. auct. a Baronio, p. 173. Antv. 1579.—Ed.

(3) Ex Dorotheo in Synops.

(4) Vide Appendix I. to Hieron. lib. de viris illustribus, p. 225 in the Biblioth. Eccles. of Fabricius, Hamb. 1718.—Ed.

(5) See Fabricii "Codex Apocryphus N. T." p. 689, edit. Hamb. 1719; and, with regard to the popular idea of his having been the apostle of India, Witsii "Miscellanea Sacra," tom. ii. p. 352; or Hough's "History of Christianity in India," vol. i.—Ed.

(6) See the Magdeburg centuriators (cent. 1. lib. ii. col. 445, edit. 1624,) who, noting down this and other statements respecting Thomas, then remark, "sed certioribus testibus ista omnia destituuntur."—Ed.

(7) Foxe here confounds Thaddæus, the apostle, with another Thaddæus, one of the seventy disciples according to Eusebius, who (Hist. lib. i. cap. 13; lib. ii. cap. 1) relates, from the Acts of the Edessene Church, Thaddæus's proceedings, and his planting that church under the favourable auspices of Abgarus the king. He died in peace at Berytus (hod. Beirout). He is commemorated as the Apostle of Edessa by the Greeks, in the Menæa, August 21st. See Baron. Martyrol., and Alban Butler, at October 28th.—Ed.

(8) The assertions of Abdias are not considered to be well founded: vide Cent. Magdeburg. cent. i. lib. ii. col. 449. See also Abdiæ hist. certam. Apost. lib. vi. § 20. Fabricius, who has reprinted Abdias in his "Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test." remarks (p. 630, edit. 1719,) with regard to the alleged *place* of martyrdom, "de civitate Persidis, cui nomen *Suanir*, altum apud veteres silentium." Alban Butler thinks they were the Suani in Colchis, a dependency of Persia.—Foxe has confounded Simon Cananeus or Zelotes (for they were the same, see Matt. x. 4, Mark iii. 18, Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13), one of the apostles, with Simon, one of our Lord's relatives, Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3. This mistake is common, as well as that respecting the two Thaddæi. See Baron. Martyrol. Oct. 28. A slight transposition has corrected the error.—Ed.

(9) See Tillemont's "Memoires à l'Hist. Ecclesiastique," edit. Bruxelles, 1695, tom. ii. pt. 1, pp. 171 and 408.—Ed.

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into their tongue; where he continued a great space, doing many miracles. At last in Albinopolis, a city of greater Armenia, after divers persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified; and after, being excoriate, he was at length beheaded.[1]

Andrew the apostle crucified for the gospel.

Of Andrew the apostle and brother to Peter, thus writeth Jerome in his book[2] "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum." "Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time and reign of Vespasian, as our ancestors have reported) did preach, in the year fourscore of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Sacæ, and in a city which is called Sebastopolis, where the Ethiopians do now inhabit. He was buried in Patræ, a city of Achaia, being crucified by Ægeas, the governor of the Edessenes." Hitherto writeth Jerome, although in the number of years he seemeth a little to miss:[3] for Vespasian reached not to the year fourscore after Christ. But Bernard, in his second sermon, and St. Cyprian, in his book "De duplici Martyrio," do make mention of the confession and martyrdom of this blessed apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers, we have collected after this manner:

That when Andrew, being conversant in a city of Achaia called Patræ, through his diligent preaching, had brought many to the faith of Christ, Ægeas the governor, knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constrain as many as did believe Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the senate, to do sacrifice unto the idols, and so give divine honour unto them. Andrew, thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsel and the doings of Ægeas, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him: "that it behoved him who was judge of men, first to know his Judge which dwelleth in heaven, and then to worship him being known; and so, in worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind idols." These words spake Andrew to the proconsul. But he, greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him, whether he was the same Andrew that did overthrow the temple of the gods, and persuade men to be of that superstitious sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. Andrew did plainly affirm, that the princes of the Romans did not understand the truth, and that the Son of God coming from heaven into the world for man's sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not *gods*, but also most cruel *devils;* enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and, being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and so by the wicked service of the devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedness, and, after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds. But the proconsul esteeming these things to be as vain, especially seeing the Jews (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things any more; or, if he did, that he should be fastened to the cross with all speed.

The words of Andrew to the proconsul.

The fervency of Andrew against idolatry.

The constant faith of Andrew to the end.

Andrew, abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened: "He would not have preached the honour and glory of the cross, if he had feared the death of the cross." Whereupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced; that Andrew, teaching and enterprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified.[4] Andrew, going toward the place, and seeing afar off the cross prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecility of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he fail in his speech,

(1) Ex Johan. de Monte Regali.

(2) Ex Hieron. in Catalogo Scrip. Eccles. [Appendix I. p. 224, in "Biblioth. Eccles. Fabricii," Hamb. 1718. The next authority, the treatise "De duplici Martyrio," is incorrectly assigned to Cyprian: "Cypriani non esse patet, quod in eo Diocletiani Imp. et belli Cæsarei contra Turcas fit mentio." Rivet. crit. sac. lib. ii. § 15.—Ed.]

(3) There is some mistake here: Jerome assigns no date whatever.—Ed.

(4) The foregoing narrative is from the "Acta Martyrii S. Andreæ," a production ascribed to the presbyters and deacons of Achaia, but rejected by M. Tillemont, as of no authority. Ribadeneira quotes the work, in Vitâ S. Andr.—Ed.

his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested, nor did his understanding fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak, and fervent charity did appear in his words as kindled sparks; he said, "O cross,[1] most welcome and long looked for! with a willing mind, joyfully and desirously, I come to thee, being the scholar of him which did hang on thee: because I have been always thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee."[2] So, being crucified, he yielded up the ghost and fell on sleep, the day before the Kalends of December. *Primitive Church.*

Matthew, otherwise named Levi, first of a publican made an apostle, wrote his gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew tongue.[3] After he had converted to the faith Æthiopia and all Egypt, Hircanus, their king, sent one to run him through with a spear, as writeth the aforenamed Johannes de Monte Regali. Concerning the doings and decreements of this blessed apostle and evangelist, divers things are recorded by Julius Africanus,[4] under the pretensed name of Abdias; also by Vincentius, Perionius, and others; but in such sort, as, by the contents, the matter may greatly be suspected not to lack some crafty forgery, for the more establishment of later decretals and Romish doctrine; as touching merits, consecration of nuns, the superstitious prescription of Lent-fast, not only in abstaining from all flesh meats, but also from all matrimonial intercourse between man and wife, during the said time of holy Lent: Item, the strict prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance, before receiving of the Lord's supper: in ordaining of mass; and that no nun must marry after the vow of her profession, with other such-like. St. Matthew, the apostle, slain with a spear.

Johannes de Monte Regali,[5] testifieth of Matthias, after he had preached to the Jews, at length he was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in Æthiopia. Matthias, the apostle, stoned and beheaded.

Philip, the holy apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of salvation to them, at length suffered, as the other apostles did, in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death; where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him.[6] Philip, the apostle, crucified.

Of James, the Brother of the Lord, thus we read in Eusebius.[7]

After that Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome after his appellation made at Cesarea, and that the Jews, by the means thereof, had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him conceived, they fell upon James, the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they were bent with like malice, and brought him forth before them, and required him to deny, before all the people, the faith of Christ. But he, otherwise than they all looked for, freely and with a greater constancy, before all the multitude confessed Jesus to be the Son of God, our Saviour and our Lord. Whereupon they, not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the justest of all men, for the divine wisdom and godliness which he exhibited in his life, they killed him; finding the more opportunity to accomplish their mischief, because the government at that time was vacant. For, Festus being dead in Jewry, the administration of that province was destitute of a ruler, and a deputy. But after what manner James was killed, the James, bishop of Jerusalem.

(1) The cross here is not taken for the material cross of wood, but for the manner of death upon the cross, which death was to him welcome.

(2) Ex Bernardo, Serm. 2. de Sanct. Andrea.

(3) As recordeth Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 24. 39; lib. v. cap. 8 and 10; also Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 1; Item Hieronymus, in Catalogo Scrip. Ecclesiast.

(4) Lib. vii. § 16. Julius Africanus is represented as the *translator* of Abdias; but as Sixtus Senensis and Vossius (de Hist. Gr. lib. ii. c. 9,) ask, "quomodo Abdiam eum latine transtulit Jul. Afr., quem Græcum fuisse scriptorem ex Eusebio et aliis constat?" See Fabricius, pp. 392, 397.—Ed.

(5) Sophronius, in the Appendix to Jerome, before referred to, is better authority; § 7.—Ed.

(6) Ex Isido. lib. De Patribus Novi Testam.

(7) Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 23. Foxe's translation has been revised from the Greek.—Ed.

Primitive Church.

words of Clement do declare, who writeth that he was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple, and being smitten with a club, was slain. But Hegesippus,[1] who lived in the time next after the apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, writeth most accurately about him, as followeth:—

James, the brother of our Lord, took in hand to govern the church with the apostles, being counted of all men, from the time of our Lord, to be a just and perfect man. Many and divers other Jameses there were beside him, but this was born holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine nor any strong drink, neither did he eat any animal food; the razor never came upon his head; he was not anointed with oil, neither did he use the bath; to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, for he was not clothed with woollen, but with linen only;[2] and he used to enter into the temple alone, and there, falling upon his knees, ask remission for the people; so that his knees, by oft kneeling (for worshipping God, and craving forgiveness for the people), lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was, for the excellency of his just life, called "The Just," and, "Oblias," which means in Hebrew "the safeguard of the people" and "justice," as the prophets declare of him: therefore, when many belonging to the seven sects of the Jews[3] asked him what the door of Jesus was, he answered, that he was the Saviour. Whereupon some believed Jesus to be Christ; but the aforesaid sects neither believe the resurrection, neither that any shall come, who shall render unto every man according to his works; but as many of them as believed, believed for James's preaching. When many therefore of their chief men did believe, there was a tumult made of the Jews, scribes, and pharisees, saying; There is danger, lest all the people should look for this Jesus, as the Christ. Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James, "We beseech thee restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus, as though he were Christ; we pray thee persuade all them which come unto the feast of the passover to think rightly of Jesus; for we all give heed to thee, and all the people do testify of thee that thou art just, and that thou dost not accept the person of any man. Therefore persuade the people that they be not deceived about Jesus, for all the people and we ourselves are ready to obey thee. Therefore stand upon the pinnacle of the temple, that thou mayest be seen above, and that thy words may be heard of all the people; for all the tribes with many gentiles are come together for the passover." And thus the forenamed scribes and pharisees did set James upon the battlements of the temple, and they cried unto him, and said, "Thou just man, whom all we ought to obey, because this people is going astray after Jesus which is crucified, tell what is the door of Jesus crucified."[4] And he answered with a loud voice, "Why do you ask me of Jesus the Son of man? He sitteth on the right hand of the Most High, and shall come in the clouds of heaven." Whereupon many were persuaded and glorified God, upon this witness of James, and said, "Hosannah, to the Son of David." Then the scribes and the pharisees said among themselves, "We have done evil, that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus; let us go up, and throw him down, that others, being moved with fear, may deny that faith." And they cried out, saying, "Oh, oh, this just man also is seduced;" and they fulfilled that scripture which is written in Isaiah, "Let us take away the just man, because he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works."[5] Therefore they went up to throw down the just man. Yet he was not killed by the fall, but, turning, fell down upon his knees, saying, "O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do."[6] And they said among themselves, "Let us stone the just man, James;" and they took him to smite him with stones. But while they were smiting him

(1) Hegesippus, a converted Jew, the first ecclesiastical historian after the apostles, born about A.D. 100, died about A.D. 180: he wrote five books of ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων.—ED.

(2) See Levit. xvi. 2—4.—ED.

(3) Hegesippus (quoted by Euseb. lib. iv. c. 22.) explains the seven sects of the Jews to be the Ἐσσαῖοι, Γαλιλαῖοι, Ἡμεροβαπτισταί, Μασβωθαῖοι, Σαμαρεῖται, Σαδδουκαῖοι, Φαρισαῖοι.—ED.

(4) Τίς ἡ θύρα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου; Valesius explains "door" to mean, "the first rudiments, or the main principles, of Christianity."—ED.

(5) Chap. iii. ["Hic locus legitur in Esaia, cap. 3. δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον—ita quidem legitur in edit. Romanâ. Verum Justinus in dialog. adv. Tryh. diserte testatur in edit. LXX. interpretum scriptum fuisse ἄρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, pro quo Judaici interpretes δήσωμεν verterunt. Justini lectionem confirmat etiam Tertul. contra Marc. 3. 22. "Venite, inquiunt, auferamus justum, quia inutilis est nobis." Vales. not. in Euseb.—ED.]

(6) Luke xxiii. 34.

with stones, a priest, one of the children of Rechab, a descendant of the Rechabites mentioned in Jeremiah the prophet, said to them, "Leave off, what do ye? The just man prayeth for you." And one of those who were present, a fuller, took an instrument, wherewith they did use to beat and purge cloth, and smote the just man on his head, and so he finished his testimony. And they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth still by the temple. He was a true witness for Christ to the Jews and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Vespasian the emperor, destroying the land of Jewry, brought them into captivity. *The First Persecution.* A. D. 64 to 68.

These things thus written at large by Hegesippus, do well agree with those which Clement did write of him.[1] This James was so notable a man for his justice, that he was had in honour of all men; insomuch that the wise men of the Jews, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the besieging of Jerusalem, and other calamities which happened unto them, to no other cause, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Also Josephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: "These things so chanced unto the Jews in revenge of that just man James, the brother of Jesus whom they called Christ, for the Jews killed him, although he was a righteous man."[2]

The same Josephus declareth his death in the twentieth book of his Antiquities,[3] saying, "Cæsar, hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus, as procurator, into Jewry: but Ananus the younger, of the sect of the Sadducees, being high-priest, and trusting that he had obtained a convenient time [to shew his authority], seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus yet on the road, assembled the Sanhedrim, and, calling many unto him, among whom was James, the brother of Jesus who is called Christ, he delivered them to be stoned, accusing them as breakers of the law."

Whereby it appeareth, that many others also, besides James, at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Jews, for the faith of Christ.

A Description of the ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church, with the variety of their Torments.

These things being thus declared for the martyrdom of the apostles, and the persecution of the Jews: now let us (by the grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the persecutions raised by the Romans against the Christians in the primitive age of the church, during the space of three hundred years, till the coming of godly Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned by Eusebius, and by the most part of writers, to the number of ten most special.[4] Wherein marvellous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of christian innocents that were slain and tormented, some one way, some another, as Rabanus saith, and saith truly, "Some slain with sword; some burnt with fire; some with whips scourged; some stabbed with forks of iron; some fastened to the cross or gibbet; some drowned in the sea; some their skins plucked off; some their tongues cut off; some stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger; some their hands cut off alive, or otherwise dismembered, have been so left naked to the open shame of the world," etc.[5] Whereof Augustine also thus saith, "Ligabantur, include- *The sundry torments of the holy martyrs in the primitive church.*

(1) See "Clementina." Col. Agripp. 1569, page 22.—Ed.
(2) Dr. Hudson observes that Origen is the first who (by a mistake of memory) attributes this sentiment to Josephus; and that Eusebius and others have copied Origen's blunder. Josephus (Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 8. § 5.) expressly attributes the ruin of his country to the anger of God at the murder of Jonathan the high-priest by the assassins.
(3) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 9.
(4) See Augustine "De civitate Dei," lib. xviii. cap. 52.—Ed.
(5) "Alii ferro perempti; alii flammis exusti; alii flagris verberati; alii vectibus perforati; alii cruciati patibulo; alii demersi pelagi periculo; alii vivi decoriati; alii vinculis mancipati; alii linguis privati; alii lapidibus obruti; alii frigore afflicti; alii fame cruciati; alii truncatis manibus; aliique cæsis membris, spectaculum contumeliæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes," etc.

The First Persecution. A.D. 64 to 68.

bantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contemnentes pro servatore."[1] Whose kinds of punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these martyrs was one. And yet, notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry torments, and also the like cruelness of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that, as Jerome, in his epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus, saith, "There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January."[2]

The number of holy martyrs in the primitive church.

THE FIRST PERSECUTION.

The first of these ten persecutions was stirred up by Nero Domitius before mentioned, the sixth emperor, about the year of our Lord threescore and four. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was very fierce against the Christians, "Insomuch that (as Eusebius recordeth) a man might then see cities full of men's bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that sex, in the open streets," etc.[3] Likewise Orosius, writing of the said Nero, saith, "that he was the first who in Rome did raise up persecution against the Christians; and not only in Rome, but also through all the provinces thereof; thinking to abolish and to destroy the very name of Christians in all places," etc.[4] Whereunto accordeth, moreover, the testimony of Jerome upon Daniel, saying, that many there were of the Christians in those days, who, seeing the filthy abominations and intolerable cruelty of Nero, thought that he was Antichrist.

Nero thought to be Antichrist.

In this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at Rome; albeit some others, and not without cause, do doubt thereof: concerning whose life and history, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the Gospel, and in the Acts of St. Luke, I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cause and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as Jerome, Hegesippus, Eusebius, Abdias, and others, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Jerome be these:

St. Peter, the apostle, crucified at Rome.

"Simon Peter, the son of Jonas, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, after he had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to them of the circumcision that believed, dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of Claudius the emperor [which was about the year of our Lord 42][5] came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chair the space of five and twenty years,[6] until the last year of the aforesaid Nero, which

(1) Aug. De civit. Dei, lib. xxi. c. 6.

(2) "Nullus esset dies qui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperiri posset ascriptus, excepto die calendarum Januarii." [On the number of martyrs, many passages are collected from the Fathers, and other writers, in "Basnagii Annales polit." ad an. 96. § 7.—Ed.]

(3) "Usque adeo ut videres repletas humanis corporibus civitates, jacentes mortuos simul cum parvulis senes, fœminarumque absque ullâ sexus reverentiâ nudata in publico rejectaque starent cadavera."—Histor. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 26; [Eusebius, however, is describing Nero's severity toward the *Jews*, not the Christians; and is quoting from Josephus, "De bello Jud." lib. ii. cap. 18. § 2.—Ed.]

(4) Orosius, lib. vii. [cap. 7.—Ed.]

(5) This date is not in Jerome.—Ed.

(6) This report seemeth neither to come of Jerome, nor to be true in Peter. [See p. 102, note 3. See this assertion of Jerome's disproved in "Essays on Romanism," Seeley and Burnside, London, 1839, p. 183.—Ed.]

was the fourteenth year of his reign, of whom he was crucified, his head being down and his feet upward, himself so requiring, because he was (he said) unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord was."[1] *The First Persecution.*

A. D. 64 to 68.

Hegesippus, prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias[2] also (if any authority is to be given to his book,[3] which, following not only the sense, but also the very form of words, of Hegesippus in this history, seemeth to be extracted out of him and of other authors), saith,[4]

Simon Magus, being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper of his life,[5] was required upon a time to be present at the raising up of a certain noble young man in Rome, of Nero's kindred, lately departed; where Peter, also, was desired to come to the reviving of the said personage. But when Magus, in the presence of Peter, could not do it, then Peter, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus, did raise him up, and restored him to his mother: whereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay and to be detested in Rome. Not long after, the said Magus threatened the Romans that he would leave the city, and, in their sight, fly away from them into heaven. So, the day being appointed, Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus began to fly in the air: but Peter, by the power of the Lord Jesus, brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground; by the which fall his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then Nero, sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against Peter to put him to death; which, when the people perceived, they entreated Peter with much ado that he would fly the city. Peter, through their importunity at length persuaded, prepared himself to avoid. But, coming to the gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meet him, to whom he, worshipping, said, "Lord, whither dost thou go?" To whom he answered and said, "I am come again to be crucified." By this, Peter, perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the city again, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared.

This is out of Hegesippus. Eusebius, moreover, writing of the death not only of Peter, but also of his wife, affirmeth, that Peter, seeing his wife going to her martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging upon the cross), was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who, crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, bade her "remember the Lord Jesus." Such was then (saith Eusebius) the blessed bond of marriage among the saints of God.[6] And thus much of Peter. *Peter's wife put to death for Christ*

Paul, the apostle, who before was called Saul, after his great travail and unspeakable labours in promoting the gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first persecution under Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Jerome in his "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum:" *Paul, the apostle.*

(1) Hieron. Catal. Scrip. Eccles. (2) Abdias, lib. i. [Hist. Apost. § 16.—Ed.]

(3) Pseudo-Abdias, bishop of Babylon, is supposed to have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century. His first editor had an extraordinary opinion of his excellence: "Wolfgangus Lazius, qui primum illum in lucem anno 1551 Basileæ cum præfatione amplâ protraxit, (unde postea etiam Parisiis, 1566 et Coloniæ, 1569 prodiit) tanti eum fecit, ut dubitare se dicat, utrum ea in quibus cum Luca consentit hauserit ex hoc evangelista, an Lucas ea potius ex Abdia isto descripserit:" Vossius de Hist. Gr.; (quoted by Oudin. Script. Eccles. tom. ii. col. 419) who also states that the book was once condemned by Paul IV. for its oft-times fabulous and mendacious narratives, an act (all things considered) somewhat ungracious; and for which reparation was afterwards made, by withdrawing the name from the Index Prohibitorius: see *Yet more work for a Masse-Priest* (Lond. 1622), p. 5. From Foxe's residing so long as he did at Basle, he seems to have become acquainted with books, and introduced their contents into his Acts and Monuments, which under other circumstances would not have engaged his attention; nor, as in the present case, much deserved it.—Ed.

(4) Hegesippus, lib. iii. De excidio Hierosol. cap. 2. [This is a different Hegesippus from that mentioned suprà, p. 98, and lived after the time of Constantine. See Cave.—Ed.]

(5) [There is a slight obscurity in these words, which will be removed by quoting the original: "ita Magus Cæsaris animum obtinuerat, ut eum salutis suæ præsulem, vitæque custodem, remotâ ambiguitate confideret." Vide Baronius, "*Annales Eccles.*" anno 68, § 13.—Ed.]

(6) Euseb. lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. cap. 30. [quoting from Clemens. Alex. Strom. vii. cap. 11. § 63.—Ed.]

The First Persecution.

A.D. 64 to 68.

Paul, otherwise called Saul, one of the apostles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the tribe of Benjamin, and of a town of Jewry called Giscala; which town being taken of the Romans, he with his parents fled to Tarsus, a town of Cilicia; afterward was sent up by his parents to Jerusalem, and there brought up in the knowledge of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was a doer of the death of Stephen. And when he had received letters from the high priest to persecute the Christians, by the way, going to Damascus, he was stricken down of the Lord's glory; and, of a persecutor, was made a professor, an apostle, a martyr, a witness of the gospel, and a vessel of election.

Saul brought up under Gamaliel.

Saul a persecutor.

Saul converted.

Saul turned to Paul.

Paul sent to the Gentiles.

Among his other manifold labours and travails in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he first won Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, to the faith of Christ, whereupon he took his name, as some suppose, turned from Saul to Paul. After he had passed through divers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, in company with Barnabas, he went up to Jerusalem, to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach unto the Gentiles. And because it is in the Acts of the Apostles sufficiently comprehended concerning the admirable conversion and conversation of this most worthy apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his history I will here add, how the said apostle Paul, the five and twentieth year after the passion of the Lord, in the second year of Nero, at what time Festus ruled in Jewry, was sent up in bonds to Rome, where he, dwelling in his free hostery two years together, disputed daily against the Jews, proving Christ to be come.[1] And here is to be noted, that, after his first answer or purgation there made at Rome, the emperor Nero not yet fully confirmed in his empire and not yet bursting out into those mischiefs which histories report of him, he was at that time by Nero discharged, and dismissed to preach the gospel in the west parts, [and about the coasts of Italy][2]; as he himself afterward, in his second epistle to Timothy,[3] written in his second apprehension (in which also he suffered), witnesseth, saying, "In my first purgation no man stood with me, but all did forsake me: the Lord lay it not to their charge! But the Lord stood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might hear and be taught. And I was delivered out of the lion's mouth." In which place, by the lion he plainly meaneth Nero. [And afterwards likewise he saith, "I was delivered from the mouth of the lion." And again, "The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath saved me unto his heavenly kingdom."][4] Speaking this, because he perceived then the time of his martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the same epistle before, he saith, "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my dissolution draweth on."

Thus, then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of Nero, and the same day on which Peter was crucified [although not in the same year, as some write, but in the next year following],[2] was beheaded at Rome for the testimony of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia, the seven and thirtieth year after the passion of the Lord. He wrote nine epistles to seven churches; to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreover he wrote to his disciples, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The epistles of St. Paul to seven churches.

The epistles to the Hebrews, and to Laodicea.

The epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrews, some think not to be his, for the difference of the style and phrase, but either judged to be written of Barnabas, as Tertullian supposeth, or of St. Luke, as others think; or else of Clement, afterward bishop of Rome, who, as they say, compiling together the sayings and sentences of Paul, did phrase them in his own style and manner. Or rather, as some do judge, because St. Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiousness of his name among that people he dissembled, and confessed not, his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, being himself a Hebrew, so he wrote in Hebrew, that is, his own tongue, the more eloquently; and this, afterward, was after a more eloquent manner translated into the Greek, than his other epistles be written in. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth

(1) Acts xxviii. 30. (2) Not in the Greek, or the Latin version.—Ed.

(3) 2 Tim. iv. 16 [This passage proves that Peter was not then at Rome: see "Essays on Romanism," Seeley and Burnside, London 1839, p. 175.—Ed.]

(4) In the Latin version, but not in the Greek.—Ed.

from his other epistles. Some also acknowledge as his the epistle to Laodicea, but that is rejected of most men.[1] *The First Persecution.*

A.D. 64 to 68.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of St. Paul, as Eusebius, Jerome, Maximus, and other authors do but briefly pass it over, so Abdias (if his book be of any substantial authority), speaking more largely of the same, doth say, "that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruin of Simon Magus, Paul, yet remaining in free custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from martyrdom by God's permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the gospel by him. And the same Abdias, proceeding in his story,[2] declareth moreover,

That as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the emperor, not only for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring up sedition against the empire. For this he, being called before Nero, and demanded to show the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was: to teach all men peace and charity; how to love one another; how to prevent one another in honour; rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; mean men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their present state; poor men to rejoice in their poverty with hope; fathers to bring up their children in the fear of God; children to obey their parents; husbands to love their wives; wives to be subject to their husbands; citizens and subjects to give their tribute unto Cæsar, and to be subject to their magistrates; masters to be courteous, not churlish to their servants; servants to deal faithfully with their masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his doctrine "he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of glory," which spake to him from heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, "That he should go and preach his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him; and that whatsoever he did or said, he would justify it," etc. After that Paul had thus declared unto the emperor, shortly after sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose execution then Nero sent two of his esquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They, coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe; who told them, that shortly after they should believe, and be baptized at his sepulchre. This done, the soldiers came and led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his neck to the sword.

Paul declareth his doctrine to the emperor.

Paul condemned.

Paul suffereth.

Abdias reporteth[3] that as his head was stricken off, instead of blood issued out white milk; and that at laying down his head, he signed himself with the sign of a cross in his forehead: but this being found in no other history, Abdias seemeth either to add it of his own, or else to borrow out of the legend, as he doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of milk flowing out of his neck, is referred also unto Ambrose, who in his threescore-and-eighth sermon (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirm the same. Of the time and year when these blessed apostles did suffer, histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the pope's decrees, say, that Peter and Paul both suffered in one day, and in one year; which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth.

A legend miracle.

The story of Abdias suspected.

Histories do vary about the time of their martyrdom.

(1) Foxe's translation has been revised from the original Greek of Jerome.—Ed.

(2) Abdias, Hist. Apost. lib. ii. § 7.—Ed.

(3) Some moderns appear so much disposed to put a value upon whatever the stream of tradition has carried down, that a few lines may be necessary in refutation of this tale. "Neque ullus ante Ambrosium scriptor ecclesiasticus loco sanguinis lac e Pauli cervice manâsse scribit. Argumento inauditum hoc patribus fuisse miraculum. Quin etiam dissentiunt inter se Chrysostomus atque Ambrosius, quod commenti novum est indicium. Martyrologia ipsa de eo miraculo silentium agunt." "Basnagii Annales politico-eccles." (Roterod. 1706) ad an. 65, § 17.—Ed.

The Second Persecution.

A.D. 95 to 96.

Jerome in his "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum" affirmeth, that they both suffered in one day, but he expresseth not the year.[1] So do Isidore and Eusebius. Simon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some which think that Paul suffered not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his "Περὶ στεφάνων" noteth, that they both were put to death upon the same day, but not in the same year, and saith, that Paul followed Peter a year after.[2]

Abdias, above mentioned, recordeth that Paul suffered two years after Peter. But, if it be true which Abdias also saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in free custody at Rome (as mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles), which was, as Jerome witnesseth,[3] the third or fourth year of Nero, then must it be ten years betwixt the martyrdom of Peter and of Paul, forasmuch as it is by all writers confessed, that Paul suffered the fourteenth year, which was the last year of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himself. And thus much of the first persecution.

THE SECOND PERSECUTION.

The first Roman persecution beginning under Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased under Vespasian, who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After whose reign was moved, not long after, the second persecution, by the emperor Domitian, brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Orosius so write, that he, first beginning mildly and modestly, afterward did so far outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as god, and that images of gold and silver in his honour should be set up in the capitol. The chiefest nobles of the senators, either upon envy, or for their goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slain privily. And as his tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperance of his life was no less.[4] He put to death[5] all the nephews of Judas, called the Lord's brother, and caused to be sought out and to be slain all that could be found of the stock of David (as Vespasian also did before him), for fear lest he were yet to come of the house of David, who should enjoy the kingdom. In the time of this persecutor, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Justus afterward succeeded in that bishopric.[6]

Tyranny and intemperance of Domitian.

Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, crucified.

John, the evangelist.

In this persecution, John, the apostle and evangelist, was exiled by the said Domitian into Patmos. Of whom divers and sundry memorable acts be reported in sundry chronicles. As first, how he was put in a vessel of boiling oil, by the proconsul of Ephesus. The legend and Perionius[7] say, It was done at Rome. Isidore also writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth, that he turned boughs of trees into gold, and stones by

(1) This is a mistake. Jerome represents each as having suffered in the 14th or last year of Nero: see suprà, pp. 100, 102, and Foxe's next note.—Ed.

(2) If this be true, which Prudentius recordeth of Paul, that he suffered under Nero and the year after Peter, then it is false which Jerome before testifieth, that Peter suffered the last year of Nero.

(3) See the extract from Jerome, suprà, p. 102.—Ed.

(4) Ex Orosio, lib. vii. [cap. 10.—Ed.]

(5) Foxe is not quite correct in this assertion: see the extract from Eusebius in p. 108.—Ed.

(6) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 12, 19, 20, 32, 35.—Ed.

(7) This was probably Joachim Perionius, who wrote "Liber de rebus gestis vitisque Apostolorum," Basil, 1552. There is a flourishing account of him in the Bibliotheca of Miræus, "De Scrip. Eccles." as re-edited by Fabricius, p. 169.—Ed.

the sea side into jewels, to satisfy the desire of two, whom he had before persuaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they, repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost heaven, for their sakes again he changed the same into their former substance. Also, how he raised up a widow, and a certain young man, from death to life. How he drank poison, and it hurt him not; raising also to life two which had drank the same before.[1] These and such other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidore and other writers more, yet because they are no articles of our christian belief, I let them pass, and only content myself with that which I read in Jerome,[2] declaring of him in this wise: that after Nero, in the second persecution, raised by Domitian in his fourteenth year, John was banished into Patmos for the testimony of the word, in the year fourscore and fifteen. And after the death of the aforesaid Domitian, he being slain and his acts repealed by the senate, John was again released under Nerva,[3] the emperor, and came to Ephesus in the year fourscore and seventeen; where he continued until the time of Trajan, and there governed the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his gospel; and so lived till the year after the passion of our Lord, threescore and eight, which was the year of his age, about one hundred.[4]

The Second Persecution. A. D. 95 to 96.

John banished. John released out of banishment.

Moreover, in the aforesaid ecclesiastical history of Eusebius we read, that John the apostle and evangelist, whom the Lord did love, was in Asia, where he, having returned out of Patmos after the death of Domitian, governed the churches and congregations.[5] Irenæus, in his second book, thus writeth: "And of him all the elders do witness, which were with John, the disciple of the Lord, in Asia, that he told them these things, for he continued there with them unto the time of Trajan." Also, the said Irenæus in like words declareth, saying, "The church of the Ephesians, being first founded by Paul, afterward being presided over by John (who continued in the same city unto the time of Trajan the emperor), is a true witness of this apostolical tradition," etc.[6] Clement of Alexandria, moreover, in his book intituled "Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος," both noteth the time of this holy apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain history of him, not unworthy to be remembered of such as delight in things honest and profitable. The words of the author[7] setting forth this history be these:

Clement.

A notable history of John the evangelist.

Hear a fable, and yet not a fable, but a true report which was told us of John the apostle, and has been ever since kept in our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, when John was returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he was requested to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to consti-

(1) Isidorus, De Patribus Novi Testamenti.

(2) Jerome, "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum." Foxe's text has by mistake "Eusebius" instead of Jerome.—Ed.

(3) Foxe has stated *Pertinax*, although in the errata of the second edition he corrected it. Erasmus in a Scholium on this passage of Jerome observes, that Sophronius and some copies of Jerome read *Pertinax*.—Ed.

(4) If John died (as Jerome states) 68 years after our Lord's passion, the statement of Foxe is very improbable, that he was then 120 years old; for that would make him 52 years old in A. D. 33, the date usually assigned to our Lord's passion: whereas he is commonly supposed to have been younger than our Lord. The general expression "about one hundred" has, therefore, been substituted for Foxe's "one hundred and twenty." Several other dates hereabout (not in Jerome) have been corrected. See sup. p. 96, note (3), p. 100, note (5), and p. 102.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 23.

(6) Iren. Contr. Heres. lib. ii. cap. 39, and lib. iii. cap. 39.

(7) That is Clement, quoted by Eusebius, lib. iii. cap. 23. Foxe's translation has been revised from the original Greek of Clement, printed at Oxford, 1683.—Ed.

The Second Persecution.

A. D. 95 to 96.

tute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordain to the clerical office such as the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain city not far off, (the name of which also some do mention)[1] and had comforted the brethren as usual, he beheld a young man robust in body, and of a beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind, when, looking earnestly at the newly-appointed bishop: "I most solemnly commend this man (saith he) to thee, in presence here of Christ and of the church."

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein, again the second time John spake unto him, and charged him with like manner and contestation as before. This done, John returned again to Ephesus. The bishop, receiving the young man commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate, that is, baptized him; and after that, he gradually relaxed his care and oversight of him, trusting that he had given him the best safeguard possible in putting the Lord's seal upon him. The young man thus having his liberty more, it chanced that certain of his old companions and acquaintances, being idle, dissolute, and hardened in wickedness, did join in company with him, who first invited him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then enticed him to go forth with them in the night to rob and steal; after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein, by custom of time, and by little and little, he becoming more expert, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken horse, leaving the right way and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all misorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation which he had learned before, he began to set his mind upon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entered so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how much further he proceeded in the same. And so, associating unto him a band of companions and fellow thieves, he took upon himself to be as head and captain among them, in committing all kind of murder and felony.

What wicked company doth.

In the mean time it chanced that of necessity John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which, in the presence of Christ and of the congregation then present, he left in his hands to keep. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant them of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received (and yet durst not mistrust John, nor contrary his words), could not tell what to answer. Then John, perceiving his perplexity, and uttering his meaning more plainly: "The young man," saith he, "and the soul of our brother committed to your custody, I do require." Then the bishop, with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping, said, "He is dead." To whom John said, "How, and by what death?" The other said, "He is dead to God, for he became an evil and abandoned man, and at length a robber. And now he doth frequent the mountain instead of the church, with a company of villains and thieves, like unto himself." Here the apostle rent his garments, and, with a great lamentation, said, "A fine keeper of his brother's soul I left here! get me a horse, and let me have a guide with me:" which being done, his horse and man procured, he hasted from the church as much as he could, and coming to the place, was taken of thieves that lay on the watch. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, "I came hither for the purpose: lead me," said he, "to your captain." So he being brought, the captain all armed fiercely began to look upon him; and eftsoons coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, "My son, why dost thou fly from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? Have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of salvation. I will make answer for thee unto Christ; I will die for thee, if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent me." He, hearing these things, first, as in a maze, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly; and, coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping (as

A lesson for all ministers to seek their lost sheep.

O unspeakable love showed to a wicked sinner.

(1) The Alexandrine Chron. says Smyrna.—Ed.

well as he could), being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the apostle, after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissing his murderous right hand (which for shame he durst not show before) as now purged through repentance, he brought him back to the church. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, he left him not (as the author reporteth) before he had restored him to the church again; and made him a great example of sincere penitence and proof of regeneration, and a trophy of the future[1] resurrection.

The Second Persecution. A.D. 95 to 96.

Moreover, the aforesaid Irenæus[2] and Eusebius,[3] prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, saying, "There were certain which heard Polycarp say, that John, the disciple of our Lord, going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bath unbathed, because he feared the bath should have fallen, seeing that Cerinthus, an enemy to the truth, was within. Such fear had the apostles," saith Irenæus, "that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterated the truth."

The godly fly the company of the wicked.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the story of John, the blessed evangelist, here cometh in matter and occasion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the catholic, subtle, illuminate, and seraphical doctors of the pope's catholic church, these five hundred years. The difficulty is this: that forsomuch as auricular confession hath been, and is yet, received in the pope's catholic church for a holy and necessary sacrament, extending universally to all and singular creatures christian, here then ariseth a question, Who was our Lady's confessor, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the catholics to be St. John. Whosoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is straightways, *ipso facto*, a heretic. This then so determined, ariseth another question or doubt; that seeing our Lady was without all original sin, and also actual or mortal, what need then had she of any confessor? or what should she confess unto him? for, if she had confessed any sin, when she had none, then had she made herself a liar, and so had sinned indeed. Here, therefore, gentle reader, in this perplexity these our illuminate doctors stand in need of thine aid to help at a pinch. Magnus Albertus, the great divine,[4] denieth not, but that she indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to her ghostly father, to keep the observance of the law, appointed for such as had that need, which she had not. And therefore (saith he) necessary it was that she should confess with mouth. But then here is to be asked, What did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confess? To this Albert answereth again, and telleth us plainly what she said in her confession, which was this: That she had received that great grace, not *ex condigno*, that is, not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithstanding of congruity. And this was it, saith Albert, that she said in her confession.[5]

A catholic question concerning auricular confession.

Solution.

Another catholic question.

Solution of a catholic question.

Moreover, to help this case out of all doubt, cometh in famous Thomas of Watring,[6] and thus looseth the knot, much after like effect,

(1) Gr. ἐλπιζομένης, Euseb. βλεπομένης.—Ed.
(2) Iren. adv. Heres. lib. iii. cap. 3. (3) Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 28, and lib. iv. cap. 14.
(4) Albertus Magnus, or Teutonicus, was born at Lavingen, in Swabia, about A.D. 1200, and died in 1280.
(5) Albert. cap. 17 et 74. super Evang. "Missus est," etc.
(6) "Watring," an Anglicised form of Aquino, in Italy, where St. Thomas was born.—Ed.

The Second Persecution.

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saying, "that as Christ, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithstanding received circumcision, to give to others example of humility and obedience, in like manner would our Lady show herself obedient to the observance of the law, albeit there was no cause why she had any need thereof."[1] And thus hast thou (gentle reader) this doubtful question moved and solved, to the intent I might reveal to thee some part of the deep divinity of our catholic masters, that have ruled and governed the church in these their late popish days.

Flavia, the daughter of a consul, banished.

But, breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this aforesaid second persecution under Domitian. In which persecution, besides these aforementioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was Flavia, the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls; which Flavia, with many others, was banished out of Rome, into the isle of Pontia, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the emperor Domitian.[2]

The emperor maketh inquiry for David's stock.

Two nephews of Jude, the Lord's brother, preserved.

The kingdom of Christ not of this world.

This Domitian feared the coming of Christ, as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed, which were of the stock of David in Jewry. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lord's kindred, which were the nephews of Jude that was called the Lord's brother after the flesh. When the commissary had brought these up before Domitian, the emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the stock of David? Which when they had granted, he asked again, What possessions and what substance they had? They answered, that they both had no more between them, in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and sustained their families with the hard labours of their hands; showing forth their hands unto the emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken. Then the emperor, inquired of them concerning the kingdom of Christ, what manner of kingdom it was, how and when it should appear? They answered, that his kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an heavenly and angelical kingdom, and that it should appear in the consummation and end of the world, what time He, coming in glory, should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deservings. Domitian the emperor, hearing this (as the saying is), did not condemn them; but, despising them as vile persons, let them go, and also stayed the persecution then moved against the Christians. They, being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the government of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lord's stock; and so continued in good peace till the time of Trajan.[3]

Why the emperors and senate so raged against the Christians.

The kingdom of Christ feared of them.

By this story here cited, may appear what were the causes why the emperors of the Roman monarchy did so persecute the Christians which causes were chiefly these—fear and hatred. First, fear, for that the emperors and senate, of blind ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christ's kingdom, feared and misdoubted lest the same would subvert their empery (like as the pope thinketh now that this gospel will overthrow his kingdom of majesty); and therefore sought they all means possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory of the Christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old law of the Roman senate: that the Christians should not be let go, which were once brought to the judgment-seat, except they changed their purpose, etc.[4] Secondly, hatred,

(1) St. Thomas, par. iii. quæst. 37, art. 4. (2) Ex Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 18.
(3) Hæc Hegesip. et Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 20. A.D. 98.—Ed.
(4) Non debere dimitti Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent. Ex Euseb. lib. v. cap. 21.

partly for that this world, of its own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the Christians being of a contrary nature and religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan working in their idols: and therefore Satan, the prince of this world, stirred up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them. *The Second Persecution.* A. D. 95 to 96. The kingdom of Christ hated of Roman princes.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the christian servants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed to the Christians; as, that they were a people incestuous; that in the night, in their concourses, putting out their candles, they ran together in all filthy manner; that they killed their own children; that they used to eat man's flesh; that they were seditious and rebellious; that they would not swear by the fortune and prosperity of Cæsar; that they would not adore the image of Cæsar in the market-place; that they were pernicious to the empery of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the city or provinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, wars, wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever happened, it was imputed to the Christians, as Justin recordeth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the emperors against the Christians, came by one Publius Tarquin, the chief priest of the idolatrous sacrifices, and Mamertinus, the prefect of the city in the time of Trajan; who, partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent counsel, partly with infamous accusations (as witnesseth Nauclerus), incensed the mind of the emperor so much against God's people. False accusations and slanders against the Christians. Publius Tarquin and Mamertinus persecutors.

Also, among these other causes abovesaid, crept in some piece of covetousness withal (as in all other things it doth), in that the wicked promoters and accusers for lucre-sake, to have the possessions of the Christians, were the more ready to accuse them, to have the spoil of their goods.

Thus hast thou, christian reader, first, the causes declared of these persecutions; secondly, the cruel law of their condemnation; thirdly, now hear more what was the form of inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second apology of Justin) to this effect: That they should swear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Christians, or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded.[1] Form of inquisition against the Christians.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no less horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruelness of man's invention could devise for the punishment of man's body, was practised against the Christians, as partly I have mentioned before; and more appeareth by the epistle sent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Crafty trains, outcries of enemies, imprisonment, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, The cruelty of tyrants in killing Christians.

(1) Ex Just. Mart. in 2 Apolog.

The Second Persecution. A.D. 95 to 96.

stonings, plates of iron laid unto them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, tossing upon the horns of bulls. Moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried.[1]

And yet, notwithstanding for all these continual persecutions and horrible punishments, the church of the Christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles and of men apostolical, and watered plenteously with the blood of saints; as saith Nicephorus.[2] Whereof let us hear the worthy testimony of Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho:—

"And that none can terrify or remove us who believe in Jesus, by this it daily appeareth, for when we are slain, crucified, cast to wild beasts, into the fire, or given to other torments, yet we go not from our confession: but contrary, the more cruelty and slaughter is wrought against us, the more they be that come to piety and faith by the name of Jesus; no otherwise than if a man cut the vine-tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine-tree, planted by God and Christ our Saviour, is his people."[3]

The church increaseth by persecution.

To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions (which are innumerable) as it is impossible, so it is hard, in such a variety and diversity of matter, to keep such a perfect order and course of years and times, that either some be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place; especially seeing the authors themselves, whom, in this present work, we follow, do diversely disagree both in the times, in the names, and also in the kind of martyrdom of them that suffered. As for example: where the common reading and opinion of the church and epistles decretal do take Anacletus to succeed after Clement, next before Evaristus: contrary, Eusebius,[4] making no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, saith, that Evaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Ruffinus and Epiphanius, speaking nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus, and of Cletus, next before Clement, but say nothing of Anacletus: whereby it may appear that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus,[5] speaking of Linus and of Cletus, saith, that they were ordained helpers under Peter, while he laboured in his apostleship abroad, and so saith also Marianus Scotus: contrary, Irenæus[6] speaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appear by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretal epistles, whom all the later histories of the pope's church do follow in this behalf, etc. Moreover, whereas Antoninus, Vincentius, Jacobus (in Supplemento),[7] Simoneta,[8] Aloisius, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus,

Disagreement in authors touching the times of martyrs.

Linus bishop of Rome. Cletus and Anacletus both one.

(1) Vid. Epist. Fratrum Viennensium et Lugdunensium, ad Fratres per Asiam et Phrygiam scripta. (2) Ex Nicephoro. lib. iii. cap. 22.
(3) Ex Just. Mart. in Dialogo cum Tryphone.
(4) Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 13, et lib. v. cap. 6.
(5) Ænead vii. lib. 2. (6) Iren. lib. iii. Contra Hæres.
(7) Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis in "Historia Supplementum Chronicarum Appellata," pp. 149, 154, edit. Brixiæ, 1485. See infrà, p. 112, note (5). The author of this chronicle died in 1518, and is therefore, with the others mentioned in connexion, comparatively modern. "Aloisius" is Aloysius Lippomanus, bishop of Verona, who drew up the "Vitæ Sanctorum," in 8 tom. folio, Venet. 1556. Possevin. Apparat. Sac. tom. i. p. 42.—Ed.
(8) "Bonifacius Simoneta Mediolanensis circa annum 1490, in lucem emisit Commentarios in Persecutionem Christian. Pontificumque historiam a Petro, ad Innocent. VIII. Prodiit Mantuæ, 1509." Hallervordii de Hist. Lat. in Supplement. ad Vossium; Hamb. 1709: page 692.—Ed.

Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs, Eusebius, in his "Ecclesiastical History," writing of them, maketh thereof no mention. *The Third Persecution.*

A. D. 98 to 138.

THE THIRD PERSECUTION.

Between the second Roman persecution and the third, was but one year, under the emperor Nerva, after whom succeeded Trajan; and under him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This Trajan, if we look well upon his politic and civil governance, might seem (in comparison of others) a right worthy and commendable prince, much familiar with inferiors, and so behaving himself toward his subjects, as he himself would have the prince to be to him, if he himself were a subject. Also he was noted to be a great observer of justice, insomuch that when he ordained any prætor, giving to him the sword, he would bid him use the sword against his enemies in just causes: and if he himself did otherwise than justice, to use then his power against him also. But for all these virtues, toward christian religion he was impious and cruel; who caused the third persecution of the church.

Clement, a bishop, counted a martyr.

And first, as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first bishop of Rome after Peter),[1] they say that he was sent out into banishment by Trajan beyond the Euxine, with two thousand Christians, where he opened a well-spring to those who, in the wilderness, were condemned to the mines. Afterward, being accused to the emperor, he was thrown into the sea with a millstone fastened about his neck; and not long after, his body was cast up and buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the well was made. Some say it was found first in the days of pope Nicholas I.[2] But, forasmuch as I find of his martyrdom no firm relation in the ancient authors, but only in such new writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives and histories of good men with feigned additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the same of less credit: as I do also certain decretal epistles, untruly (as may seem) ascribed and intituled to his name. Eusebius, in his third book, writing of Clement, giveth no more of him, but thus: "After he had governed the church of Rome nine years, the said Clement left the succession thereof to Evaristus." A. D. 100.

The lives of martyrs painted out with feigned miracles.

Evaristus, bishop of Rome, and martyr.

Of which Evaristus next bishop of Rome, thus we find in Irenæus:[3] Peter and Paul (saith he), committed the charge of that church to Linus; after whom came Anacletus; then succeeded Clement; next to Clement followed Evaristus; after whom came Alexander; and then Sixtus, the sixth bishop of Rome after the apostles: after Sixtus sat Telesphorus;[4] then Hyginus; then Pius; then Anicetus. And when Soter took the place after him, then the twelfth bishop of Rome was Eleutherius.[5] Thus after Clement followed (as is said) Evaristus, in the second or third year of Trajan, as saith Eusebius; or, as Nicephorus saith, the fourth year of the said emperor. But howsoever the count of years standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other bishops of Rome in

(1) Col. 238, edit. Basil, 1559.—Ed. (2) Fascicul. tempor.
(3) Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3. (4) A. D. 127.—Ed. (5) A. D. 185.—Ed.

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those days; whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of Roman bishops in those days, whose acts and deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to history. Notwithstanding, certain decretal epistles[1] are remaining, or rather thrust upon us in their names; containing in them little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with laws, injunctions, and stately decrees, little to the purpose, and less savouring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbered the two epistles of this Evaristus. "And when he had given these orders, and had made six priests, two deacons, and five bishops for sundry places," saith the story, "he suffered martyrdom." But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancy he showed, what was the order or conversation of his life, is nothing touched; and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new histories do say, because the old ancient writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not have passed such things over in silence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the authors fully agree in the time of his martyrdom, which Nauclerus witnesseth[2] to be in the last year of Trajan: but Platina thinketh rather that he suffered under Adrian. The Fasciculus temporum referreth it to the third year of Adrian; Volateran to the beginning of the reign of Adrian.[3] Contrary, Eusebius (coming near to the simple truth, as seemeth) doth affirm that Evaristus succeeded Clement in the third year of Trajan; and so, giving to him nine years, it should follow thereby that Evaristus deceased the twelfth year of Trajan.[4]

The decretal epistles.

A. D. 109.

Alexander I. bishop of Rome, and martyr.

Authors disagree.

After whom succeeded next Alexander I. in the governance of that church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus saith, he was the fourth bishop from Peter: but that could not be. Some say he was the sixth, and some the seventh: but they likewise were deceived; for the most part all do grant Sixtus to be the sixth. Damasus affirmeth, that he was in the reign of Trajan: and how can that be, when the said Damasus affirmed before, that Evaristus his predecessor suffered in the last year of Trajan, and then the bishopric stood at least a month void: except he mean that the said Alexander I. succeeded Evaristus in the last year of Trajan. But then how can that stand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, which say that he suffered under Trajan; or with Otho of Frisinghen,[5] who saith, he suffered the fourth year of Adrian, when he had been bishop ten years, by the general consent of most writers?

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed bishop,

(1) "Certain decretal epistles." The epistles of the earlier popes have been submitted to the conclusive examinations of David Blondell, in his "Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes, seu editio et censura nova epistolarum, quas piissimis urbis Romæ præsulibus a Clemente ad Siricium Isidorus Mercator supposuit, etc.:" Genevæ, 1628. Upon this work Buddeus remarks, "Non tantum in Prolegomenis, argumentis solidissimis epistolas hasce a Pseudo-Isidoro confictas esse demonstravit, et Turriani varias exceptiones dissipavit; sed et singulas deinceps epistolas exhibuit, easque sub examen revocavit, et incredibili diligentia auctores, e quorum centonibus consutæ sunt, investigavit, indicavitque." Isagoge ad Theol. Univ. tom. i. p. 678.—Ed.

(2) "Chronica Jo. Naucleri Propos. Tubingensis ad annum MCCCCC." (Colon. 1579), p. 465.—Ed.

(3) Anthropo. lib. xxii.

(4) Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 34.

(5) "Otho Frisingensis." [Otho, bishop of Frisinghen in Bavaria, in 1138. He composed a chronological history from the creation of the world to his own time, published at Strasburg, 1515, and at Basil 1569, and in the 8th vol. of the "Biblioth. Fratrum Cisterc." Dupin, vol. x. p. 177, English trans. "Scriptor candidus, gravis, fide dignus et a partium studio alienus." Meuselii Biblioth. Hist. vol. i. p. 75.—Ed.]

as Bergomensis,[1] Antoninus, Equilinus,[2] and such as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the senators to the faith of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes, a great man in Rome, whose son, being dead, Alexander raised again to life, and likewise restored sight to his maid being blind. Adrian the emperor, then absent, hearing this, sent word to Aurelian, prefect of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus (otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina saith), his two deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their story recordeth, Alexander, inclosed in a diverse prison from Hermes, notwithstanding, by the guiding of an angel, through three doors with three locks a-piece, was brought with candlelight to the prison of Hermes; and then returning to his own prison again, cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina; by reason whereof the said Quirinus, with his whole household, were all baptized, and suffered also for the faith of Christ. "Thus then," saith the story, "about the second year of Adrian, Aurelian the prefect took Alexander the bishop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole household, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, and threw them into prison. And not long after, the said Alexander, with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes, and the rest, were burnt in a furnace. Theodulus, another deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyrant, suffered also the same martyrdom."

The Third Persecution.

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Hermes, with his household, and Quirinus, martyrs.

Quirinus also, the same time (as saith Antoninus), having first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet off, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs: Equilinus saith, that he was beheaded and cast into the Tiber, in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but that cannot be: albeit Platina maketh relation but only of Alexander, with his two deacons aforesaid, declaring moreover, that, in the time of this bishop, Sapphira of Antioch, and Sabina, a Roman, suffered martyrdom.[3]

Sapphira and Sabina.

Florilegus, the author of "Flores Historiarum,"[4] affirmeth, that Alexander, bishop of Rome, was beheaded seven miles out of Rome (where he lieth buried), in the year one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the chronicles above recited. Eusebius[5] recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of Adrian, he ended his life and office, after he had been bishop ten years.

Divers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon-legends, and lives of saints; which as I deny not but they may be true, so, because I cannot avouch them by any grave testimony of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the authors and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and virtuous bishop.

And as I say of his miracles, the like judgment also I have of the ordinances both of him and of Evaristus his predecessor, testified in the

Ordinances of Evaristus.

(1) James Philip Forest, of Bergamo, where he died, in 1518. He wrote "Supplementa Chronicarum," of which Fabricius (Biblioth. Mediæ et Infimæ, Lat. tom. iv. p. 16), considers the edition at Venice, in 1503, to be the best. The passage referred to by Foxe appears on p. 157, edit. Brixiæ, 1485; but see "Basnagii Annales ad an. 119," § 4.—Ed.

(2) "Peter de Natalibus Episcopus Equilinus clarum nomen fecit Catalogo Sanctorum, qui excusus est Vincentiæ, 1493, et deinde Lugduni, 1542." Hallervordii specimen de Hist. Lat. in "Supplementa ad Vossium" (Hamb. 1709), p. 770.—Ed.

(3) Ex Platina in Vitâ Alexandri.

(4) Per Matth. Westmonast. collecti, p. 56. edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 4.—Ed.

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pope's decrees by Gratian,[1] where it is said that Evaristus divided divers titles in the city of Rome to the priests; also ordained in every city seven deacons to be associate with and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witness of truth.[2] Notwithstanding, if probable conjectures might stand against the authority of Gratian and his decrees, here might be doubted whether the absolute ordination of priests were first forbidden by Evaristus, and whether the intitulation of priests were first by him brought in or not: wherein an instance may be given to the contrary, that this intitulation seemeth to take its first beginning at the council of Chalcedon,[3] and of pope Urban II. in the council of Placentia. In the which council of Chalcedon the words of the canon (making no mention of Evaristus at all) do expressly forbid, that any ecclesiastical person, either priest or deacon, should be ordained absolutely: otherwise the imposition of hands, without some proper title of the party ordained, to stand void and frustrate, etc.[4] And likewise Urban II. in the council of Placentia[5] doth decree the same, alleging no name of Evaristus, but the statutes of former councils.[6]

Moreover, in the time of Evaristus, the church, then being under terrible persecutions, was divided into no peculiar parishes or cures, whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselves. And as the church of Rome in those days was not divided into several parishes or cures (as I suppose), so neither was then any such open or solemn preaching in churches, that the assistance or testimony of seven deacons either could avail among the multitude of the heathen, or be needed amongst the christian secret congregations. Again, this constitution of seven deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the council of Neocesarea, long after Evaristus,[7] where it was appointed that in every city, were it never so small, there should be seven deacons after the rule. And this rule the said council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, making no word or mention of Evaristus at all.[8] But these (as is said) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only showing what may be doubted in their epistles decretal.

Institutions of Alexander.

Holy water first invented.

More unlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, of whom we read, that he was the first founder and finder of holy water mixed with salt, to purge and sanctify them upon whom it is sprinkled. The words of the Distinction be these: "We bless water mixed with salt among the people, that all men, being sprinkled therewith, may be sanctified and purified; and this we command all priests to do," etc.[9] The opinion is also (but how true I have not to affirm), that by him first was ordained water to be mixed with wine in the chalice. Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the mass canon, beginning, "Qui pridie," etc.

Mixing of water with the wine in the chalice.

(1) Dist. 93, cap. "Diaconi."

(2) In Blondel's "Epist. Decr. Examen," (Genevæ 1635) p. 147; who remarks; "hæc non fuit mens Apostolorum, act. 6, nec ullius patrum: fingit impostor pro more." The same judgment is passed, p. 166, upon the decree of Alex. quoted onwards.—Ed.

(3) A.D. 451.—Ed.

(4) Ex Dist. 70, cap. "Neminem."

(5) A.D. 1095.—Ed.

(6) Ibid. cap. "Sanctorum."

(7) A.D. 314.—Ed.

(8) Ex Dist. 93, cap. "Diaconi."

(9) "Aquam sale conspersam populis benedicimus, ut eâ cuncti aspersi sanctificentur et purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus. Decreti iii. pars de Consecrat. dist. 3, [cap. 20.—Ed.]

And thus much of these aforesaid bishops of Rome, martyred in the days of Trajan and Adrian. *The Third Persecution.*

In this third persecution Pliny the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to Trajan of the pitiful persecution, certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy persecution; saving that they used to gather together in the morning before day, and sing hymns to a certain God whom they worshipped, called Christ—in all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Whereupon the persecution by commandment of the emperor was greatly stayed and diminished. The form and copy of which epistle of Pliny, I thought here not inconvenient to set down, as followeth:[1] A.D. 98 to 138.

Pliny writes to Trajan to stop the persecution.

The Epistle of Pliny a Heathen Philosopher, to Trajan the Emperor.

It is an inviolable rule with me, sir, to make reference of all those things wherein I doubt, to you; for who is better able either to direct my judgment or instruct my ignorance? I have never yet witnessed any of the proceedings against the Christians; and therefore I am quite at a loss what punishment ought to be administered, and to what extent; and how far it is proper that any inquiry should be made after them. Nor am I at all clear, whether any difference should be made for age, or whether those of tender years should be treated with the same severity as adults; also whether repentance should entitle to a pardon, or whether he who has once been a Christian should gain nothing by ceasing to be one; also, whether the bare profession, unaccompanied by any criminal conduct, should be visited with punishment, or only crimes which may be connected with the profession. In the mean time, I have adopted this course with those who have been brought before me as christians. I ask them whether they are Christians; if they confess to it, I repeat the question a second and a third time, accompanied with threats: if they persist, I order them to be led to punishment; for of this I never doubted, that, whatever their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy deserved correction. Some of those infected with this infatuation, being citizens of Rome, I have reserved as privileged persons to be sent thither. But the crime spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, more cases soon occurred. An anonymous libel was presented to me, containing the names of many persons, who yet denied that they were, or ever had been, Christians, and repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and offered worship with wine and incense to your image (which for this purpose I ordered to be brought with the images of the deities), and they even cursed Christ; things—which, I am told, no real Christian can be prevailed on to do: on this account I thought proper to discharge them. Others, on being accused by an open informer, have allowed that they were Christians, but presently after denied it; alleging, that once indeed they were Christians, but that they ceased to be such, some three years ago, others more, some even twenty years back: these, likewise, all worshipped your image and the images of the gods, and even cursed Christ: but the whole account they gave of their crime or error (whichever it is to be called) amounted only to this,—viz. that they were accustomed on a stated day to meet before day-light, and to repeat together a set form of prayer[2] to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by an obligation—not indeed to commit wickedness; but, on the contrary,—never to commit theft, robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, never to defraud any man: after which it was their custom to separate, and reassemble to partake in common of a harmless meal, from which last practice, however, they had desisted, in conse-

The use of Christians in the primitive church.

The testimony of the heathen to the Christians.

(1) Pliny's Epistles, x. 97, 98. A new translation of these two celebrated letters has been substituted for Foxe's, which is loose and often obscure.—Ed.

(2) "Repeat together a set form of prayer:" this is Melmoth's translation of "dicere secum invicem carmen."—Ed.

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quence of my edict, in which (agreeably to your command) I forbad such societies. This being the whole of their statement, I judged it quite necessary to examine two young women, who were said to be deaconesses, by torture, in order to get at the real truth; but I found out nothing except absurd and raving superstition. I have thought proper, therefore, to suspend all further proceedings in order to consult you. For it appears to me a matter which calls for serious deliberation, especially on account of the great number of the persons involved, many of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes, being already under prosecution, and more will soon be in the same situation. Not that I think it impossible to check and master the evil: this at least is certain, that the temples which were nearly deserted have begun to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities which had been intermitted are again attended, and victims, which lately were very scarce, owing to the scarcity of purchasers, are now selling every where. Whence it is easy to conjecture, that crowds might be reclaimed from their error, if only pardon should be promised to such as repent.

Two maidens racked for Christ.

The Epistle of Trajan to Pliny.

You have followed just the course which you ought, my dear Secundus, in dealing with the Christians who have been brought before you; for no specific rule can be framed so as to be of universal application. These people, however, must not be purposely sought after: if they be brought before you and convicted, they must be punished; yet with this restriction, that if any one declares that he is not a Christian, and shall prove that he is not by the fact of supplicating our gods, however suspected for the past, let him be pardoned on his repentance.

Tertullian,[1] writing upon this letter of Trajan, above prefixed, thus saith: "O sentence of necessity confused! as men innocent he would not have them to be sought for, and yet causes them to be punished as persons guilty." And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although, notwithstanding, many naughty-disposed men and cruel officers there were, who, upon false pretence to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers provinces: and especially if any occasion were given (never so little) for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Jerusalem, after that the emperor Trajan had sent down his commandment that whosoever could be found of the stock of David, he should be inquired out and put to death: upon this Hegesippus, writing, saith, that certain sectaries there were of the Jewish nation, that accused Simeon, the bishop then of Jerusalem and son of Cleophas, to be of the stock of David, and that he was a christian. Of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said Hegesippus), that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of David, and so right justly were put to execution themselves, who sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the aforesaid Hegesippus thus writeth: That Simeon the Lord's nephew, when he was accused to Atticus the proconsul by the malicious sect of the Jews, to be of the line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged during the space of many days together, being a hundred and twenty years of age. In which his martyrdom he endured so constantly, that both the proconsul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer; and so at last, being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

The stock of David feared, and inquired for by the emperors.

Punishment of God upon malicious accusers.

The age, death, and martyrdom of Simeon.

(1) Apol. cap. ii.—Ed.

The Third Persecution. A. D. 98 to 138.

In this persecution of Trajan above specified (which Trajan next followed after Nerva), besides the other aforementioned, also suffered Phocas bishop of Pontus,[1] whom Trajan, because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kiln, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath; where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life.[2]

Phocas, bishop and martyr.

In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Servilianus, two Romans; whose wives are said to be Euphrosyne and Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the faith of Christ, and who after were also martyred. Of which Sabina, Jacobus Philippus (author of the book called "Supplementum") reporteth that she was beheaded on the mount Aventine in Rome, by Elipidus the prefect, in the days of Adrian.[3] Under whom also suffered Seraphia, a virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus and Antoninus witness.[4]

The aforenamed authors, Antoninus[5] and Equilinus, make mention moreover of Nereus and Achilleus, who, in this persecution of Trajan, had the crown of martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius[6] maketh mention of one Sagaris, who, about the same time, suffered martyrdom in Asia, Servilius Paulus being then proconsul in that province.

Ignatius, martyr.

In this persecution, beside many others, suffered the blessed martyr of Christ, Ignatius, who, unto this day, is had in famous reverence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishopric of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do say, that he, being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was given to the wild beasts to be devoured.[7] It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being under the most strict custody of his keepers, he strengthened and confirmed the churches through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God; and admonished them especially, and before all other things, to beware and shun those heresies risen and sprung up newly among them, and that they should cleave and stick fast to the tradition of the apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being now about to suffer martyrdom, judged it necessary to put in writing. Accordingly, having come to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote one epistle to the church of Ephesus, wherein he maketh mention of Onesimus as their pastor; and another he wrote to the church at Magnesia on the Mæander, wherein also he mentioneth Damas as their bishop. Also another he wrote to the church at Tralles, the bishop of which church at that time he noteth to be one Polybius. Another he wrote to the church at Rome, wherein he exhorts them not to use means for his deliverance from martyrdom, lest they should deprive him of that which he most longed and hoped for.[8]

Onesimus, pastor at Ephesus.

(1) Rather of Sinope in Pontus. See Baron. Annal. Eccles. ann. 114, § 4. Basnage (Annales Politico-eccles.) has alluded to his martyrdom under ann. 130, § 4.—Ed.
(2) Anton. (tit. vii. capitul. 3.) Equil. et Fascic. temporum.
(3) Ex Supp. Chr. [p. 159, edit. 1485. See suprà, p. 113, note 1.—Ed.]
(4) Anton. (tit. vii. cap. 5, § 6.) Hermannus Contractus "obiit anno 1054 conscripto Chronico clarus; (Hallervord. p. 728) genere et doctrinâ egregius, gente Suevus—chronicon scripsit de vi. mundi ætatibus ad annum 1054." See "Meuselii Biblioth. Hist." tom. i. p. 69; who states that there was an edition of this writer in a collection of Chronicles by Sichardus, (Basil. 1529) and also in the "Rerum German. Scriptores veteres;" Francof. 1584, collected by Pistorius.—Ed.
(5) Antoninus (tit. vii. capit. 1, § 7.) places their martyrdom under Domitian.
(6) Lib. iv. cap. 26. Eusebius quotes from Melito, and adds (from Polycrates) lib. v. c. 24, that he was a bishop, and suffered at Laodicea.—Ed.
(7) Ex Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 35, 36.
(8) Ex Hier. in Catalogo Script. Eccles., whence Foxe's text is corrected.—Ed.

The Third Persecution. But it will be worth while citing a short passage thereof, in confirmation of what has been said.[1]

A. D. 98 to 138.

Strict handling of Ignatius.

His notable constancy and burning zeal to Christ.

"From Syria to Rome," saith he, "I fight with wild beasts, by land and by sea, by night and by day, being chained among ten leopards (that is, a band of soldiers), who are made even worse by kind treatment. By their injuries, however, I learn daily the more to be a disciple of Jesus;—yet am I not hereby justified. O that I were come to the real wild beasts, which are prepared for me! May I find them eager to dispatch me! I will encourage them to devour me without delay, and not use me as some, whom through fear they would not touch. And if they will not dispatch me willingly, I will provoke them to it. Pardon me;—I know what is good for me. Now I begin to be a disciple. I care for nothing, of visible or invisible things, so that I may but win Christ. Let fire and the cross, let the companies of wild beasts, let breaking of bones and tearing of limbs, let the grinding of the whole body, and all the malice of the devil, come upon me; be it so, only may I win Christ Jesus!"

Ignatius devoured of wild beasts.

Such things wrote he from the aforesaid city of Smyrna, to the congregations which we have recited. And even when he was now sentenced to be thrown to the beasts, such was the burning desire that he had to suffer, that he spake, what time he heard the lions roaring, saying, "I am the wheat of Christ: I am going to be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread." He suffered in the eleventh year of Trajan the emperor.[2]

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Pliny the younger above recited, written to the emperor. Jerome in his book intituled "Catalogus Scrip. Eccles."[3] maketh mention of one Publius, bishop of Athens, who, for the faith of Christ, the same time during this persecution, was put to death and martyred.

Publius, bishop of Athens, martyr.

ADRIAN, EMPEROR.

A.D. 117. Next after this Trajan, succeeded Adrian the emperor, under whom suffered Alexander the bishop of Rome, with his two deacons Eucntius and Theodorus;[4] also Hermes and Quirinus, with their families, as late before was declared.

Zeno, with 10,203 martyrs, slain for Christ.

It is signified moreover in the histories, that in the time of this Adrian Zeno, a nobleman of Rome, with ten thousand two hundred and three were slain for Christ.[5] Henry de Herford and Bergomensis[6] make mention of ten thousand, as being crucified in the days of this Adrian, on mount Ararat, crowned with crowns of thorn, and thrust into the sides with sharp darts, after the example of the Lord's

(1) A new translation from the Greek is substituted for Foxe's.—Ed.]

(2) Hæc Eusebius et Hieronym. [Cat. Scrip. Eccl. cap. 26]. "Annus decimus Trajani respondet anno Christi 107; atque ad illum annum quoque martyrium S. Ignatii referunt Usserius Tillemontius aliique V. D. Sed Joh. Malelam Antioch. si sequimur, non ante annum xviii. Imperii Trajani accidit, Christi cxv. quam sententiam argumentis gravissimis confirmarunt viri non minus præstantes Jo. Pearsonus in Dissertat. postuma de anno quo S. Ignatius condemnatus est, vulgata a T. Smitho in luculenta Epist. Ignatii editione quam notis Pearsonii suisque illustratam publicavit Oxon. 1709, et Guil. Lloydius Episc. Asaphensis in Diatriba ejusdem argumenti edita a Pagio in Crit. Baronianâ ad an. 107, § 4. Pro anno *decimo* Trajani, male quidam codices *undecimo*." Vid. Fabric. not. in "Biblioth. Eccles." (Hamb. 1718) p. 78. Bp. Pearson's Dissertation is reprinted in the "Patres Apostolici." (Oxon. 1838) vol. ii. p. 504.—Ed.

(3) Cap. 29.

(4) He is called Theodulus by Baronius, ann. 132, § i.—Ed.

(5) Baron. Martyr. Rom. July 9th.—Ed.

(6) Henricus de Hervordia and Bergomensis, lib. viii. [Henricus de Hervordia—ita dictus, quia ex urbe Hervordia in Westphalia oriundus fuit——scripsit "Chronicon Generale" ad an. 1355, quod "de factis memorabilibus" inscripsit. See Oudin. Comment. de Scrip. Eccles. tom. iii. col. 973. —Ed.]

passion; whose captains (as Antoninus[1] and Vincentius[2] declare) were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius. Whether this story be the same with the other above of Zeno or not, it is doubted.[3] As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the angel, I refer the certainty thereof to Vincentius, and such other like authors, where more things seem to be told than be true.

The Third Persecution. A. D. 98 to 138.

Eustachius, with his wife and children, martyred.

There was one Eustachius a captain, whom Trajan in time past had sent out to war against the barbarians. After he had by God's grace valiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victory, Adrian, for joy, meeting him in his journey to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would do sacrifice to Apollo for the victory gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children he suffered martyrdom under the foresaid Adrian. It were a long process here to recite all the miracles contained, or rather suspected, in the story of this Eustace — concerning his conversion and death; how the crucifix appeared to him between the horns of an hart; of the saving of his wife from the shipmen; of one of his sons saved from the lion, the other saved from the wolf; of their miraculous preservation from the wild beasts, and from the torments of fire—mentioned in Bergomensis, Vincentius, and others.[4] All which as I find them in no ancient records, so I leave them to their authors, and the compilers of the legends.

Faustinus and Jobita.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita, citizens of Breschia in Italy, who suffered martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof one Calocerius,[5] seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words, "Verily great is the God of christians:"[6] which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom.[7]

Eleutherius, with his mother Anthia, martyrs.

The history of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her son Eleutherius to Anicetus bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of christian faith; who afterwards, being bishop of Illyricum,[8] was beheaded with his aforesaid mother Anthia.[9]

Justus and Pastor, martyrs.

Justus also, and Pastor, two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a city of Spain, called Alcala, under the said Adrian the emperor.

Symphorissa, with her seven children, martyred.

Likewise Symphorissa, the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her

(1) Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, drew up a Chronicle of some value, entitled "Summa Historialis," which closes with the year 1459. It was published at Venice 1480: at Basle 1502; and is included in a modern edition of his works, Florentiæ, 1741. Meuselii Biblioth. Hist. i. p. 92. The history in the text will be found at tit. vii. capit. 5, § 4.—Ed.

(2) Vincentius was a monk of Beauvais, of the Dominican order, and wrote a huge historical work, under the title of "Speculum Historiale," to the year 1254, at the persuasion of Louis IX. An edition appeared in 4 vols. folio, at Strasburg, 1473, and the eighth at Douay, in 1624. Meusel. Biblioth. Hist. i. p. 82. Foxe has used these Chronicles, apparently, through the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. ii. cap. 3, col. 11—13. Antoninus himself (in the place cited in the last note) refers us to Vincentius, lib. xi. cap. 88.—Ed.

(3) Foxe here confounds the Zeno just mentioned with another Zeno, whose martyrdom is celebrated in Baronius's Martyr. Roman. on Sep. 5th. Baronius there states that he was one of a number of soldiers (1107 in all, others say 11,000), who, for professing Christ, were martyred at Melitine in Armenia. Mount Ararat (where the 10,000 were said to be crucified) being likewise in Armenia, a surmise has arisen whether the two stories are not founded on the same occurrence. This point is discussed in Tillemont's "Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles." tom. ii. part ii. pp. 23—48. See infrà, p. 146, note 2.—Ed.

(4) See Anton. tit. vii. capit. 5, § 3.—Ed.

(5) Calocerus in Baronius, ann. 122, § 2.—Ed.

(6) "Vere magnus Deus Christianorum."

(7) Ex Antonino (tit. vii. capit. 6, § 7) et Equilino.—Ed.

(8) Some say, of Messina.—Ed.

(9) Ex Niceph. (lib. iii. cap. 29.—Ed.) et ex Onomast.

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seven children, is said about the same time to suffer; who first was much and often beaten and scourged; afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at last, having a huge stone fastened unto her, was thrown headlong into the river, and, after that, her seven children in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment diversly martyred by the tyrant.

Sophia, with her three children, martyred.

The story of Hermannus, and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children also; also of Seraphia and Sabina, as having suffered under the said emperor, about the year of our Lord 130.

As concerning Alexander bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Seraphia and Sabina, some writers (as Bede and Marianus Scotus) record that they suffered under Trajan. Others again (as Otho of Frisinghen; with like more) report that they suffered in the fourth year of this emperor Adrian:[1] but of these martyrs sufficient hath been said before.

Women who became martyrs.

A little before, mention was made of Symphorissa, otherwise named Symphorosa, wife of Getulus, with her seven sons. This Getulus or Getulius was a minister or teacher (as witness the Martyrology [and Chronicle] of Ado[2]) in the city of Tibur, which Getulus, with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitivus, by the commandment of Adrian, were condemned to the fire; wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names, moreover, of the seven sons of this Symphorosa I find to be Crescens, Julianus, Nemesius, Primitivus, Justinus, Stacteus, and Eugenius, whom the [Martyrology and] Chronicle of Ado declare to have been put to death at the commandment of Adrian, being fastened to seven stakes, and so racked up with a pulley, and at last were thrust through; Crescens in the neck, Julianus in the breast, Nemesius in the heart, Primitivus about the navel, Justinus cut in every joint of his body, Stacteus run through with spears, Eugenius cut asunder from the breast to the lower parts. Next day their bodies were all together cast into a deep pit, by the idolatrous priests entitled "Ad septem Biothanatos." After the martyrdom of whom Symphorosa, the mother, did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

While Adrian the emperor was at Athens, he was initiated into the Eleusinian[3] and most of the other mysteries of the Greeks; after which he gave free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the Christians. Whereupon Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles,[4] or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the apostles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ), did offer up and exhibit unto Adrian the emperor a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the christian religion; wherein he declared the christians, without all just cause or desert, to be so cruelly intreated and persecuted. The

Quadratus' apology of christian doctrine.

(1) According to Baronius; ann. 122, § 2.—Ed.

(2) Adonis Martyrologium, ad June 27th. Adonis Viennensis Archiep. breviarium Chronic. ad an. 1353, published (as so often the case with Foxe's authorities) Basileæ, 1568; the Martyrologium was reprinted in "Opera D. Georgii," 2 tom. folio, Romæ, 1745.—Ed.

(3) "Invisens Eleusina:" Hier. Cat. Scrip. Eccl. cap. 29. "Dicere debuerat, *invisens Eleusinia*, ut Jo. Scaliger probat animad. in Eusebii Chronicon." E. S. Cypriani not. apud Fabric. "Biblioth. Eccles." p. 86. The Greek of Jerome is as follows:—ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γενόμενος καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μυστήρια μυηθείς, δέδωκεν ἀφορμὴν, &c.—whence Foxe's text has been somewhat improved.

(4) Vide Valesii. not. in Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23.—Ed.

like, also, did Aristides, an excellent philosopher in Athens, who, for his singular learning and eloquence, being notified to the emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the said emperor a memorable apology for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that, as Jerome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to see wit and learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named Serenius Granianus,[1] proconsul of Asia, who likewise did write very pithy and grave letters to Adrian the emperor, showing and declaring therein that it was not consonant with right or reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

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Aristides defendeth before the emperor the religion of Christ.

Serenius Granianus, a defender of christian religion.

Thus, the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the emperor, that he, being better informed concerning the order and profession of the christians, became more favourable unto them. And, immediately upon the same, directed his letters to Minucius Fundanus (as is partly before mentioned), proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them, but only their name. The copy of which his letter, because that Justin in his apology doth allege it, I thought, therefore, to express the same in his own words, as followeth:—

The emperor writeth for the Christians.

The Letter of Adrian the Emperor, to the Proconsul, Minucius Fundanus.

I have received a letter written to me by the very illustrious Serenius Granianus, your predecessor in office. The subject is one which I feel bound to inquire into, both that these people may not be vexatiously disturbed, and that base informers may not be encouraged in their vile occupation. To the matter then—if the people of the province will appear openly to support their charges against the Christians, so as to give them opportunity of answering for themselves before the tribunal, let them keep to this alone, and not proceed by rude demands and vain clamours: for it is much more becoming, if any one wishes to accuse, that *you* should take regular cognizance of the matter. If then any one shall accuse them and shew that they are breaking the laws, do you determine according to the degree of their offence. But if, by Hercules, the charge prove to be a calumny, do you estimate the enormity of such calumny and take care to punish it.[2]

Thus, by the merciful providence of God, some more quiet and rest was given to the church, although Hermannus thinketh these halcyon days did not very long continue, but that the emperor, changing his edict, began to renew again persecution of God's people, albeit this soundeth not to be so by the words of Melito in his apology to Marcus Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the mean time this is certain, that in the days of this Adrian, the Jews rebelled against the Romans and spoiled the country of Palestine: against whom the emperor sent Julius Severus, who overthrew in Jewry fifty castles, and burnt and destroyed nine hundred and fourscore villages and towns, and slew of the Jews fifty thousand, so that with famine, sickness, sword, and fire, Judah was almost desolate. But at length Adrian the emperor, who

Respite from persecution.

The second destruction of the Jews.

Jerusalem rebuilt and called Æliopolis.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 8. (2) A new translation is substituted for Foxe's.—Ed.

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otherwise was named Ælius, repaired and enlarged the city again of Jerusalem,[2] which was called after his name Æliopolis, or Ælia Capitolina, the inhabiting whereof he granted only to the Gentiles, and to the Christians, forbidding the Jews utterly to enter into the city.

After the death of Adrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, in the year of our Lord 138, and reigned twenty and three years, who, for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of *Pius*, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries. At the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict set forth to persecute the Christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude, for the causes above specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God; imputing and ascribing to the Christians whatsoever misfortune happened contrary unto their desires; moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof, divers there were in sundry places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed the same, being moved.

Antoninus Pius emperor, A. D. 138.

And here occasion serveth[2] to speak of Justin, a man in learning and philosophy excellent, and a great defender of the christian religion; who also exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of christian doctrine, the one to Antoninus Pius, the emperor, the other to the senate of Rome.

This Justin was born at Neapolis,[3] in the country of Palestine, whose father was Priscus son of Bacchius, as he himself doth testify,[4] by whom in his youth he was set to school to learn; where, in process of time, he became a famous and worthy philosopher, of whose excellency many learned and notable men do record. For first he, being altogether inflamed and ravished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructors singularly seen in all kind of philosophy. Whereupon he writeth of himself, in the beginning of his dialogue with Trypho, thus, declaring that in the beginning he, being desirous of joining that sect and society, applied himself to be scholar to a certain Stoic, and, remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in divine knowledge (whereof the Stoic had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessary), he forsook him, and went to another, of the sect of the Peripatetics, a sharp-witted man, as he thought; with whom, after he had been awhile, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon Justin, accounting him as no philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind, but desirous to hear of further learning in philosophy, adjoined himself to one that professed the Pythago-

Priscus, son of Bacchius, Justin's father.

Justin desirous of philosophy.

Justin proveth all sorts of philosophy.

(1) Some write that the place where Christ was crucified was taken into the walls.
(2) Foxe's account of Justin is somewhat altered in this edition, in respect of arrangement, for the sake of greater clearness.—Ed.
(3) The ancient Shechem or Sichem, the modern Napolose or Nablous.—Ed.
(4) In the opening of his first Apology (Euseb. iv. c. 12.)—Ed.

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rean sect, a man of great fame, and one who made no small account of himself. Whom after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any sight in music, astronomy, and geometry; without the sight of which sciences (he said) he could not be apt to receive the knowledge of virtue and felicity; unless before he had used to apply his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And, speaking much in the commendation of these sciences, how profitable and necessary they were, after that Justin had declared himself not to be seen therein, the philosopher gave him over; which grieved Justin not a little, and so much the more, because he thought his master to have some knowledge in those sciences. After this Justin, considering with himself what time was requisite to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists, for the great fame that ran of them. Wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that sect, who lately was come to those parts; and so, remaining with him, seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernal things and invisible forms, insomuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpness of wit and wisdom, that, out of hand, he might achieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God; which is the end of Plato's philosophy. And in this manner he bestowed his youth: but afterward he, growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said Justin came to the knowledge and profession of Christianity, it followeth likewise in his first Apology: where he affirmeth of himself (as witnesseth Eusebius[1]), that when he did behold the Christians in their torments and sufferings to be so constant in their profession, he was therewith marvellously moved. After this manner reasoning with himself: that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subject to any vice or carnality, still less cannibalism, which vices, of their own nature, are not able to sustain any sharp adversity, much less the bitterness of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge and virtue), to begin to love and embrace the christian religion, for so he doth witness of himself in the end of his second[2] Apology; signifying there, how it was his seeking and endeavour to attain to Christianity, when he perceived how the Christians, by malice of wicked persons, were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himself, he became a Christian, through this occasion.[3] Being in this state of mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head, for his more quietness, to go aside to a certain solitary place void of concourse of people, near to the sea-side; whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, he fell in with an old and venerable father of a comely visage and gentle behaviour, who, making up to him, began to reason with him: where, after long disputation, when the old man had declared unto him, that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the philosophers, who neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghost; and further had reasoned with him of the immortality of the soul, of the reward of the

Justin a Platonist.

The end of Plato's philosophy.

Justin beginneth to favour christian religion.

Justin goeth into a desert.

Justin miraculously converted by an old man.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 8. (2) See p. 125, note 1.—Ed.
(3) The following narrative is from Justin's dialogue with Trypho, near the beginning of it, whence a few expressions of Foxe are altered.—Ed.

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godly, and punishment of the wicked: then Justin, being confirmed with his reasons and arguments, yielded to him of his own accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken; who then counselled him to read and search the prophets, adjoining therewith prayer. "But what master," quoth Justin, "should I use for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to help us if these philosophers (as you say) lack the truth, and are void of the same?" To whom the old father answered:

The vanity of the old philosophers reproved. The doctrine of the prophets commended. The utility of reading the prophets.

"There have been, many years before all these reputed philosophers, others more ancient than they, who were blessed, just, and lovers of God, who spake by the spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to pass; and therefore they are called prophets. These alone saw the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any; who were seduced with no desire of human applause, but only spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the holy Spirit of God; whose writings and works yet to this day remain, out of which the reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things, as concerning the first creation of the world, and end of the same, with other things necessary to be known of every true philosopher. But faith is necessary to profit by them; for in their teaching they do not use any demonstration, as being in themselves (independently of any demonstration) sure witnesses of the truth. Moreover, the course of events, (not to mention that the miracles also, which they wrought, entitle them to credit), both past and present, constraineth us of necessity to believe the things spoken by them, when they both glorified God as the Maker and Father of all things, and also did prophesy before, of Christ his Son to be sent of him; all which, the false prophets, being filled with a false and corrupt spirit, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious wonders to astound men, setting out thereby to the world false and unclean spirits. But before all things, make thy prayer that the gates of light may be opened unto thee, for these things cannot be seen or comprehended by every man, but only by him to whom God and his Christ give the understanding thereof."

The prophets to be credited for two causes.

These things, with much more (which now leisure serveth not to prosecute), after the aforesaid old father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken; and, after that, Justin (as he himself witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediately after this, Justin, being all inflamed as with a fire kindled in his breast, began to conceive a love and zeal towards the prophets, and all such as were favoured of Christ. And thus he, revolving in his mind more and more these words, found only this philosophy among all other professions both sure and profitable. And so became he a philosopher at first, and by these means, afterwards, he was made a Christian, and baptized. But where he received this holy sacrament of baptism is not recorded, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there used certain exercises which he called Diatribes, disputing there with Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that Justin, after he had received the profession of the christian religion, became an earnest defender of the same; travailing and disputing against all the adversaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of christian believers, as may appear by his vehement disputations against the heathen

Justin baptized.

Justin an earnest defender of Christ.

philosophers: also, it well appeareth in that long disputation which he had with Trypho, a Jew, at Ephesus; as also in his confutations of heretics. Furthermore, his Conflicts and Apologies, which with great courage and boldness, he exhibited against the persecutors of the Christians, both to the emperor and the magistrates, yea and the whole senate of Rome, do testify the same.

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Of the which Apologies, the first[1] he wrote to Antoninus Pius the emperor, and the second to the senate of Rome, as is before mentioned; where, in the first, writing to Antoninus the emperor, and his successors, with gravity and free liberty he declareth unto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as virtuous philosophers, maintainers of justice, lovers of learning: but whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was constrained thus to write unto them; but only to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their judgments and sentences (for it becometh princes to follow uprightness and piety in their judgments, not tyranny and violence); and also in plain words chargeth as well the emperor as the senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the Christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the name. "Other men which be appeached," said he, "in judgment, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on *us*, you take our name only for the crime, when indeed you ought to see justice done upon our accusers." And again, saith he, "If a Christian, being accused, only deny that name, him you release, if not able to charge him with any other offence. But, if he stand to his name, only for his confession you cast him: whereas, indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confess or deny, and according to their deserts to see justice done."

Two Apologies of Justin. The sum of his Apologies.

And, in the same, further he saith: "You examine not the causes, but, incensed with rash affections, as with the spur of fury, ye slay and murder them not convicted, without any respect of justice."[2] And further he addeth, "Some peradventure will say, certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil doings: as though," saith he, "you used to inquire upon them, being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their offence, for the cause above mentioned." Where also, in the end of the said Apology, after this manner he reprehendeth them; "You do degenerate," quoth he, "from the goodness of your predecessors, whose example you follow not; for your father Adrian, of famous memory, caused to be proclaimed, that Christians accused before the judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some notorious crime." I find that all his vehement and grave Apology standeth upon most strong and firm probations, denying, that the Christians ought by conscience, at the will and commandment of the emperor and senate, to do sacrifice to the idols: for

(1) Foxe numbers the Apologies of Justin as they stand in the printed editions. It has long, however, been decided by the learned, that Eusebius is right in making what is commonly called the First to be the Second Apology, and vice versâ. This more correct numbering is adopted in the text. Valesius is strongly of opinion that both were presented during the lifetime of Antoninus Pius. See his Notes on Eusebius, lib. iv. cap. 17. Tillemont and Dupin, however, refer the Second to the following reign.—Ed.

(2) The Lord take away this spirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be convicted

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which they, being condemned, affirm that they suffer open wrong; affirming, moreover, that the true and only religion is the religion of the Christians, whose doctrine and conversation have no fault.

And likewise, in his second Apology, writing with great liberty to the senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further, mentions one of the martyrs as reproaching Urbicius, prefect of the city, saying, "That he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confession only of the name of Christ; which proceedings and judgments neither became the emperor, nor Cæsar's son, nor the senate;"[1] defending, moreover, in the said Apology, and purging the Christians of such crimes as falsely were laid and objected against them by the heathen.

The second Apology of Justin.

By these things it is apparent, with what zeal and faith this Justin did strive against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

This Justin, by the means and malice of Crescens the philosopher (as will be hereafter declared), suffered martyrdom under Marcus Antoninus Verus, about the time that Polycarp was martyred in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius.[2]

Justin, although with these and such-like persuasions he did not so prevail with the emperor, as to cause him to love his religion and become a Christian (for that is not recorded), yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus, writing to his officers in Asia in the behalf of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians only who were found guilty of any trespass, should suffer; and such as were not convicted, should not for the name only be punished, because they were called Christians, as well may appear by his letter sent down to the commons of Asia, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Epistle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Asia.

The good conscience of Christians, and the false conscience of the heathen.

Emperor and Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune fifteen times, consul thrice, to the common council of Asia, greeting.

I am persuaded, that the gods will take care that persons such as you describe these Christians to be, shall not escape with impunity; for they are much more concerned to punish those who refuse to worship them, than you are. But are they quite the characters you represent? You overwhelm them with trouble, and only confirm them in the opinions which they really do hold, when you charge them with being "atheists:" and it seems infinitely preferable to them to die for their God, than to live under such an imputation. And here it may not be amiss for me to refer to the earthquakes which are continually happening, and remind you how disheartened you are whenever they occur, and how you then envy these people their state of mind, as compared with your own: at such seasons whilst they wax the more bold in their God, you seem to have forgotten that there are gods, and the worship of the eternal is the last thing you think of; and yet the Christians who do worship him, you hunt and persecute to death. Many of the governors of the provinces heretofore wrote about these people to our father of blessed memory, who in reply directed them "not to molest the Christians, unless they should appear to be attempting something against the Roman government." I have also myself

O noble edict!

(1) See infrà, p. 128, note 2.—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 16.

received many communications respecting them, to which I have returned answer to the same effect as my father did. Wherefore, if any one hereafter shall prosecute a Christian, merely as such, though the accused should plainly be proved to be one, let him be acquitted; but let the accuser be punished.

The Fourth Persecution.

A. D. 161 to 180.

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Ephesus,[1] in the public assembly of all Asia, whereof Melito also, bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the same time, maketh mention, in his apology written in defence of our doctrine, to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear. By this means, then, the tempest of persecution in those days began to be appeased, through the merciful providence of God, who would not have his church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

THE FOURTH PERSECUTION.

After the decease of the aforesaid quiet and mild prince Antoninus Pius (who, among all other emperors of that time made the most quiet end), followed his son Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus (with Lucius Verus, his brother), about the year of our Lord 161, a man of nature more stern and severe. And, although in study of philosophy, and in civil government no less commendable, yet, toward the christians, sharp and fierce; by whom was moved the fourth persecution after Nero.

A.D. 161.

Among those who sustained the cruelty of this persecution at Rome, under this Marcus Antoninus Verus, is mentioned Felicitas, with her seven children. The names of her children Bergomensis, and other historians, do thus recite: Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial. Of whom her first and eldest son, Januarius, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was pressed to death with leaden weights: Felix and Philip had their brains beaten out with malls: Silvanus was cast down headlong, and had his neck broken: furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were beheaded. Last of all, Felicitas, the mother (otherwise than the accustomed manner was for such as had borne children), was slain with the sword.[2]

Felicitas, with her seven children.

To these above recited, is also to be added Praxedes, a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who, in the time of Anicetus there bishop, was so brought up in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that she, with her sister Patentiana,[3] bestowed all her patrimony upon the relieving of poor Christians, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after she had made free all her family with her servants, after the death of her sister she also departed, and was buried in peace.

Praxedes and Patentiana, christian virgins.

(1) It is much disputed among the learned, whether this edict is to be ascribed to Antoninus Pius, or his successor, Marcus Aurelius. The heading here given is according to Eusebius, and refers it to the first year of M. Aurelius, A.D. 161. But the same epistle is printed at the conclusion of Justin's Apology to Antoninus Pius, with the following heading.—Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος, Αἴλιος, Ἀδριανός, Ἀντωνῖνο., Σεβαστὸς, Ευσεβὴς, Ἀρχιερευς Μέγιστος, δημιαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [ ], ὕπατος τὸ πδ'. Sylburgius inserts [το ιέ] or XV after the tribuneship, from Eusebius; and Tillemont would alter πδ' into δ'; thus making the epistle to have been issued by Antoninus Pius, in the fifteenth year of his tribuneship and his fourth consulate, or A.D. 152. He further supposes some error to have crept into the copies of Eusebius, who would scarcely have ascribed to Antoninus Pius a letter bearing the name of his successor. See Appendix to this volume.—Ed.

(2) Ex Supplem. See Note, page 113.—Ed.

(3) "Pudentiana," in Baron. ann. 165, § 3.—Ed.

The Fourth Persecution.

A. D. 161 to 180.

Under the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomæus and Lucius, for the confession of Christ; whose history, because it is described in the Apology of Justin Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alleged in Eusebius,[1] declaring the manner and occasion thereof, in words and effect as followeth:—

A certain woman had a husband who led a lascivious and libidinous course of life; she herself also had formerly been guilty of the same. But having become acquainted with the christian religion, she became chaste herself and made it her constant endeavour to persuade him to be the same; repeating to him ofttimes the truths and precepts of Christianity, and telling him of the punishment in eternal fire which was prepared for such as lead an obscene and disorderly life. But he, persevering in his lascivious habits, alienated thereby his wife's affections. At length the woman, judging it a wicked thing for her to cohabit with a husband who (disregarding the law of nature and common propriety) only sought ways to gratify his lust; was minded to be divorced from him. But her friends advising her still to continue with him in hope that he might yet mend, she put a force on herself and continued with him. But after this, her husband, having gone a journey to Alexandria, was reported to her as living there more licentiously than ever; whereupon, she (fearing lest by her continuing in connexion with him, she should be counted a partaker of his sins) sent him what is termed a bill of divorce and separated from him. But this excellent fellow, who ought to have rejoiced that his wife (who formerly committed the basest lewdness, and took pleasure in drunkenness and all manner of vice) had now desisted from such practices herself and wished him to desist also, and had got divorced from him only because he would not comply, publicly accused her of being a Christian. Whereupon she presented a petition to thee, O emperor, that she might have liberty first to set her affairs in order; after which settlement she would put in an answer to the accusation. To which you condescended.

But her heretofore husband, being unable to substantiate anything against her, set upon one Ptolomæus (the same whom Urbicius has put to death) who had been her instructor in the christian religion, in the following manner. He persuaded a centurion, who was his friend, to apprehend Ptolomæus, and having put him in bonds to ask him this one question, Whether he were a Christian. Ptolomæus (being a lover of truth and a hater of deceit and equivocation) confessed that he was a Christian; whereupon the centurion caused him to be bound in fetters, and afflicted him with a long imprisonment. At length being brought before Urbicius, he was again asked the plain question, Whether he were a Christian. He, knowing in himself the blessings he had received through the doctrine of Christ, again confessed himself a follower of that heavenly learning. For he who denies himself to be a Christian, either denies because he disapproves of Christianity, or avoids the profession of it because he feels himself unworthy and a stranger to its blessings; neither of which can be said of a true Christian. He was immediately ordered to execution. Whereupon one Lucius (himself a Christian) considering the injustice of the sentence, said to Urbicius;—"What is the reason that you have sentenced a man who is neither an adulterer, nor a fornicator, nor a murderer, nor a thief, nor a robber, nor convicted of any misdemeanor whatever, but simply owns to the appellation of a Christian? Such proceedings as these, O Urbicius, are not in character with the "Pious" emperor, or the "philosopher" son of Cæsar, or the "sacred" senate.[2] But Urbicius made no reply, except, "You seem to be one of this sort, yourself." Lucius admitting that it was so, Urbicius ordered him also to be led off to execution. He declared himself much obliged to him, "for I shall be delivered (said he) from such wicked tyrants, and go to my God, a gracious father and king." A third stepping forward and making the same profession, was condemned to undergo the same punishment.

Boldness and christian constancy of Lucius.

Condemned and martyred.

A third also martyred.

Gratian suspected.

And thus much out of the Apology of Justin, by the which story

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 17. Just. Apol. II. cap. 2—4.—Ed.

(2) On this passage, partly, Valesius grounds his opinion that this Apology was presented in the life-time of Antoninus Pius. But Dupin and Tillemont explain it as referring to Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Commodus, his son, or M Antoninus and Lucius Verus.—Ed.

The Fourth Persecution.

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it may appear not to be true what Gratian attributeth unto Hyginus, bishop of Rome, the deciding of causes matrimonial, seeing that in Justin's time (who was in the same age as Hyginus), the divorcement of this woman in this history above touched, was not decided by any ecclesiastical law, or brought before any bishop, but was brought before a heathen prince, and determined by the law civil.

Concordius, martyr.

He spitteth in the face of the idol.

Henry of Herford [in Westphalia] recordeth, out of the Martyrology of Isuardus, of one Concordius, a minister of the city of Spoleto, who, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice unto Jupiter, but did spit in the face of the idol, after divers and sundry punishments sustained, at last with the sword was beheaded. Vincentius[1] reciteth a long story of his acts and life, whereof some part, perhaps, may seem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beside his sepulchre in the aforenamed city of Spoleto, unto the which water was given (saith Vincentius) by the virtue of him for whose name he suffered, to restore sight to the blind, to heal the sick, and to cast out devils, etc. Which kind of virtue, to open the eyes of the blind, and to expel devils, neither doth God give to any creature of water, neither is it likely that Concordius, the blessed martyr, did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Vincentius suspected of untruth.

Men who became martyrs.

Isuardus and Bede, Vincentius and Henry of Herford, with other authors more, make relation of divers other martyrs that by sundry kinds of torments were put to death under the aforesaid Antoninus Verus: the names of whom be Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontian, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, and Valerian. The cause of whose martyrdom was the reprehending of idolatry, and because, at the emperor's commandment, they would not sacrifice to idols. Many sorts of punishments and miracles are told of them; but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected the histories of these writers not to be certain or true, as well touching these as also other martyrs, as may appear in Vincentius, in Petrus "De Natalibus," and other authors of like sort. In which authors they who list to read more of their miracles, there may find them.

Authors in the writing of miracles of martyrs suspected.

Justin Martyr.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, under the reign of Antoninus Verus, suffered also the before-mentioned good Justin, who first exhibited unto the emperor, and to the senate, his second Apology in the defence of the Christians, and afterward himself also died a martyr. Of whom, in the history of Eusebius,[2] it is thus recorded:—

About the time that Polycarp, with divers other saints, suffered martyrdom in Pergamos, a city of Asia, this Justin presented a second book in defence of our doctrine to the emperors aforesaid. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdom unto those whom he, in his book, had defended; through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of Crescens.

Crescens, a philosopher, procurer of the death of Justin.

This Crescens was a philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the Cynical denomination, whom because this Justin had confuted in open audience; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this crown of martyrdom. And thus much did also Justin (himself a philosopher of no mean order) foresee and declare in his aforesaid Apology, predicting almost all those things beforehand which were to happen unto him, in these words. "I

(1) Vincent. lib. x. cap. 108.
(2) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 16. Just. Apol. II. cap. 8.—Ed.

The Fourth Persecution. A.D. 161 to 180.

also expect myself to be betrayed and put in the stocks by some one of those whom I have named, perhaps by that pseudo-philosopher, Crescens, who is fonder of fame than of truth: for the man does not deserve the name of a philosopher, who publicly asserts what he does not know to be true—for example, 'that the Christians are atheistical and impious persons'—merely to gratify and please the multitude. In so doing he commits a grievous error. If he never met with any account of our doctrine, it is very wicked of him to inveigh against us, and he is far worse in so doing than the generality of men, who are mostly cautious how they talk about what they do not understand, lest they speak what is false. If he has met with it, but did not understand the majestic sublimity thereof; or, understanding it, acts thus in order to avoid the suspicion of being himself a Christian, that is still more base and wicked, in that he avows himself the slave of popular opinion and the fear of man. For I would have you know that, when I proposed and asked him some questions on the subject, I discovered that he really knew nothing about it. And to prove the truth of what I say, I am ready (if these our disputations have not come to your knowledge) to propose the questions to him again in your presence—and this exercise will be by no means derogatory to your Imperial Dignity. But if both my questions and his answers have been made known to you, then it must be clear to you already, that he is quite ignorant of our religion. If, however, he understands it, but does not freely declare himself because of his auditors, then is he plainly no philosopher (as I said before), but a slave to popular opinion; and has no esteem for that most excellent saying of Socrates in Plato, that no man is to be preferred before the truth."

A slave of fame and fear.

Crescens proved an unlearned philosopher.

And thus much of Justin, out of Justin himself.

Now, to verify that which Justin here of himself doth prophesy, "That Crescens would procure his death," Tatian (a man brought up of a child in the learning of the Gentiles, and who obtained in the same not a little fame, and who also left behind him many good monuments and commentaries,) writeth in his book against the gentiles in this sort: "And Justin," saith he, "that most excellently learned man, full well spake and uttered his mind, that the aforerecited men were like unto thieves, or liers by the high-way side." And in the said book, speaking afterwards of certain philosophers, the said Tatian inferreth thus: "Crescens, therefore," saith he, "when he came first into that great city, passed all others in the vicious love of children, and was very much given to covetousness; and whereas he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himself did fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppress Justin with death, as with the greatest evil that was; and all because that Justin, speaking truth, reproved the philosophers to be men only for the belly, and deceivers: and this was the cause of Justin's martyrdom."

Tatian commended.

The praise of Justin Martyr.

Jerome, in his Ecclesiastical Catalogue, thus writeth: "Justin, when in the city of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproved Crescens, the Cynic, a great blasphemer of the Christians, for a belly-god, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery; at last, by his endeavour and conspiracy, was accused to be a Christian, and for Christ shed his blood," A.D. 153, under Antoninus Pius, according to the abbot of Ursperg; but according to others, A.D. 165 or 166, in the sixth year of the emperor Marcus Antoninus.[1]

Martyrdom of Justin, the noble philosopher and Christian. A.D. 166.

(1) Foxe quotes also the Chronicle of Eusebius (as others have done) for the earlier of these two dates: but the passage in the Chronicle is quite ambiguous, and in reality speaks rather of the rise of Crescens at Rome; and what he adds about Justin's martyrdom may be by anticipation. In his History Eusebius places it under Marcus Aurelius. Tatian, the pupil of Justin, says he died the sixth year of M. Aurelius, or A.D. 166. The Alexandrine Chronicle sets down his death under the consulate of Orphitus and Pudens, or A.D. 165. "Cum ergo Marco Veroque imperantibus perierit Justinus, multam veri speciem habet Chronici Alexandrini sententia, quæ S. Justini martyrium huic anno (165) illigavit." "Basnagii Annales Politico-eccles." (Roter. 706), ad an. 165, § 5.—ED.

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Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceived in the time of his death, saying, "That he suffered under Rusticus the prefect, and Adrian the emperor, being of thirty years of age;" which indeed agreeth neither with Eusebius, nor Jerome, nor Suidas, nor others more, who manifestly declare and testify how he exhibited his Apology unto Antoninus Pius, who came after Adrian. Thus hast thou, good reader, the life of this learned and blessed martyr, fully and amply discoursed, for the better commendation of his excellent and notable virtues, of whose final end thus writeth Photius, saying, "That he, suffering for Christ, died cheerfully and with honour."[1]

A place of Epiphanius found faulty.

In the time of the same Marcus a great number of them which truly professed Christ, suffered most cruel torments and punishments, both in Asia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarp, the worthy bishop of Smyrna, who, in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, among many other most constant saints, was also martyred. Of whose end and martyrdom I thought it here not inexpedient to commit to history so much as Eusebius[2] declareth to be taken out of a certain letter or epistle, written by them of his own church to all the brethren throughout the world:[3] the tenor of which epistle here followeth.

Polycarp, the blessed martyr, bishop of Smyrna.

The church of God which sojourns at Smyrna to that which sojourns at Philomelium,[4] and to all the churches throughout the world composing the holy catholic church, mercy, peace, and the love of God the Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied! We have written to inform you, brethren, concerning the martyrs, but particularly concerning the blessed Polycarp, who, as it were, sealed up the persecution with his own blood.

And in the same epistle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarp, they discourse of other martyrs, describing what patience they abode in and showed, in suffering their torments.

Their patience was so admirable (saith the epistle) that the by-standers were amazed; while they beheld them torn with whips till their veins and arteries appeared, yea and even their bowels and the inward structure of their frame were laid open to view; then, laid on prickly sea-shells, and on little sharp spikes or nails called ὀβελίσκοι, and, in short, made to go through every kind of punishment and torture that could be devised; and, lastly, thrown to the wild beasts to be devoured.

Cruel handling of christian martyrs.

Their singular patience and constancy.

But especially in the aforesaid epistle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he most worthily persevered and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is engrafted in the common nature of all men; whose patience and sufferance were so notable, that the whole multitude, wondering at this beloved martyr of God for this his so bold constancy, and also at the singular strength and fortitude of the whole of the Christians, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, "Take away the atheists:[5] let Polycarp be sought

Germanicus, a most constant martyr.

(1) "Cum dignitate et lætus pro Christo pertulit." [Bibliotheca, cod. 125, col. 306, Edit. 1612. —Ed.]

(2) Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 15. The whole of the matter from hence to the bottom of page 134, is from this chapter of Eusebius; a new translation however is substituted for Foxe's, which is often loose and obscure.—Ed.

(3) Eusebius has κατὰ Πόντον, a palpable error (as Valesius observes) for κατὰ πάντα τόπον.

(4) Philomelium "urbs erat Majoris Phrygiæ, celebris famæ, cujus meminere Strabo, Stephanus, etc." Smithi Annotat. p. 113, edit. Oxon. 1709.—Ed.

(5) Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. "Christianos ita appellabant efferi hi idolatræ, quia istorum fictitiis numinibus supplicare et sacrificare noluerint." Smith's note in "Eccles. Smyrnensis Epist. de Polycarpi Mart." § 3, which Mr. Jacobson confirms ("Patres Apostolici," edit. Oxon. 1838) by referring to Justin Mart. Apol. i. § 6.—Ed.

The Fourth Persecution.

A. D. 61 to 180.

for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began thus to be raised upon those cries, a certain Christian, named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, having been shown the wild beasts and threatened with being thrown to them, quailed with fear, and, to save his life, gave in. The letter states, that this man had, more hastily than wisely, rushed up, with others, before the tribunal; and thereupon being taken, afforded by his apostasy a signal warning to all, not to venture on such trials fool-hardily and without counting the cost.

Quintus, a Phrygian, too hardy and bold.

But now we will surcease to speak more of them, and return to Polycarp, of whom the aforesaid letter consequently declareth as followeth:

Polycarp flieth persecution.

Polycarp prayeth for the church.

Vision of his burning.

The admirable Polycarp, when first he heard what was passing, was not at all flurried, but preserved his usual calmness and presence of mind, and purposed to remain in the city: but being prevailed on by those about him, who earnestly besought him to convey himself away, he retired to a village not far off; and there, with a few friends, he spent his time entirely, night and day, in praying (as he had ever been wont) for the peace of all the churches throughout the world. Three days before he was apprehended, as he was thus praying at night, he fell asleep, and saw in a dream the pillow take fire under his head, and presently consumed. Waking thereupon, he forthwith related the vision to those about him, and prophesied that he should be burnt alive for Christ's sake. It is further stated, that when the persons who were in search of him were close at hand, he was induced, for the love of the brethren, to retire to another village, to which, notwithstanding, the pursuers soon followed him; and having caught a couple of boys dwelling thereabout, they whipped one of them till he directed them to Polycarp's retreat. The pursuers having arrived late in the day,[1] found him gone to bed, in the top room of the house, whence he might have escaped into another house, if he would; but this he refused to do, saying, "The will of the Lord be done." Hearing that they were come, as the said history relates, he came down, and spoke to them with a cheerful and pleasant countenance: so that they were wonder-struck, who, having never known the man before, now beheld his venerable age and the gravity and composure of his manner,[2] and wondered why they should be so earnest for the apprehension of so old a man. He immediately ordered a table to be laid for them, and exhorted them to eat heartily, and begged them to allow him one hour to pray, without molestation; which being granted, he rose and began to pray, and was so full of the grace of God, that they who were present and heard his prayers were astonished, and many now felt sorry that so venerable and godly a man should be put to death.

Pursued and taken.

Might escape, and would not.

He falleth to prayer.

After this the aforesaid epistle or letter, prosecuting the history, addeth more, as followeth:—

When he had finished his prayers, wherein he made mention of all whom he had ever been connected with, small and great, noble and vulgar, and of the whole catholic church throughout the world, the hour being come for their departure, they set him on an ass and brought him to the city, on the great sabbath.[3] There met him the irenarch[4] Herod, and his father Nicetes, who taking him up into their chariot, began to exhort him, saying, "What harm is it to say 'Lord Cæsar,' and to sacrifice, and save yourself?" At first he was silent: but being pressed to speak, he said, "I will not do as you advise me." When they saw that he was not to be persuaded, they gave him rough language, and pushed him hastily down, so that in descending from the chariot he grazed

He refuseth to do sacrifice.

(1) The original is ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας, "late in the day."—Ed.

(2) Τῷ εὐσταθεῖ τοῦ τρόπου, "the composure of his manner," a reading which some MSS. present, seems preferable to the other τῷ ἐυσταθεῖ τοῦ προσώπου, "the composure of his countenance." Vide Vales. in Euseb. iv. 15.—Ed.

(3) Valesius considers this to have been a Saturday, on which the first day of unleavened bread happened to fall. Usher and Pagi consider that among Christians it could only mean the Saturday before Easter. Pagi shows that Saturday before Easter (according to Eastern computation) fell on March 26, in the year 169. See infrà, p. 136, note 2.—Ed.

(4) "Irenarch" was an officer of the council, answering to our "Marshal," or "Sergeant at Arms." See Vales. not. in loc.—Ed.

his shin. But he, unmoved as if he had suffered nothing, went on cheerfully, under the conduct of his guards, to the Stadium. There, the noise being so great that few could hear anything, a voice from heaven said to Polycarp as he entered the Stadium, "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." No one saw him that spake, but many of our people heard the voice. When he was brought to the tribunal, there was a great tumult as soon as it was generally understood that Polycarp was apprehended. The proconsul asked him, if he were Polycarp. When he assented, the former counselled him to deny Christ, saying, "Consider thyself, and have pity on thy own great age;" and many other such-like speeches which they are wont to make:—"Swear by the fortune of Cæsar"—"Repent"—"say, Take away the atheists." Then Polycarp, with a grave aspect, beholding all the multitude in the Stadium, and waving his hand to them, he gave a deep sigh, and, looking up to heaven, said, "Take away the atheists." The proconsul then urged him, saying, "Swear, and I will release thee;—reproach Christ." Polycarp answered, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never once wronged me; how then shall I blaspheme my King, who hath saved me?" The proconsul again urged him, "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar." Polycarp replied, "Since you still vainly strive to make me swear by the fortune of Cæsar, as you express it, affecting ignorance of my real character, hear me frankly declaring what I am—I am a Christian—and if you desire to learn the christian doctrine, assign me a day, and you shall hear." The proconsul said, "Persuade the people." Polycarp said, "I have thought proper to address you, because we are taught to pay to magistracies and powers ordained of God, all honour, which is consistent with a good conscience. But I do not hold those people worthy that I should apologize to them." Hereupon the proconsul said, "I have wild beasts; and I will expose you to them, unless you repent." "Call for them," replied Polycarp; "for repentance with us is a wicked thing, if it is to be a change from the better to the worse, but a good thing if it is to be a change from evil to good." "I will tame thee with fire," said the proconsul, "since you despise the wild beasts, unless you repent." Then said Polycarp, "You threaten me with fire, which burns for an hour, and is soon extinguished; but the fire of the future judgment, and of eternal punishment reserved for the ungodly, you are ignorant of. But why do you delay? Do whatever you please."

The Fourth Persecution.

A. D. 161 to 180.

Comforted by a voice from heaven.

A faithful servant of Christ his Lord.

Polycarp ready to give a reason of his doctrine.

Obedient to higher powers.

Threatened with wild beasts.

While saying this, and much more of the same kind, he was filled with confidence and joy, and grace shone in his countenance, and was so far from being confounded by the proconsul's menaces, that, on the contrary, the proconsul himself was visibly embarrassed, and sent the herald to proclaim thrice in the middle of the Stadium, "Polycarp hath professed himself a Christian." Which words were no sooner spoken, but the whole multitude, both of Gentiles and Jews, dwelling at Smyrna, with outrageous fury shouted aloud, "This is the doctor of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the subverter of our gods, who hath taught many not to sacrifice nor adore." They now called on Philip, the asiarch,[1] to let loose a lion against Polycarp. But he refused, alleging that he had closed his exhibition. They then unanimously shouted, that he should be burnt alive. For his vision must needs be accomplished—the vision which he had when he was praying, and saw his pillow burnt, when he turned to the faithful that were with him, and said, prophetically, "I must be burnt alive." This was no sooner said, than done; for the people immediately gathered wood and other dry matter from the workshops and baths: in which service the Jews (with their usual malice) were particularly forward to help.

The pile being now made, he put off his garments and unloosed his girdle, and attempted to take off his shoes,—a thing which he had not been accustomed to do—because the faithful were wont to strive who should be most assiduous in serving him. For even in his younger days he had been held in great respect, for his integrity and blameless conduct. Immediately the materials for making the pile were placed around him, and when they would have fastened him to the stake, he said, "Leave me as I am; for he who giveth me strength to sustain the fire, will enable me also, without your securing me with nails, to remain without flinching in the pile." Upon which they bound him without nailing him. So he, having his hands bound behind him, like a dis-

Example of brotherly love.

Polycarp willing to suffer.

(1) "Asiarch" was the chief-priest of the council: one of his duties was to superintend the games, which he often gave at his own expense. See Vales not. in locum.—Ed.

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tinguished ram selected from a large flock, to be offered as an acceptable burnt-offering to God Almighty, said thus:—"O Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, the God of angels and principalities, and of all creation, and of all the just who live in thy sight, I bless thee that thou hast counted me worthy of this day and of this hour, to receive my portion among the number of martyrs in the cup of Christ, for the resurrection and eternal life both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost; among whom may I be received before thee this day, as a sacrifice well-savoured and acceptable, which thou the faithful and true God hast prepared, promised beforehand, and fulfilled accordingly. Wherefore I praise thee for all things, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High-Priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son; through whom to thee with him, in the Holy Spirit, be glory, both now and for ever. Amen."

The prayer and thanksgiving of Polycarp.

A miracle showed.

As soon as he had uttered the word "Amen," and finished his prayer, the officers lighted the fire; and a great flame bursting out, we, to whom it was given to see it, and who were also reserved to relate to others what happened, we saw a wonder. For the flame, forming the appearance of an arch, as the sail of a vessel filled with wind, surrounded, as with a wall, the body of the martyr; which was in the midst, not as burning flesh, but as gold and silver refining in the furnace. We received also in our nostrils such a fragrance as proceeds from frankincense or some other precious perfume. At length the wicked people, observing that his body could not be consumed with the fire, ordered the confector[1] to approach, and to plunge his sword into his body. Upon this such a quantity of blood gushed out, that the fire was extinguished; and all the multitude were astonished to see this difference providentially made between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this most admirable man was one, the last surviving apostolical and prophetical teacher in our times, having been the bishop of the catholic church of Smyrna; for whatever he spoke, both has been and shall be accomplished. But the envious, malignant, and spiteful enemy of the just, observing the gloriousness of his martyrdom, and the blamelessness of his life, even from his youth up, and knowing that he was now crowned with immortality, and had received the prize of unquestionable victory, studied to prevent us from obtaining his poor body, though many of us longed to do so, that we might have communion with his sacred remains.[2] For some persons suggested to Nicetes, the father of Herod and the brother of Alce,[3] to go to the proconsul, and entreat him not to deliver the body to the Christians, "lest," said they, "leaving the crucified one, they should begin to worship *him*." And they said these things upon the suggestions and arguments of the Jews, who also watched us when we were going to take the body from the pile: unacquainted indeed with our views, viz. that it is not possible for us to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all who are to be saved[4] of the human race, nor ever to worship any other. For Him, as being the Son of God, we *worship;* but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we *love*,[5] and that justly, on account of the distinguished affection which they bore toward their King and Master. And may we be ranked at last in their number! The centurion, perceiving the malevolence of the Jews, placed the body in the midst of the fire, and burned it. Then we gathered up his bones—more precious than gold and jewels—and deposited them in a proper place, where, if possible, we shall meet, and the Lord will grant us in gladness and joy to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in commemoration of those who have wrestled before us, and for the instruction and confirmation of those who come after.

Example of much cruelty.

The Jews always enemies to the Christians.

Eleven other martyrs put to death in Smyrna with Polycarp.

Thus much concerning the blessed Polycarp, who, together with eleven Philadelphians, was crowned with martyrdom at Smyrna: who alone is so pre-eminently famous among all men, that even the heathens everywhere make mention of him.

(1) "Confector," an officer whose business it was, in the Roman games, to dispatch any beast that was unruly or dangerous.—Ed.

(2) This is explained from Optatus, by Valesius, "offerre ad sepulchra martyrum;" but this does not imply relic "worship." Vide Chemnitz "Examen Conc. Trident." pars iii. loc. 4, sect. v. § 9; and pars iv. loc. 1, sect. iii. § 5.—Ed.

(3) Alce, probably the christian woman who is spoken of with honour in Ignatius's epistle to the Smyrnæans.

(4) "As many, I mean, as are elected to salvation:" this is Foxe's translation of the word σωζομένων, rendered in the English Bible, more correctly, "such as should be saved," Acts ii. 47. "Servandorum" is the translation in the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. ii. col. 27, edit. 1624.—Ed.

(5) Mark what he saith; we love them, and worship them not.

Thus have you heard, out of the epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarp: whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty-six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the ministry about the space of seventy years. This Polycarp was the scholar and hearer of John the evangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his epistle, which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarp was then in the ministry. Likewise Irenæus writeth of the said Polycarp after this manner: "He always taught," said he, "those things which he had learned of the apostles (leaving them to the church), and which are alone true. Whereunto also all the churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Polycarp, to this day, bear witness."[1] And the same Irenæus witnesseth also that the said Polycarp wrote an epistle to the Philippians,[2] which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarp, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said epistle divers things are found very wholesome and apostolic: as where he teacheth of Christ, of judgment, and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

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A. D. 161 to 180.

Old age of Polycarp.

Polycarp the scholar of John.

Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians.

Justification by faith.

In Eusebius[3] we read in like manner a part of an epistle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared, how that the said Irenæus, being yet young, was with Polycarp in Asia; and at what time he wrote, well remembered what Polycarp did, and the place where he sat teaching, his whole order of life, and the proportion of his body, with the sermons which he uttered to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembered, how that the said Polycarp oftentimes reported unto him those things which he had heard them speak concerning the Lord's doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the Word of Life with their own ears, all which [things] were consonant and agreeable to the holy scripture. This, with much more, hath Irenæus concerning Polycarp.

Irenæus conversant with Polycarp.

Polycarp conversant with the apostles.

Jerome also, writing of the same Polycarp,[4] hath, how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholar to the apostles, and to them who did see and were conversant with Christ himself: whereby it is to be conjectured his authority was great, not only with them of his own church, but with all other churches about him.

The authority of Polycarp in the churches of Asia.

Irenæus, in his book against heresies, and Eusebius[5] in his Ecclesiastical History, report this worthy saying of Polycarp: "This Polycarp," saith he, "meeting at a certain time Marcion, the heretic, who said to him, 'Dost thou not know me?' made answer, 'I know that thou art the first-begotten of Satan.'" So great fear what evil might ensue thereof, had the disciples of the apostles, that they would not even speak to those whom they knew to be depravers of the verity, even as St. Paul saith: "A heretic, after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing that he which is such a one, is perverse and sinneth, and damneth himself."

(1) Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3, as quoted by Eusebius.—Ed. (2) Iren. ibid. Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 36.—Ed.
(3) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 20. (4) Jerom. De Viris Illust. cap. 27.—Ed.
(5) Ex Irenæo, lib. iii. cap. 3; et Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 14.—Ed.

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Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said Irenæus, that Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord 160, in the reign of Antoninus Pius: the cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controversy of Easter-day, wherein the Asians and the Romans something disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said Polycarp, in the behalf of the brethren and church of Asia, took his long journey thither, to come and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth also Nicephorus,[1] declaring, that Polycarp and Anicetus something varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and yet that, notwithstanding, both friendly communicated either with the other, insomuch that Anicetus, in his church, gave place to Polycarp, to minister the communion and sacrament of the Lord's supper, for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence of stomach, or breach of christian peace in the church.

Comes to Rome, and conferreth with Anicetus.

The East and Roman church differ about Easter-day.

Difference of ceremonies caused no breach of charity in the primitive church.

This Polycarp (as is above mentioned) suffered his martyrdom even in his own church at Smyrna, where he had laboured so many years in planting of the gospel of Christ; which was in the fourth persecution after Nero,[2] when Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Ælius Verus reigned, A.D. 167, as the abbot of Ursperg[3] affirmeth; and in the year 169, and the seventh of M. Antoninus, as Eusebius witnesseth in his Chronicles;[4] the seventh day before the kalends of March;[5] whereby it appeareth that Socrates (cited in the "Historia Tripartita") was much deceived, saying, that Polycarp suffered in the time of Gordian.[6]

A. D. 169.

Socrates deceived in his history.

In this fourth persecution, besides Polycarp and others mentioned before, we read also in Eusebius of divers others, who about the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.[7]

Of Germanicus mention is made above, in the story of Polycarp, of whom writeth Eusebius,[8] noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christ's doctrine; whom when the proconsul wanted to persuade to remember his youth, and to spare himself, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his own accord, incited and provoked the wild beasts to come upon him, and to devour him, that he might be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life.

Metrodorus. Pionius.

Over and besides, in the same persecution suffered moreover Metrodorus, a minister, who was given to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthy Pionius, who, after much boldness of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his orations made to the people in

(1) Niceph. lib. iv. cap. 39. [See rather Irenæus, apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed.]

(2) Baronius places the martyrdom under the year 169: and the Alexandrine Chronicle (cited in the note of Pagi) fixes *the very day* (vii. Cal. Ap. *i.e.* March 26), for those who delight in such exactitude. See Baron. "Annal. Eccles." tom. ii. p. 241, edit. Lucæ, 1738; also suprà, p. 132, note 3.—Ed.

(3) Conrad à Lichtenaw, abbot of Ursperg, whose chronicle is often made use of by Foxe. He died in the thirteenth century; but the chronicle, though well spoken of by Meusel, (p. 77), is supposed to have little of his hand in it.—Ed.

(4) The date is so described in the Chronicle of Eusebius, as translated into Latin by Jerome. A.D. 169, however, is really the *ninth* of Marcus Antoninus.—Ed.

(5) *i.e.* February 23d, the day on which his martyrdom is commemorated in the Greek and Roman martyrologies. It does not however at all follow (as Pagi observes) that this was the real day. See suprà, note 2.—Ed.

(6) Hist. Tripart. lib. ix. cap. 38.—Ed.

(7) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 15.

(8) Ex Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 15.

the defence of christian faith, and after much relieving and comforting of such as were in prisons and otherwise discomforted, at last was put to cruel torments and afflictions; then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed testimony. *The Fourth Persecution.* A. D. 161 to 180.

Beside these also suffered Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonica, a woman; who, after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death at Pergamos, in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius.[1]

Martyrs.

Under the said Antoninus Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, two cities in France; giving to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancy and fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The history of whom, because it is written and set forth by their own churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Eusebius,[2] I thought here to express the same in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be seen. The title of which their epistle, written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia, thus beginneth:— The persecution in Lyons and Vienne, two cities in France.

A Letter of the Brethren of France, in the Cities of Vienne and Lyons, to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia.

The servants of Christ, inhabiting the cities of Vienne and Lyons, in France, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope of redemption with us: peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord.[3]

We are not competent to describe with accuracy in words or in writing, the greatness of the affliction sustained here by the saints, the intense animosity of the heathen against them, and the complicated sufferings of the blessed martyrs. The grand enemy assaulted us with all his might; and by his first essays, exhibited intentions of exercising malice without limits and without control. He left no method untried to habituate his slaves to his bloody work, and to prepare them by previous exercises against the servants of God. Christians were absolutely prohibited from appearing in any houses except their own, in baths, in the market, or in any public place whatever. The grace of God, however, fought for us, preserving the weak and exposing the strong; who, like pillars, were able to withstand him in patience and to draw the whole fury of the wicked against themselves. These entered into the contest and sustained every species of pain and reproach. What was heavy to others, to them was light, while they were hastening to Christ; evincing indeed, that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." The first trial was from the people at large; shouts, blows, the dragging of their bodies, the plundering of their goods, casting of stones, and the confining of them within their own houses, and all the indignities which may be expected from a fierce and outrageous multitude, these were magnanimously sustained. And now, being led into the forum by the tribune and the magistrates, they were examined before all the people, whether they were Christians; and on pleading guilty, were shut up in prison till the arrival of the governor. Before him they were at length brought; and he treated us with great savageness of manners. The spirit of Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, was roused—a man full of charity both to God and man—whose conduct was so exemplary, though but a youth, that he might justly be compared to old Zacharias; for he "walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless;" a man ever unwearied in acts of beneficence to his neighbours, full of zeal towards God, and fervent in spirit. He could not Vettius Epagathus, martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 15. (2) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 1.
(3) The translation of this letter in Milner's Church History (vol. i. p. 224) being very superior to Foxe's, has been here substituted for it, with a few variations.—Ed.

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bear to see so manifest a perversion of justice; but, being moved with indignation, he demanded to be heard in behalf of the brethren, and pledged himself to prove that there was nothing atheistic or impious among them. Those about the tribunal shouted against him. He was a man of quality; and the governor, being vexed and irritated by so equitable a demand from such a person, only asked him if he were a Christian; and this he confessed in the most open manner:—the consequence was, that he was ranked amongst the martyrs. He was called indeed, the Advocate of the Christians; but he had an advocate within, the Holy Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias, which he demonstrated by the fulness of his charity, cheerfully laying down his life in defence of his brethren; for he was, and is still, a genuine disciple of Christ, "following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth."

The stoutness of a godly young man.

The rest began now to be proved.[1] The capital martyrs appeared indeed ready for the contest, and discharged their part with all alacrity of mind. Others seemed not so ready; but rather, unexercised, and as yet weak and unable to sustain the shock of such a contest: of these, ten in number lapsed, whose case filled us with great and unmeasurable sorrow, and dejected the spirits of those who had not yet been apprehended, who, though they sustained all indignities, yet deserted not the martyrs in their distress. Then we were all much alarmed because of the uncertain event of confession; not that we dreaded the torments with which we were threatened, but because we looked forward to the end, and feared the danger of apostasy. Persons were now apprehended daily of such as were counted worthy to fill up the number of the lapsed, so that the most excellent were selected from the two churches, even those by whose labours they had been founded and established. There were seized at the same time some of our heathen servants,—for the governor had openly ordered us and ours all to be examined,—who, by the impulse of Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw inflicted on the saints; at the suggestion of the soldiers, accused us of eating human flesh, and of various unnatural crimes, and of things not fit even to be mentioned or imagined, and such as ought not to be believed of mankind.

The fainting of certain weak Christians.

False slanders against the Christians.

The rage of the heathen against the Christians.

These things being commonly reported, all were incensed even to madness against us; so that if some were formerly more moderate on account of any connexions of blood, affinity or friendship, they were then transported beyond all bounds with indignation. Now was it that our Lord's word was fulfilled, "The time will come when, whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service." The holy martyrs now sustained tortures which exceed the powers of description; Satan labouring by means of these tortures, to extort something slanderous against Christianity. The whole fury of the multitude, the governor, and the soldiers, was spent in a particular manner on Sanctus of Vienne, the deacon, and on Maturus, a late convert indeed, but a magnanimous wrestler in spiritual things; and on Attalus of Pergamos, a man who had ever been a pillar and support of our church; and lastly on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that those things that appear unsightly and contemptible among men are most honourable in the presence of God, on account of love to his name exhibited in real energy, and not in boasting and pompous pretences. For—while we all feared; and among the rest while her mistress according to the flesh, who herself was one of the noble army of martyrs, dreaded that she would not be able to witness a good confession, because of the weakness of her body;—Blandina was endued with so much fortitude, that those who successively tortured her from morning to night, were quite worn out with fatigue, and owned themselves conquered and exhausted of their whole apparatus of tortures, and were amazed to see her still breathing whilst her body was torn and laid open: they confessed that any single species of the torture would have been sufficient to dispatch her, much more so great a variety as had been applied. But the blessed woman, as a generous wrestler, recovered fresh vigour in the act of confession; and it was an evident refreshment, support, and an annihilation of all her pains, to say—"I am a Christian, and no evil is committed among us."

The cruel handling and great patience of Blandina.

Sanctus, a martyr.

In the mean time Sanctus, having sustained in a manner more than human the most barbarous indignities, while the impious hoped to extort from him

(1) Valesius thinks that the original διεκρίνοντο is a *vox athletica*, and should be translated—"Now after this the rest began to be *proved*." Vid. not. in loc.—Ed.

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something injurious to the gospel, through the duration and intenseness of his sufferings, resisted with so much firmness, that he would neither tell his own name, nor that of his nation or state, nor whether he was a freeman or a slave; but to every interrogatory he answered in Latin, "I am a Christian." This, he repeatedly owned, was to him both name, and country, and family, and every thing; and nothing else could the heathen draw from him. Hence the indignation of the governor and of the torturers was fiercely levelled against this holy person, so that having exhausted all the usual methods of torture, they at last clapped brazen plates to the most tender parts of his body. These were made red hot for the purpose of scorching him, and yet he remained upright and inflexible, and firm in his confession; being, no doubt, bedewed and refreshed by the heavenly fountain of the water of life which flows from Christ. His body witnessed indeed the ghastly tortures which he had sustained, being one continued wound and bruise, altogether contracted, and no longer retaining the form of a human creature. In this man the view of Christ suffering wrought great marvels, confounded the adversary, and showed for the encouragement of the rest, that nothing is to be feared where the love of the Father is; and that nothing is painful where the glory of Christ is exhibited. For when, after some days, the impious had renewed his tortures and imagined that a fresh application of the same method of punishment to his wounds, now swollen and inflamed, must either overcome his constancy, or, by dispatching him on the spot, strike a terror into the rest (as he could not even bear to be touched by the hand), this was so far from being the case, that, contrary to all expectation, his body recovered its natural position in the second course of torture; he was restored to his former shape and to the use of his limbs; so that, by the grace of Christ, this cruelty proved not a punishment, but a cure.

The notable constancy of Sanctus.

The cruel torments of Sanctus.

A miraculous working of God.

One of those who had denied Christ was Biblias, a female. Satan imagining that he had now devoured her, and desirous to augment her condemnation, by inducing her to accuse the Christians falsely, caused her to be led to the torture; and supposing her to be a weak and timorous creature, tempted her to charge us with horrid impieties. But in her torture she recovered herself, and awoke as out of a deep sleep, being admonished by a temporary punishment of the danger of eternal fire in hell; and, in opposition to the impious, she said, "How can we eat infants,—we, to whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of beasts?" And now she professed herself a Christian, and was added to the army of martyrs.

Bibliades, a holy martyr.

The power of Christ, manifested in the patience of his people, had now exhausted the usual artifices of torment; and the devil was driven to new resources. Christians were thrust into the darkest and most noisome parts of the prison: their feet were distended in the stocks, even to the fifth hole; and in this situation they suffered all the indignities which diabolical malice could inflict. Hence many of them were suffocated in prison, whom the Lord, showing forth his own glory, was pleased thus to take to himself. The rest, though afflicted to such a degree as to seem scarcely capable of recovery under the kindest treatment, destitute as they were of all help and support, yet remained alive, strengthened by the Lord, and confirmed both in mind and body: and these encouraged and comforted the rest.

Divers martyrs strangled in prison.

Some young persons who had been lately seized, and whose bodies had been unexercised with sufferings, being unequal to the severity of the confinement, expired. The blessed Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, upwards of ninety years of age, and very infirm and asthmatic, yet strong in spirit, and panting after martyrdom, was dragged before the tribunal: his body was worn out indeed with age and disease; yet he retained a soul through which Christ might triumph. Borne by the soldiers to the tribunal, and attended by the magistrates and all the multitude, shouting against him as if he were Christ himself, he made a good confession. Being asked by the governor who was the God of the Christians, he answered, "If ye be worthy, ye shall know." He was then unmercifully dragged about, and suffered variety of ill treatment: those who were near, insulted him with their hands and feet, and those at a distance threw at him whatever came to hand: every one looked upon himself as deficient in zeal if he did not insult him in some way or other; for thus they imagined they revenged the cause of their gods. He was thrown into prison almost breathless, and after two days expired.

Other martyrs died in prison.

Pothinus, a blessed martyr.

The rage of the people against Pothinus.

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And in the same epistle of the aforesaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner:

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And here appeared a remarkable dispensation of Providence and the immense compassion of Jesus, such indeed as is rarely exhibited among the brethren, but not foreign to the character of Christ. Many who, when first apprehended, had denied their Saviour, were, notwithstanding, shut up in prison and suffered dreadful severities, as their denial of Christ availed them not. But those who confessed him, were imprisoned as Christians, abstracted from any other charge. Now the former, as if they had been murderers and incestuous wretches, were punished much more than the rest: but the joy of martyrdom supported the latter, and the hope of the promises, and the love of Christ, and the Spirit of the Father. The former were oppressed with the pangs of guilt; so that while they were dragged along, their very countenances distinguished them from the rest: but the faithful proceeded with cheerful steps; their countenances shone with much grace and glory; their bonds were as the most beautiful ornaments; and they themselves looked as brides adorned with their richest array, breathing the fragrance of Christ so much, that some thought they had been literally perfumed. The others went on dejected, spiritless, and forlorn, and in every way disgraced, insulted even by the heathen as cowards and poltroons, and treated as murderers; they had lost the precious, the glorious, the soul-reviving appellation. The rest observing these things, were confirmed in the faith, confessed without hesitation on their being apprehended, and would not entertain the diabolical suggestion for a moment.

The martyrs were put to death in various ways: or, in other words, they wove a chaplet of various odours and flowers, and presented it to the Father. In truth, it became the wisdom and goodness of God to appoint that his servants, after enduring a great and variegated contest, should, as victors, receive the great crown of immortality. Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus, were led to the wild beasts into the amphitheatre to be the common spectacle of Gentile inhumanity.

One day extraordinary of the shows being afforded to the people on our account, Maturus and Sanctus again underwent various tortures in the amphitheatre, as if they had suffered nothing before. Thus were they treated like those wrestlers, who, having conquered several times already, were obliged afresh to contend with other conquerors by fresh lots, till some one was conqueror of the whole number, and as such was crowned. Here they sustained again, as they were led to the amphitheatre, the blows usually inflicted on those who were condemned to wild beasts; they were exposed to be dragged and torn by the beasts, and to all the barbarities which the mad populace with shouts demanded, and above all to the hot iron chair, in which their bodies were roasted and emitted a disgusting smell. Nor was this all: the persecutors raged still more, resolved, if possible, to overcome their patience. But not a word could be extorted from Sanctus besides what he first had uttered—the word of confession. These then after remaining alive a long time, expired at length, and became a spectacle to the world, equivalent to all the variety usual in the fights of gladiators.

Spiteful handling of God's people.

Maturus and Sanctus martyred.

Blandina brought forth again.

Blandina, suspended from a stake, was exposed as food to the wild beasts: she was seen suspended in the form of a cross and employed in vehement supplication. The sight inspired her fellow-combatants with much alacrity, while they beheld with their bodily eyes, in the person of their sister, the figure of Him who was crucified for them, that he might persuade those who believe in him, that every one who suffers for the glory of Christ, always has communion with the living God. None of the beasts at that time touched her: she was taken down from the stake and thrown again into prison, and reserved for a future contest; that having overcome in various exercises, she might fully condemn the old serpent, and fire the brethren with a noble spirit of christian emulation. Weak and contemptible as she might be deemed, yet when clothed with Christ, the mighty and invincible champion, she became victorious over the enemy in a variety of encounters, and was crowned with immortality.

Attalus.

Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the multitude, for he was a person of great reputation among us. He advanced in all the cheerfulness

and serenity of a good conscience;—an experienced Christian, and ever ready and active in bearing testimony to the truth. He was led round the amphitheatre, and a tablet carried before him, inscribed in Latin "This is Attalus the Christian." The rage of the people would have had him dispatched immediately; but the governor, understanding that he was a Roman, ordered him back to prison: and concerning him and others, who could plead the same privilege of Roman citizenship, he wrote to the emperor and waited for his instructions.

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The interval which this circumstance occasioned was not unfruitful to the church.—The unbounded compassion of Christ appeared in the patience of many. Dead members were restored to life by means of the living; and the martyrs became singularly serviceable to the lapsed; and thus the church rejoiced to receive her sons returning to her bosom, for by these means most of those who had denied Christ were recovered and dared to profess their Saviour: they felt again the divine life in their souls: they approached to the tribunal; and their God who willeth not the death of a sinner, being again precious to their souls, they desired a fresh opportunity of being interrogated by the governor.

The deniers returning again to their confession.

Cæsar sent orders that the confessors of Christ should be put to death; and that the apostates from their divine Master should be dismissed.—It was now the general assembly held annually at Lyons and frequented from all parts; and this was the time when the christian prisoners were again exposed to the populace. The governor again interrogated. Roman citizens had the privilege of dying by decollation; the rest were exposed to wild beasts; and now it was that our Redeemer was magnified in those who had apostatized. They were interrogated separate from the rest, as persons soon to be dismissed, and made a confession to the surprise of the Gentiles, and were added to the list of martyrs. A small number still remained in apostasy; but they were those who possessed not the least spark of divine faith, had not the least acquaintance with the riches of Christ in their souls, and had no fear of God before their eyes; whose life had brought reproach on Christianity; and had evidenced them to be the children of perdition; but all the rest were added to the church.

During their examination, a man who had lived many years in France, and was generally known for his love of God and zealous regard for divine truth, a person of apostolical endowments, a physician by profession, a Phrygian by nation, and named Alexander, stood near the tribunal, and by his gestures encouraged them to profess the faith. He appeared to all who surrounded the tribunal as one who travailed in much pain on their account. And now the multitude, incensed at the christian integrity exhibited at the conclusion by the lapsed, made a clamour against Alexander as the cause of this change. Upon which the governor ordered him into his presence, and asked him who he was. He declared that he was a Christian. The former in great wrath condemned him instantly to the wild beasts;—and the next day he was introduced with Attalus. For the governor, willing to gratify the people, delivered Attalus again to the wild beasts; and these two underwent all the usual methods of torture in the amphitheatre: indeed they sustained a very grievous conflict, and at length expired. Alexander neither groaned nor spake a word, but in his heart conversed with God. Attalus, sitting on the iron chair and being scorched, when the smell issued from him, said to the multitude in Latin, "This indeed which ye do is to devour men; but we devour not our fellow-creatures, nor practise any other wickedness." Being asked what is the name of God, he answered, "God has not a name as men have."

Alexander, the Phrygian, martyred. The worthy patience and constancy of Attalus.

On the last day of the spectacles, Blandina was again introduced with Ponticus a youth of fifteen: they had been daily brought in to see the punishment of the rest. They were ordered to swear by the idols; and the mob perceiving them to persevere immovably, and to treat their menaces with superior contempt, were incensed; and no pity was shown either to the sex of the one, or to the tender age of the other. Their tortures were now aggravated by all sorts of methods; and the whole round of barbarities was inflicted; but menaces and punishments were equally ineffectual. Ponticus, animated by his sister, who was observed by the heathen to strengthen and confirm him, after a magnanimous exertion of patience, yielded up the ghost.

Blandina and Ponticus again brought forth.

Ponticus martyred.

And now the blessed Blandina, last of all, as a generous mother having

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exhorted her children, and sent them before her victorious to the king, reviewing the whole series of their sufferings, hastened to undergo the same herself, rejoicing and triumphing in her exit, as if invited to a marriage supper, not as one going to be exposed to wild beasts. After she had endured stripes, the tearing of the beasts, and the iron chair, she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a bull; and having been tossed some time by the animal, and proving quite superior to her pains, through the influence of hope, and the realizing view of the objects of her faith and her fellowship with Christ, she at length breathed out her soul. Even her enemies confessed that no woman among them had ever suffered such and so great things. But their madness against the saints was not yet satiated. For the fierce and savage tribes of men, being instigated by the ferocious enemy of mankind, were not easily softened; and they now began another peculiar war against the bodies of the saints. That they had been conquered by their patience, produced no stings of remorse: indeed the feelings of common sense and humanity appear to have been extinguished among them. Disappointment increased their fury. The governor, and the mob equally showed their ferocious malice; that the Scripture might be fulfilled "He that is unjust let him be unjust still," as well as "He that is holy let him be holy still."[1] They now exposed to dogs the bodies of those who had been suffocated in prison, and carefully watched night and day, lest any of our people should by stealth perform the funeral rites. And then exposing what had been left by the wild beasts or by the fire, relics partly mangled and partly scorched, and the heads of others with their trunks, they preserved them by military guards unburied for some days. Some gnashed on them with their teeth, desirous, if possible, to make them feel still more of their malice. Others laughed and insulted them, praising their own idols, and ascribing to them the vengeance inflicted on the martyrs. All, however, were not of this fierce mould. Yet even those who were of a gentler spirit, and who sympathized with us in some degree, upbraided us, often saying, Where is their God—and what profit did they derive from their religion, which they value above life itself? Such variety was there in the behaviour of the heathen towards us.

Blandina martyred.

As for ourselves our sorrow was great, that we were deprived of the melancholy satisfaction of interring our friends. Neither did the darkness of the night befriend us herein, nor could we prevail by prayers or by price. They watched the bodies with unremitting vigilance, as if to deprive them of sepulture was to them an object of great importance. The bodies of the martyrs having been contumeliously treated and exposed for six days, were burnt and reduced to ashes, and scattered by the wicked into the Rhone, that not the least particle of them might appear on the earth any more. And they did these things, as if they could prevail against God and prevent their resurrection—and that they might deter others, as they said, from the hope of a future life,—"on which relying they introduce a new and strange religion, and despise the most excruciating tortures, and die with joy. Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God can help them and deliver them out of our hands."[2]

Out of the same writing, moreover, concerning these martyrs of France afore-mentioned, is recorded also another history not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same fifth book of Eusebius,[3] which history is this:

The strict fasting of Alcibiades corrected by the Holy Ghost. A lesson for scrupulous consciences.

"There was among these constant and blessed martyrs one Alcibiades, who led an austere kind of life, and hitherto had fed on nothing but bread and water. Being thrown into confinement he endeavoured there to practise the same austerity of life, when it was revealed to Attalus after his first conflict in the amphitheatre, that Alcibiades did not do well in not making use of God's creatures and thereby casting a stumbling-block in the way of others. Alcibiades was convinced of his mistake, and thenceforth partook without scruple of all things, and gave God thanks. A proof that in those days they were not destitute of the grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor."

(1) Rev. xxii. 11.
(2) Ex Epistolâ Viennensium, etc
(3) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 3.

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Thus have ye heard the whole account of the blessed saints of France, Vettius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certain christian brethren of the same church and place of France.[1] In the which aforesaid writing of theirs, moreover, appeareth the great meekness and modest constancy of the said martyrs described in these words:

"Such imitators were they of Christ (who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, yet, etc. Phil. ii. 6) that though they were in such a height of glory, and had suffered as martyrs not once, nor twice, but often, and had been taken from the wild beasts and committed again to prison, although they had the marks of fire and the scars of stripes and wounds all over their bodies; yet they neither declared themselves martyrs, nor would they suffer us to call them by that name. But if any of us at any time, either by letter or in discourse, called them martyrs, they censured it sharply. For they readily allowed the appellation of martyr to Christ ('the faithful and true witness and the first begotten of the dead and the Prince of the life of God'); they commemorated also those martyrs who had already departed this life, and said, 'Those are now martyrs whom Christ vouchsafed to take to himself while they were making their confession, he having (as it were) sealed their testimony by their death: but we are mean and humble confessors.' And with tears they besought the brethren to pray earnestly for them that they might be perfected. Thus they in fact exhibited the virtue of martyrdom, and manifested their noble spirit by their patience, fearlessness, and undaunted courage, but being filled with the fear of God, they deprecated the being called martyrs by the brethren."

The singular modesty of the martyrs.

The holy martyrs refuse to be called martyrs.

And after, in the said writing, it followeth more:

"They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they are now greatly exalted. They excused themselves to all men, but they accused no man; they loosed all, but they bound none; and for them which did so evil entreat them they prayed, after the example of Stephen, that perfect martyr, 'O Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.'"

And after, again:

"They did not proudly triumph over those that fell; but bestowed on the indigent among them those good things of which they had a superabundance, having motherly bowels of compassion, pouring forth many tears for them to their heavenly Father. They sought life for themselves, and he gave it them, and so they were ready to communicate it to others. They went to God, victors over all; having always loved peace, and continually recommended it, they departed in peace to God; leaving no grief to their mother, no faction or dissension among the brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love."

Irenæus newly made minister, and commended to Eleutherius.

The aforesaid martyrs of France at the same time commended Irenæus, newly then made minister, with their letters unto Eleutherius bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Eusebius, in the fourth chapter of the said fifth book; which Irenæus first was the hearer of Polycarp, then made minister (as is said) under these martyrs: and, after their death, made bishop afterwards of Lyons in France, and succeeded after Pothinus.

Apollinaris and Melito exhibited apologies to the emperor for the Christians.

Besides the before-named good Justin, there was also about the same time in Asia, Claudius Apollinaris or Appollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, and also Melito, Bishop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian; who, succeeding after the time of the apostles, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent apologies in defence of Christ's religion; like as Quadratus and Aristides above mentioned did unto the

(1) Ex Euseb. lib. v. cap. 2.

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emperor Adrian, whereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apollinaris and Melito (stirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cause of the Christians unto this Antoninus. Of this Melito Eusebius in his fourth book maketh mention,[1] and excerpteth certain places of his Apology, in these words, as followeth:[2]

The sum of the Apology of Melito.

"Now," saith he, "which was never seen before, the godly suffer persecution, by occasion of certain edicts proclaimed throughout Asia: for impudent informers, covetous of other men's goods, taking occasion from those proclamations, rob openly, night and day, spoiling innocent persons of their goods."

And it followeth after:

"Now if all this be done by your command, let it stand good. For a just emperor can never authorize anything that is unjust, and we will cheerfully submit to the honour of such a death. This only we humbly crave of you, that you would first take cognizance yourself of those who manifest such determination under all their trials, and then decide impartially whether they deserve punishment and death, or to live in peace and quietness. But if these proceedings and this new edict (too bad to be enacted even against barbarian enemies) do not proceed from you, then we the more earnestly beseech you not to permit us any longer to be infested with these public rapines. For the system which we profess first flourished among the barbarians.[3] Afterward, in the reign of the great Augustus your progenitor it began to flourish in the Roman provinces, and proved a most fortunate omen for the rising empire. For from that time the power of Rome was greatly aggrandized. To which prosperous state of affairs you have happily succeeded, and shall continue, together with your son; if you will but defend that religion which was nursed up together with the empire, and which began under the reign of the great Augustus, and which your ancestors honoured together with other religions. And verily this is no small proof of the connexion between the success of our religion and the prosperity of your happily begun empire, viz. that from the time of Augustus no untoward accident has occurred, but on the contrary brilliant success and glory have crowned all the public measures, agreeably to the wishes of all men. Only Nero and Domitian (and they—influenced thereto by certain ill-natured persons) endeavoured to bring our religion under reproach; from whom the fashion of malicious detraction was propagated to succeeding times, agreeably to irrational usage in such cases. But your pious predecessors corrected their mistake, and frequently by rescripts reproved such as audaciously attempted to behave insolently towards us. Among whom your grandfather Adrian wrote to Fundanus proconsul of Asia, and many others; and your father (at the time when you were his colleague in the empire) wrote to the cities that they should not raise tumults nor commit any insolencies against us, particularly to the Larisseans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks. The more confidently, then, do we persuade ourselves that you (who retain the same opinion of us as they held, yea, who are much more graciously and thoughtfully disposed) will do all that we request of you."

The christian religion began with the empire of Rome.

Christian religion maketh common weals to flourish.

The books of the Old Testament authentic and received.

Thus much out of the Apology of Melito, who, writing to Onesimus, giveth to us this benefit; to know the true catalogue and the names of all the authentic books of the Old Testament, received in the ancient time of the primitive church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Melito in his letter to Onesimus declareth; how that he, returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the books approved of the Old Testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, and sendeth unto him as followeth: the five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua; Judges;

(1) Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 26.—Ed.
(2) The following are new translations.—Ed.
(3) *i. e.* the Jews, as Valesius explains.

Ruth; Four Books of Kings; Two Books of Chronicles; the Psalms of David; the Proverbs of Solomon, called also the Book of Wisdom;[1] the Preacher; the Song of Songs; Job; the books of the Prophets Esay, Jeremy; Twelve Prophets in one book; Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for these latter times to understand what in the first times was received and admitted as authentic, and what otherwise.

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But from this little digression, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the Apologies of Apollinarius and Melito, in the story so it followeth; that whether it was by the occasion of these two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras, a philosopher, and a legate of the Christians, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that the persecution the same time was stayed. Some do think, which most probably seems to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution did arise upon a wonderful miracle of God showed in the emperor's camp by the Christians, the story whereof is this. At what time the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus[2] warred against the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, and Germans, in the expedition against them, his army, by reason of the imminent assault of the enemy, was cooped and shut in within the straits and hot dry places, where his soldiers, besides other difficulties of battle, being destitute of water five days, were like to have perished; which dread not a little discomforted them, and abated their courage; whereupon, in this so great distress and jeopardy, the christian soldiers suddenly withdrew from the army for their succour; who, falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleasant showers from the sky whereby as their soldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continual lightnings which shot out of the air. This miracle so pleased and won the emperor, that, ever after, he waxed gentler and gentler to the Christians, and directed his letters to divers of his rulers (as Tertullian in his Apology witnesseth), commanding them therein to give thanks to the Christians, no less for his victory, than for the preservation of him and all his men.[3] The copy of which letter ensueth:

A miraculous rain obtained by the Christians.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor, to the Senate and People of Rome.[4]

This is to inform you of my efforts and successes in the German war, also of the difficulties to which I was once reduced in the enemy's territory, being

(1) Σολόμωνος Παροιμίαι, ἡ καὶ Σοφία. Euseb.—Ed.

(2) Foxe erroneously ascribes this expedition to both M. Antoninus and his brother. See p. 146, note 4.—Ed. (3) Ex Eusebio, lib. v. cap. 5.

(4) The letter, attributed to Aurelius, may be seen in Greek, in Justin's Apolog. i. § 71; and, in Latin, in the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. ii. cap. 3, col. 18, edit. 1624. "Plerique prodigii fidem probaturi provocarunt ad literas Imperatoris, quibus senatum populumque Romanum, non sine insigni Christianorum elogio, de re tanta certiores facit, quarum literarum ἀπόγραφον exstat ad calcem Apolog. post. Justini Mart. in quibus Christianorum innocentiæ tam clementer prospexit, ut damnationem, gravissimasque pœnas accusatoribus intentar t. Non desunt tamen, qui de tali edicto in Christianorum favorem, ea occasione, anno Marci XIV. (in quem refertur bellum Quadicum) sancito, valde dubitant, quia mox post Germanicam sitim tam mirabiliter depulsam, anno videlicet Marci XVII. innumera Christianorum multitudo quæstionibus atque suppliciis subjecta fuit, in Gallia cumprimis Lugdunensi, apud Euseb. H. E. lib. v. c. 1. Quinimo ipsas literas, quæ attexuntur Apologiæ secundæ Justini M. vel supposititias esse vel certe interpolatas, summa consensione docent eruditissimi viri, Scaliger, Salmasius, Blondellus, Huetius, Pagius, Witsius, et Fr. Spanhemius; in quorum sententiam ego eo lubentius concedo, quo clariora νοθείας indicia in iis se produnt, sive ipsum argumentum, sive barbariem styli attendas, unde manifeste apparet, eas non ab ipso Imperatore Græce dictatas, aut ex Latino ipsius in Græcum

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hemmed in by seventy-four dragons.[1] When within nine miles of us, the scouts gave notice that they were approaching, and Pompeianus, my lieutenant-general, sent me word that they were in sight. I, therefore, thought no less but to be overwhelmed, I and my army—consisting of the first and tenth legions, the double legion, and the legion of the Euphrates[2]—by such an immense multitude, numbering nine-hundred-and-seventy-five thousand armed men. Seeing that my forces bore no comparison in point of numbers to the enemy, I betook myself in prayer to our national deities for assistance; gaining no answer from them, and being reduced to straits by the enemy, I sent for the people we call Christians. On being mustered they were found to be pretty numerous. I vented my fury at them in a manner they little deserved, as I afterward learned from experience of their marvellous power. They presently fell to work, not with weapons, armour, and trumpets, a mode of preparation from which they are abhorrent, being contented with the God whom they carry about with them in their consciences. And really it does seem—though we account them atheists—that they have a God in their breasts, and one who is able to defend: for falling prostrate on the ground, they interceded both for me and my army, imploring succour under our pressing need of water and provision: for it was the fifth day of our being without water, and we were in an enemy's country, in the very heart of Germany. Scarcely had they fallen prostrate on their faces, and poured forth prayers to a God unknown to me, when suddenly there descended from the sky —on us a most cool and refreshing rain, but on our enemies hail mixt with lightning; insomuch that we at once perceived, that a most potent God had interposed irresistibly in our favour. Wherefore, we hereby grant full toleration to these people, lest peradventure by their prayers they should procure some like interposition *against* us. And I forbid, in virtue of my imperial authority, that the profession of Christianity be objected to any man for a crime. And if any one shall accuse a Christian merely on the ground that he is such, I desire that the accused be acquitted, though he confess to the charge, provided nothing else be objected to him but his religion; but let his accuser be burnt alive. Nor do I wish a confessed and proved Christian to be urged by the proconsul of the province to change his religion, but that he should be left to his own choice. And this my decree I wish to be ratified by a decree of the senate; and I charge Verasius Pollio, prefect of the city, to take care that it be hung up publicly to be read, in Trajan's forum, and that it be transmitted into all the provinces. I also give free leave to all persons to transcribe and use this edict, taking it from our attested copy publicly hung up in the forum.[3]

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians began for a time to assuage, partly by the occasion hereof, partly also upon other causes incident, compelling the enemies to surcease their persecution; as—great plagues and pestilence lying upon the country of Italy; likewise great wars, as well in the east parts, as also in Italy and France; terrible earthquakes, great floods, noisome swarms of flies and vermin devouring their corn-fields, etc. And thus much of things done under Antoninus Verus; which Antoninus, in the beginning of his reign, joined with him in the government of the empire, his brother Lucius Ælius Verus, who also was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Christians, as Eusebius recordeth.[4] Contrary, Platina, in "Vita Soteris," and Matthew of

Antoninus and Commodus, emperors.

The discrepancy between Eusebius and Platina.

sermonem translatas; sed infra seculum Justiniani Imp. ab imperito rerum Romanarum Græculo confictas esse."—Vid. Sal. Deglingii Observatt. Sac. pars secunda; Lipsiæ, 1737, p. 596.

(1) Rather "cohorts." See Grabe's note in loc.—Ed.

(2) "Cum legionibus prima, decima, gemina, Euphratensique." Any legion compounded of two others was called gemina, but especially the 13th, which had its head-quarters in Pannonia. The Euphrates legion is the same as the Cappadocian, or 12th, and was so called from its head-quarters being at Melitina, a region and city on the Euphrates, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia. Eusebius attributes this miracle to the legion of Melitina. He is mistaken, however, in representing it as called Fulminea from this event. See Brotier, Not. et Emend. in Taciti Hist. ii. 6. We have an allusion to Christian soldiers at Melitina, suprà p. 119, note 3: see also under the tenth persecution.—Ed.

(3) The above translation is made from the Latin edict in the Centuriators.—Ed.

(4) See Euseb. lib. v. cap. 5, where the affair is ascribed to "M. Aurelius Cæsar, brother to Antoninus," on which Valesius remarks, "Graviter hic fallitur Eusebius, qui M. Aurelium fratrem fuisse ait Imp. Antonini, cum tamen unus idemque fuerit M. Aurelius Antoninus. Hujus autem

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Westminster, in his book intituled "Flores Historiarum," refer the same to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his son Lucius Antoninus Commodus; and not of his brother Lucius Ælius Verus. But howsoever the truth of years doth stand, certain it is, that after the death of Marcus Antoninus Verus, and of Lucius Ælius Verus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus [A.D. 180], the son of Marcus Verus, who reigned thirty years.

Quietness given to the church.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incommodious prince to the senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietness universally through the whole church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certain. Some think (of whom is Xiphilinus),[1] that it came through Marcia, the emperor's concubine, who favoured the Christians. But howsoever it came, the fury of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given (saith Eusebius) by the grace of Christ unto the church, throughout the whole world; at what time, the wholesome doctrine of the gospel allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people unto the religion of the true God, insomuch that many, both rich and noble personages of Rome, with their whole families and households, to their salvation, adjoined themselves to the church of Christ.

Apollonius, martyr

Apollonius accused by his own servant.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a nobleman and a senator of Rome, mentioned in Eusebius,[2] who was maliciously accused unto the senate, by one whom Jerome writeth to be the servant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Severus; but whose servant soever he was, the wretched man came soon enough before the judge, and was condignly rewarded for that his malicious diligence. For, by a law which the emperor made, that no man upon pain of death should falsely accuse the Christians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perennis the judge, which, though a heathen man, he pronounced against him. But the beloved martyr of God, when the judge, with much ado, had obtained of him to render an account of his faith before the honourable senate, under their warrant of life he did the same, and delivered unto them an eloquent defence of the christian belief. But, the said warrant notwithstanding, he, by the decree of the senate, was beheaded, and so ended his life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and was arraigned there-for, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

He exhibiteth an apology of his faith to the senate.

An old wicked law of the Romans.

The ridiculous pride of the emperor.

This Commodus is said in stories, to have been so sure and steady-handed in casting the dart, that in the open theatre, before the people, he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in the place appointed. Among divers other his vicious and wild parts, he was so far surprised in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules; and many times would show himself to the people in the skin of a lion, to be counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this Commodus, calling the people of Rome together in a great royalty, having his lion's

adoptivus frater, non Marcus, sed Lucius Ælius Verus dictus est." No doubt Eusebius's text has been corrupted; for in his Chronicle he sets down this victory to the fourteenth year of M. Antoninus, four years after his brother's death.—Ed.

(1) Epitome Dionis. p. 819. Edit. Hanoviæ, 1606: Dion Cassius wrote a Roman History, in eight decads, which was epitomized by John Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople. Dion died about A.D. 240, Xiphilinus A.D. 1080. (2) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 21.—Ed.

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skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cried through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There were the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, and Potentianus,[1] learned men, and instructors of the people, who, following the steps of the apostles, went about from place to place where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the emperor and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindness, teaching in villages and towns all that heard them to believe upon the one triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to come away from such worshipping of devils, and to give honour to God alone, who only is to be worshipped; willing them to repent and to be baptized, lest they perish with Commodus. With this their preaching they converted one Julius, a senator, and others, to the religion of Christ. The emperor, hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended of Vitellius his captain, and to be required to sacrifice unto Hercules and Jupiter, which when they stoutly refused, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death.[2]

Julius, a senator, converted to Christ.

Peregrinus sent to France, and martyred at Rome.

This Peregrinus, above mentioned, had been sent before by Sixtus, bishop of Rome, into the parts of France, to supply there the room of a bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continual and horrible persecutions thereabout touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of ministers and instructors; where, after he had occupied himself with much fruit among the flock of Christ, and had stablished the church there, returning home again to Rome, there he finished at last (as it is said) his martyrdom.[3] Now remaineth likewise to speak of Julius, which Julius being (as is touched before) a senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did eftsoons invite them, and brought them home to his house, where, being by them more fully instructed in christian religion, he believed the gospel, and sending for one Ruffinus, a priest, was with all his family by him baptized; who did not (as the common sort was wont to do) keep close and secret his faith, but, incensed with a marvellous and sincere zeal, openly professed the same; altogether wishing and praying it to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperor hearing, how that Julius had forsaken his old religion and become a christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him; unto whom he spake on this wise: "O Julius, what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules as their gods, and now dost embrace this new and fond religion of the Christians?" At which time Julius, having good occasion to show and open his faith, gave straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them would perish with eternal damnation and punishments. The emperor hearing how that he condemned and despised his gods, being then

Julius, with his family, baptized, and martyred.

(1) Called "Pontianus" in Baronius, Ann 192, § 2.—Ed.
(2) Ex Vincentio, lib. x. cap. 119, 122, 123, et Chron. Henrici de Erfordia. [Cited by the Cent. Magdeb.—Ed.]
(3) Ex Platina in Vitâ Sixti.

inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very choleric), committed him forthwith to Vitellius, the captain of the guard, a very cruel and fierce man, either to see Julius sacrifice to mighty Hercules, or, refusing the same, to slay him. Vitellius (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the emperor's commandment, and to worship his gods, alleging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained by them; which Julius denied utterly to do, at the same time admonishing sharply Vitellius to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandments, lest he, with his master, should die some grievous death; whereat Vitellius, being moved, caused Julius with cudgels to be beaten unto death.

The Fourth Persecution. A. D. 161 to 180.

These things being thus briefly recited, touching such holy martyrs as hitherto have suffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the Roman bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, at whom we left off; whose successor next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixth bishop, counted after Peter, who governed the church the space of ten years; as Damasus and others do write. Uspergensis maketh mention but of nine years. Platina recordeth that he died a martyr, and was buried at the Vatican.[1] But Eusebius, speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdom. In the second tome of the Councils, certain epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damasus, Jerome, and other old authors, as they make no relation, so seem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit epistles, and in Platina, it appeareth that Sixtus was the first author of these ordinances: First, that the holy mysteries and holy vessels, should be touched but only of persons holy and consecrated, especially of no woman. Item, that the corporas-cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linen. Item, that such bishops as were called up to the apostolic see, returning home again, should not be received at their return, unless they brought with them letters from the bishop of Rome, saluting the people. Item, at the celebration, he ordained to be sung this verse, "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabbaoth." And here (by the way) it is to be noted, that the said Platina,[2] in the life of this Sixtus, doth testify that Peter ministered the celebration of the communion only with the Lord's Prayer. These trifling ordinances of Sixtus,[3] who is so rude that seeth not, or may not easily conjecture them to be falsely fathered on Sixtus, or on any father of that time? First, by the uniform rudeness and style of all those decretal letters, nothing savouring of that age, but rather of the latter Dunstical times that followed; also, by the matter and argument in those letters contained, nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome days. Neither again is it to be supposed, that any such recourse of bishops was then to the apostolical see of Rome, that it was not lawful to return without their letters; when the persecution against the Christians was then so hot, in the days of Adrian, that the bishops of Rome themselves were more glad to fly out of the city, than other bishops were to come to them unto Rome. And if Sixtus added the "Sanctus" unto the mass canon, what piece then of

Sixtus, bishop of Rome.

The trifling ordinances of Sixtus.

St. Peter celebrated the Lord's Supper only with the Lord's Prayer.

The ordinance of Sixtus suspected.

(1) Rather "in St. Peter's, on the Vatican." See Platina.—Ed. (2) Platini in vita Sixti.
(3) Vide Blondel's "Epist. Decretal Examen." (Genevæ, 1635) p. 181; and upon the "Ordinances of Telesphorus," soon after mentioned, p. 134.—Ed.

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the canon went before it, when they who put to the other patches came after Sixtus? And if they came after Sixtus,[1] that added the rest, why did they set their pieces before his, seeing they that began the first piece of the canon, came after him?

Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, and martyr.

The same likewise is to be judged of the epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next unto Sixtus, and, being bishop of that church the term of eleven years, the first year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, died a martyr about the year of our Lord 138. His epistle, like unto the rest, containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath these ordinances.

His ordinance.

First, he commandeth all that were of the clergy to fast and abstain from flesh-eating seven weeks before Easter: that three masses should be said upon the nativity-day of the Lord: that no man should accuse either bishop or priest. He ordained moreover, "Gloria in excelsis," to be added to the mass, etc. But these things falsely to be feigned upon him, may easily be conjectured.

The original of Lent examined.

For, as touching the seven weeks' fast, neither doth it agree with the old Roman term commonly received, calling it "Quadragesima," that is, the forty days' fast; neither with the example of our Saviour, who fasted not seven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning this forty days' fast, we read of the same in the epistle of Ignatius, which was long before Telesphorus: whereby it may appear that this Telesphorus was not the first inventor thereof. And, if it be true which is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but untruly, as by many conjectures may be proved), there it is read, that in the days of St. Matthew, this Lent fast of forty days was observed long before Telesphorus, by these words that follow: "In the days," saith he, "either of Lent, or in the time of other lawful fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from eating meat, as also from the mixture of bodies, doth incur in so doing, not only pollution, but also committeth offence, which must be washed away with the tears of repentance." Again, Apollonius affirmeth, that

Montanus first brought in the laws of fasting.

Montanus the heretic was the first deviser and bringer-in of these laws of fasting into the church, which before was used to be free.[2] But especially by Socrates, writer of the Ecclesiastical History, who lived after the days of Theodosius, it may be argued, that this seven weeks' fast is falsely imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates, in his fifth book, speaking of this time, hath these words: "The Romans do fast three weeks continuously before Easter, except the Saturdays and Sundays."[3] And moreover, speaking of divers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and divers churches, he addeth these words: "And because that no man can produce any written commandment about this matter, it is therefore apparent, that the apostles left this kind of fast free to every man's will and judgment, lest any should be constrained, by fear and necessity, to do that which is good," etc. With this of Socrates, agree also the words of Sozomen,[4] living much about the same time, in his seventh book, where he thus writeth: "The whole fast of Lent," saith he, "some comprehend in six weeks; as do the Illyrians and west churches, with all Lybia, Egypt, and Palestine: some in seven weeks, as at Constantinople,

(1) He died about A. D. 127.—Ed. (2) Ex Euseb. lib. v. cap. 18.
(3) "Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas præter Sabbatum et Dominicam continuas jejunant." Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 22. [Hence Passion Sunday was also called Dominica Mediana.—Ed.] (4) Sozomen, lib. vii. cap. 19.

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and the parts bordering to Phœnicia: others in three weeks, next before the day of Easter, and some again in two weeks," etc. By which it may be collected, that Telesphorus never ordained any such fast of seven weeks, which otherwise never would have been neglected in Rome and in the west churches; neither again would have been unrecorded by these ancient ecclesiastical writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his Constitutions, but also of those of the other ancient bishops and martyrs who followed after him, as of Hyginus, who, succeeding him, and dying also a martyr, A.D. 142, as Volateran declareth,[1] is said, or rather is feigned, to have brought in the use of the chrism and of at least one godfather or one godmother in baptism, and to have ordained the dedication of churches; whereas in his time so far was it off, that any solemn churches were standing in Rome, that unneth[2] the Christians could safely convent in their own houses. Likewise the distinguishing the orders of metropolitans, bishops, and other degrees, savours of nothing less than of that time.

Ordinances of Telesphorus falsely to him ascribed.

Hyginus, bishop of Rome, and martyr.

Godfathers and godmothers.

After Hyginus followed Pius, who, as Platina reporteth, was so precisely devout about the holy mysteries of the Lord's table, that if any one crumb thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the priest should do penance forty days; if any fell upon the altar, he should do penance three days; if upon the linen corporas-cloth, four days; if upon any other linen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the blood, saith he, should chance to be spilt, wheresoever it fell, it should be licked up, if it were possible: if not, the place should be washed, or pared, or scraped, and the parings or scrapings burned, and the ashes laid in the sanctuary. All which toys may seem to a wise man more vain and trifling, than to savour of those pure and strict times of those holy martyrs. This Pius, as is reported, was much conversant with Hermas, called otherwise Pastor. Damasus saith, he was his brother.[3] But how is it likely, that Hermas being the disciple of Paul, or one of the seventy disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermas, and of his Revelations, the aforesaid Pius, in his epistle decretal (if it be not forged)[4] maketh mention; declaring that the angel of God appeared unto him in the habit of a shepherd, commanding him that Easter day should be celebrated of all men upon no other day but on Sunday: "whereupon," saith the epistle, "Pius the bishop, by his authority apostolical, decreeth and commandeth the same to be observed of all men."

Dedication of churches.

Danger of letting the holy mysteries fall from the Lord's table.

The revelation of Hermas.

The decretal epistle of Pius.

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourscore.[5] This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, king of Britain, sent to him Damian and Fugatius, by whom the king was converted to Christ's faith, and baptized, about the year of our Lord 179. Nauclerus[6] saith it was in the year 156. Henry of Herford saith it was in the year 179, in the nineteenth of Verus the emperor. Some say it was in the sixth year of

Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius.

England converted to the faith of Christ.

(1) Volateran. Anthrop. lib. xxii. (2) Unneth, "scarcely:" a word of Saxon origin.—Ed.

(3) Vide Cent. Magdeburg. cap. 10, col. 168. The book entitled "Pontificale, sive de gestis summorum Pontificum" is incorrectly attributed to this pope; it belongs, more properly, to Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Antonio Biblioth. Hispana *vetus*, tom. i. p. 190; Vossius "De Hist. Lat." p. 200, edit. 1651.—Ed.

(4) "Hanc epistolam Pio suppositam indicant—1. Styli barbaries; 2. Fabula de revelatione Hermæ facta," etc. Blondel "Epist. Decretal. Exam." p. 196.—Ed.

(5) Rather A.D. 172—185.—Ed.

(6) Nauclerus, lib. Chronog. Gen. vi. Nauclerus rather says, "Anno autem Domini 177," etc.—Ed.

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Commodus, which should be about A.D. 185. Timotheus, in his story, thinketh that Eleutherius came himself: but that is not likely. And, as there is a variance among the writers for the count of years, so doth there arise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that introduced the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus[1] saith that Simon Zelotes came into Britain. Some others allege out of Gildas, "De Victoriâ Aureliani Ambrosii,"[2] that

Whether this land of Britain received the gospel before king Lucius's days.

Joseph of Arimathea, after the dispersion of the [early church by the][3] Jews, was sent, by Philip the apostle, from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord 63; and here remained in this land all his time; and so with his fellows, laid the first foundation of christian faith among the people of Britain: whereupon other preachers and teachers, coming afterward, confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth Peter of Clugni count the Scottishmen among the more ancient Christians.[4] For the confirmation hereof might be alleged the testimony of Origen, of Tertullian, and even the words of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no less but that the faith of Christ was here in England among the people of Britain, before Eleutherius' time, and before the king was converted: but hereof more shall be spoken hereafter (Christ willing), when, after the tractation of these ten persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

About this time of Commodus afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous teachers, whom God stirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raise up some) in his church, to confound the persecutors by learning and writing (as the martyrs, to confirm the truth with their blood), were Serapion, bishop of

Ecclesiastical writers.

Antioch, and Hegesippus a writer of the Ecclesiastical History, from Christ's passion to his own time, as witness Jerome and Eusebius,[5] which books of his be now remaining: but those that be remaining (which be five) "De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ"[6] be not mentioned, neither of Jerome, nor Eusebius, nor of Miltiades, who also wrote his Apology in defence of Christian Religion, as did Melito, Quadratus, and Aristides before-mentioned. About the same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotations on the epistles of the apostle Paul. Also Theophilus bishop of Cæsarea,

The yoke of chastity not to be laid upon the infirm brethren.

Dionysius bishop of Corinth, a man famously learned, who wrote divers epistles to divers churches; and, among others, one to the Gnossian church, wherein he exhorts Pinytus, their bishop,[7] "that he would lay no yoke of chastity of any necessity upon his brethren; but that he would consider the infirmity of others, and bear with it."

The book of Dionysius Areopagitâ "De Hierarchia" suspected.

Moreover, the said Dionysius, writing in his epistles of Dionysius the Areopagite,[8] declareth of him how that he was first converted to the christian faith by St. Paul, according as in the Acts is recorded;

(1) Niceph. lib. iv. cap. 4. (2) Gildas, cited by the Magdeburg Cent.—Ed.

(3) Acts viii. 1, 4: xi. 19. See Usserii Brit. Eccl. Ant. cap. 2.—Ed.

(4) "Unde et Scotos, Christianos antiquiores Petrus Cluniacensis vocat." (Epist. ad S. Bernardum.) See Cent. Magdeburg. ii. cap. 2, col. 7. edit. 1624. Petrus Mauricius, abbot of Clugni, died A.D. 1156. Cave.—Ed. (5) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 8, 22.

(6) Hegesippus "De Bello Judaico, et urbis Hierosolymitanæ excidio." Coloniæ, 1559. See suprà, p. 97, note 1, and p. 101, note 4.—Ed.

(7) "Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus necessario fratribus imponat, sed multorum sese imbecilitati attemperet." Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23.

(8) Thirteen objections are detailed by Rivet against these books, which no one now would, perhaps, undertake to assign to an apostolic age. "Eusebius, Hieronymus, et Sophronius nullam faciunt mentionem horum librorum, etsi veterum libros diligentissime collegerint et conquisierint. Neque alius admodum antiquus autor horum mentionem facit. Quod satis arguit, libros illos non ejus antiquitatis fuisse, cujus fuit Areopagita." Rivet. *Crit. Sac.* lib. i. cap. 9. ubi plura.—Ed.

and afterwards was made the first bishop of Athens; but maketh there no mention of his book "De Hierarchiâ," whereby it may easily appear, what is to be judged of that book. Furthermore, by the epistles of the said Dionysius of Corinth, this we have to understand to have been the use at that time in churches, to read the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned bishops and teachers unto the congregations, as may appear by these words of Dionysius, who, writing to the church of the Romans, and to Soter, saith, "This day we celebrate the holy dominical-day, in which we have read your epistle, which always we will read for our exhortation; like as we do read also the epistle of Clement sent to us before," etc.[1] Where also mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient authors, before his time, except only in Justin Martyr, who, in his first Apology, declareth two times most especially used by christian men for congregating together: first, when any convert was to be baptized; the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be hallowed, "first, because," saith he, "upon that day God made the world: secondly, because that Christ, upon that day, first showed himself, after his resurrection, to his disciples," etc.

The Fourth Persecution. A. D. 161 to 180.

Celebration of the Sunday.

The same time, moreover, lived Pantænus, who was the first in Alexandria that professed in open school to read, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the Christians to read and profess in universities. This Pantænus, for his excellency of learning, was sent by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to preach to the Indians, where he found the gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew, left there by St. Bartholomew, which book, afterwards, he brought with him from thence to the library of Alexandria.[2]

The gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew

Over and besides these above named, about the days of Commodus, wrote also Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose books, although for a great part they be lost, yet certain of them yet remain; wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the books and gospels of the New Testament.[3]

Clement of Alexandria.

During all the reign of Commodus, God granted rest and tranquillity, although not without some bloodshed of certain holy martyrs, as is above declared, unto his church. In the which time of tranquillity, the Christians, having now some leisure from the foreign enemy, began to have a little contention among themselves about the ceremony of Easter: which contention, albeit of long time before it had been stirring in the church (as is before mentioned, in speaking of Polycarp and Anicetus), yet the variance and difference of that ceremony brought no breach of christian concord and society among them; neither as yet did the matter exceed so far, but that the bond of love, and communion of brotherly life, continued, although they differed in the ceremony of the day. For they of the West church, pretending the tradition of Paul and Peter (but indeed being the tradition of Hermas and of Pius), kept one day, which was upon the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the first month.[4] The church of Asia, following the ordinance of John the apostle, observed another,

Difference about the ceremony of Easter.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23. (2) Hieronym. Catal.—Ed.
(3) Eusebius and Jerome place Clemens Alexandrinus under Severus and Caracalla. He was a pupil of Pantænus.—Ed. (4) *i. e.* the first Jewish month, Nisan.—Ed.

The Fifth Persecution. as more shall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of Victor bishop of Rome. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth persecution, let this hitherto suffice.

A. D. 197 to 235.

THE FIFTH PERSECUTION.

Severus emperor. After the death of Commodus reigned Pertinax but a few months: after whom succeeded Severus, under whom was raised the fifth persecution against the christian saints; who, reigning the term of eighteen years, the first ten years of the same was very favourable and courteous to the Christians: afterward, through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, he was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no Christians any more to be suffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby an infinite number of martyrs were slain, as A. D. 205. Eusebius[1] recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord 205.

False accusations against the Christians. The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians are partly touched before; as sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then "Gnostici," were infamed. Item, it was objected against them for worshipping the head of an ass; which, whereof it should rise, I find no certain cause, except it were, perhaps, by the Jews. Also, they were charged for worshipping the sun, for that peradventure before the sun did rise, they convented together, singing their morning hymns unto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the east: but specially, for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men.

The captains and ministers of this persecution. The persons who managed this persecution under the emperor were chiefly Hilarian, Vigellius, Claudius, Herminian governor of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Vespronius;[2] also Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila judge of Alexandria, of whom Eusebius[3] maketh relation.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of Ecclesiastical History, was innumerable; of whom the first was Leonidas the father of Origen, who was beheaded. With whom also Origen his son, being of the age then of seventeen years, would have suffered (such a fervent desire he had to be martyred for Christ), had not his mother privily, in the night season, conveyed away his clothes and his shirt. Whereupon more for shame to be seen, than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home; and when he could do nothing else, yet he writeth to his father a letter with these words, "Take heed to yourself, that you change not your thought and purpose for our sake," etc.[4] Such a fervency had this Origen, being yet young, to the doctrine of Christ's faith, by the operation of God's heavenly providence, and partly also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth most studiously in all

Leonidas, father of Origen, martyr.

Origen kept from martyrdom by his mother.

Origen commended.

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 1.
(2) Tertul. ad Scapulam. [cap. 3. Scapula was proconsul of Africa, and should be added to the list in the text.—Ed.] (3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 5.
(4) "Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud, quàm martyrii constanter faciendi, propositum cogites." Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 2.

good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy scripture; wherein he had such inward and mystical speculation, that many times he would move questions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the scripture. Insomuch that his father, divers times, would uncover his breast being asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God which had made him so happy a father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the emperor, he, with his poor mother and six brothers, were brought to such extreme poverty, that he did sustain both himself and them by teaching a school: till at length, being weary of the profession, he transferred his study only to the knowledge and seeking of divine scripture, and such other learning [as was] conducible to the same.[1] So much he profited both in the Hebrew and other tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew text with the translation of the Seventy; and, moreover, did find out and confer the other translations which we call the common translations of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adjoined to these aforesaid other translations, whereof more is in the history of Eusebius expressed.[2]

The Fifth Persecution. A. D. 197 to 235.

They that write of the life of Origen, testify of him that he was quick and sharp of wit, much patient of labour, a great travailer in the tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great faster; his teaching and his living were both one; his going was much barefoot; a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, bidding to have but "one coat," etc. He is said to have written so much as seven notaries and so many maids every day could pen.[3] The number of his books [say Epiphanius and Ruffinus][4] came to six thousand volumes; the copies whereof he used to sell for three pence, or a little more, for the sustentation of his living.[5] But of him more shall be touched hereafter. So zealous was he in the cause of Christ, and of Christ's martyrs, that he, nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kiss them; insomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes, by the provision of christian men, had his house guarded about with soldiers, for the safety of them who daily resorted to hear his readings.[6] And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of Severus. Among others who resorted unto him, and were his hearers, Plutarch was one, and died a martyr; and with him

Sundry martyrs.

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 2, 3; Antonin.; et Simoneta, [Johannes Simoneta, "De Rebus Gestis Francisci Sportiæ." Milan, 1479.—Ed.]

(2) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 16. In this way (as Eusebius observes) Origen composed his Hexapla and Tetrapla. Aquila was a native of Sinope in Pontus, and lived during the reign of Adrian: his version was executed previous to the year 160. Much difference of opinion exists as to the time when Symmachus flourished. Montfaucon places him about the year 200. Theodotion was a native of Ephesus, and was nearly contemporary with Aquila. See more, Horne's Introduc. vol. ii. p. 52. ed. 1825. London.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. ibid. cap. 3, 23.—Ed.

(4) Foxe, misapprehending a passage of the Centuriators, says, "by the account of Jerome," whereas they quote Jerome as rather impugning the opinion of Epiphanius and Ruffinus. Foxe also by mistake says "seven" thousand volumes. Dupin remarks, that "volume" must be here understood as applicable to any separate treatise, however small.—Ed.

(5) This statement is most likely founded on a misconception of Eusebius, who says (lib. vi. cap. 3), that Origen sold all his *profane authors* to a person who engaged to supply him with 4 oboli (or 5 pence) per diem.—Ed.

(6) Eusebius states (lib. vi. cap. 3), that "so great was the hostility of the infidels against him (because of the multitudes which resorted to him to be instructed in the faith), that they set soldiers to watch about the house in which he abode." *i. e.* (as Valesius observes) to hinder the resort of hearers. Nicephorus has taken the same view of the passage as Foxe. See infrà, p. 173. —Ed.

The Fifth Persecution. A.D. 197 to 235.

Serenus his brother,[1] who was burnt. The third after these was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another Serenus, also beheaded. [Of women] Rhais,[2] and Potamiena who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died also in the fire.

This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who, because she could not be removed from her profession, was committed to Basilides, one of the captains there in the army, to see the execution done. Basilides, receiving her at the judge's hand, and leading her to the place, showed her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked adversaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin, to requite again his kindness, bade him be of good comfort, saying, "That she would pray the Lord to show mercy upon him," and so went she to her martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustain.

Basilides of a persecutor made a martyr.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required by his fellow-soldiers, on some occasion, to swear; which thing he refused to do, plainly affirming that he was a Christian [for their oath then was wont to be by the idols and the emperor]. At the first he was thought dissemblingly to jest; but after, when he was heard constantly and in earnest to confirm the same, he was had before the judge, and so by him committed to ward. The Christians marvelling thereat, as they came to him in the prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conversion. To whom he answered again, and said, "That Potamiena, three days after her martyrdom, stood by him in the night, put a crown upon his head, and said she had entreated the Lord for him, and had obtained her request; adding moreover, That it should not be long, but he should be received up." Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded.[3]

Alexander confessor, and bishop of Jerusalem.

Albeit, the said Eusebius giveth this story of no credit, but only of hear-say, as he there expresseth.

As divers and many there were that suffered in the days of this Severus, so some there were again, who, being put to great torments, through the protection of God's providence yet escaped with life: of whom was one Alexander, who, for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made bishop afterward of Jerusalem, together with Narcissus; who, being then an old man of a hundred and sixteen years, as saith Eusebius, was unwieldy for his age to govern that function alone.

Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem.

Of this Narcissus it is reported in Eusebius's History, that certain miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true.

A miracle of water turned into oil.

First, of water by him turned into oil, at the solemn vigil of Easter, what time the congregation wanted oil for their lamps. Another miracle is also told of him, which is this: "There were three evil disposed persons, who, seeing the soundness and grave constancy of his virtuous life, and fearing their own punishment (as a conscience that is guilty is always fearful), thought to prevent his accusations, in accusing him first, and laying a heinous crime unto his charge. And to make their accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath, one wishing to be destroyed with fire, if he said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes, if they did lie. Narcissus, although having his conscience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withstand their accusation bound with such oaths, gave place, and removed himself from the multitude into a solitary desert by himself, where he continued the space of many years. In the mean time, to them which so willingly and wickedly forswore themselves, this happened: The first, by casualty of one little small

Terrible example of perjury punished.

Narcissus and Alexander joined together in one bishopric.

(1) Eusebius (ibid. cap. 4) does not say that Serenus was brother to Plutarch, but in the preceding chapter he represents Heraclas, (brother of Plutarch, and afterward bishop of Antioch,) as the second of Origen's pupils. Foxe hastily assumed hence, that Heraclas and Serenus were the same individual. Heraclas "was no martyr." See infrà, p. 174.—Ed.

(2) Valesius would read ἡ ῥαΐς as one word—Herais.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 5.

sparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his family. The second was taken with a great sickness from the top to the toe, and devoured with the same. The third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the others, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears, that he lost both his eyes; and thus was their false perjury punished.[1] Narcissus, after long absence, returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the fact, and received into his bishopric again: to whom as is said, for impotency of his age, Alexander was joined in execution of the function.[2]

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Of this Alexander is recorded in the said Ecclesiastical History, that after his agonies and constancy of his confession showed in the persecution of Severus, he was admonished, by a vision in the night season, to make his journey up to Jerusalem from Cappadocia (where he had been a bishop already), to see there the sacred places, and to pray. Thus he, taking his journey, and drawing near to the city, a vision with plain words was given to certain chief heads of Jerusalem, to go out of the gate of the city, there to receive the bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and received, and joined partner with aged Narcissus, as is before expressed, in the city of Jerusalem; where he continued bishop above forty years, until the persecution of Decius, and there erected a famous library, where Eusebius had his chiefest help in writing his Ecclesiastical History.[4] He wrote also divers epistles to divers churches, and licensed Origen openly to teach his church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from Jerusalem to Cesarea before the judge under Decius, where, after his constant confession the second time, he was committed to prison, and there died.

Alexander ordained bishop of Jerusalem by God's miracle, A.D. 210.

Constancy and death of Alexander.

Besides these that suffered in this persecution of Severus, recited by Eusebius, Vincentius also[5] speaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarp before had sent into France: which Andoclus, because he had spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Severus, and first beaten with staves and bats, and after was beheaded.[6]

Andoclus martyr.

To these above-named may also be added Asclepiades, who, although he was not put to death in this persecution of Severus, yet therein constantly he did abide the trial of his confession, and suffered much for the same, as Alexander before-mentioned did. Wherefore afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of seven years; of whom Alexander writes unto the church of Antioch out of prison, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their bishop.[7]

Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch.

About the same time, during the reign of Severus, died Irenæus. Henry of Herford, Ado, and other martyr-writers, do hold that he was martyred, with a great multitude of others more, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth year of Severus. This Irenæus, as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, who calleth him, "A great searcher of all kind of learning."[8] He was first scholar and hearer of Polycarp; from thence either was sent, or came to France;

Irenæus bishop of Lyons, and martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 9. (2) Ib. cap. 11.
(3) Ib. Some expressions of Foxe are more conformed to the Greek.—Ed.
(4) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 20.—Ed.
(5) Lib. xi. cap. 6. ex Martyrologio [also Baron. ad ann. 205. § 27.—Ed.]
(6) Tillemont, Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles. tom. iii. part. 1. p. 63. Bruxelles. 1699.—Ed.
(7) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 11.—Ed.
(8) Omnium Doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem. [Adv. Valent. cap. v.—Ed.]

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and there, by Pothinus, and the rest of the martyrs, was instituted into the ministry, and commended by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before premonished. At length, after the martyrdom of Pothinus, he was appointed bishop of Lyons, where he continued about the space of three and twenty years. In the time of this Irenæus the state of the church was much troubled, not only for the outward persecution of the foreign enemy, but also for divers sects and errors then stirring; against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he ever loved peace, and sought to set agreement when any controversy rose in the church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renewed in the church between Victor bishop of Rome and the churches of Asia, and when Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein; Irenæus, with other brethren of the French church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, convented themselves together in a common council, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto Victor, entreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing the Sunday-Easter as he did, yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his brethren, who followed the ancient custom of their country-manner in that behalf. And besides this, he wrote divers other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.[1]

Tertullian an ecclesiastical writer.

Not long after Irenæus followed also Tertullian, about the time of this Severus and Antoninus Caracalla his son; a man both in Greek and Latin well expert, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent; as his books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testify no less. To whom Vincentius of Lerins giveth such praise, that he calleth him "the flower of all Latin writers." And of the eloquence of his style he thus writeth, "that with the force of his reasons," he saith, "whom he could not persuade, them he compelled to consent unto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many victories he had," etc.

The Apology of Tertullian, defending the Christians.

Such men, for doing and writing, God raised up from time to time, as pillars and stays for his poor church, as he did this Tertullian in these dangerous days of persecution. For when the Christians were vexed with wrongs and falsely accused of the Gentiles, Tertullian, taking their cause in hand, defended them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations.[2] First, that they never minded any stir or rebellion, either against the empire or emperors of Rome, he proved, forsomuch as the use of Christians was to pray for the state of their emperors and governors. And whereas they were accused falsely to be enemies of all mankind, "How could that be?" saith Tertullian to Scapula, "seeing the proper office of the Christians is, by their profession, to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, whereas all others do love but only their friends, and scarcely them." As touching the horrible slander of

(1) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed. (2) Tertullian Apol.

murdering infants, "How can that be true of the Christians?" saith he, "whose order is to abstain from all blood and strangled; insomuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beast at their tables when they feed? From filthy copulation no sort more free than they, which are, and ever have been, the greatest observers of chastity; of whom, such as may, live in perpetual virginity all their life; such as cannot, contract matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication." Neither could it be proved that the Christians worshipped the sun: which false surmise Tertullian declared to rise hereof, for that the manner of the Christians was to pray toward the east. Much less was there any of them so mad as to worship an ass's head; whereof the occasion being taken only of the Jews,[1] the slander thereof he proved to be falsely and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

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And likewise from all other lies and slanders objected of the heathen against the Christians, the said Tertullian purgeth the Christians, declaring them to be falsely belied and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, he proveth, in the same Apology, the religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. "The more," saith he, "we are mown down of you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is seed. For what man," saith he, "in beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is the cause? And when he hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it?"[2] "Thus," saith he, "this sect will never die, which, the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man, seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the saints, is moved the more thereby to search the cause; in searching, he findeth it, and finding, he followeth it."[3]

Thus Tertullian, in this dangerous time of persecution being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries; and moreover, for the instruction of the church, he compiled many fruitful works; whereof some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous virtues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as are both in Origen and Irenæus, who were before him, and likewise in them (were they never so excellent) that followed him; which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this story to prosecute. This, by the way, shall be sufficient to admonish the reader, never to look for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular soever he be (Christ only excepted), but some blemish or other joineth itself withal, whereof more, perchance, shall be said when we come to Cyprian.

Errors and imperfections in learned men.

And now, to return again to the order of bishops of Rome intermitted. After Eleutherius afore-mentioned, next in the bishopric of Rome succeeded Victor; who, as Platina saith, died quietly in the days of Severus. But Damasus, and such as do follow the common

Victor, bishop of Rome, reported of some, a martyr.

(1) The occasion hereof, belike, came of the Jews worshipping the jaw of an ass, in the story of Sampson.

(2) Tertullian. Apolog. (3) Idem, ad Scapulam.

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chronicles,[1] affirm that he died a martyr, after he had sat ten (or as some say twelve) years. This Victor was a great stirrer (as partly before is signified) in the controversy about Easter-day, for the which he would have proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenæus, then bishop of Lyons, with the counsel of his other brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence.

As touching that controversy of Easter in those days of the primitive church, the original thereof was this, as Eusebius, Socrates, Platina, and others record. First, certain it is, that the apostles, being only intentive and attendant to the doctrine of salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of days and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies and rites, except those things necessary, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as strangled and blood; which was ordained then of the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause, touched partly in the history before. For when the murdering and blood of infants were commonly objected by the heathen persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to repel the adversary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abstain, not only from all men's blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seemeth by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the church, so long as the cause (that is, the persecutions of the heathen gentiles) continued. Besides these, we read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his own discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial observations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others; of all these things neither was the diversity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. Insomuch that Irenæus, writing to Victor of the tradition of days, and of fastings, and of the diversity of these things then used among the primitive fathers, saith: "Notwithstanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themselves, and yet we keep it still; and this difference of fasting among us commendeth more the concord of faith."[2] And so long did the doctrine of christian liberty remain whole and sound in the church till the time of Victor, which was about the year of our Lord 197; although the diversity of these usages began before also in the days of Pius, about the year of Christ 143, to be misliked; yet restraint hereof was not so much urged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take such place, but that the doctrine of christian liberty was defended and maintained by means of Irenæus and others, and so continued in the church till after the council of Nice.—And thus much concerning the doctrine of christian liberty, and of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Why the Holy Ghost forbade blood and things strangled, in the primitive church.

Doctrine of christian liberty in outward usages.

Now to return to Victor again, to show what diversity there was in observing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the story. First, in the time of Pius, in the year of Christ 143, the question of Easter-day began first to be moved, at what time Pius, by the

(1) Supplem. [Bergomensis] lib. viii.

(2) "Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt et retinemus etiamnum, et jejunii dissonantia fidei concordiam commendat," etc.—Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.

revelation of Hermas, decreed the observation of that day to be changed, from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, unto the next Sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter and Eleutherius, bishops of Rome, who also determined the same.[1] Against these stood Melito bishop of Sardis, Polycarp, and, as some think, Hegesippus, with other learned men of Asia; which Polycarp, being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is aforesaid, to confer with Anicetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easter-day[2] remained ἀδιάφορον, as a thing indifferent in the church, till the time of Victor; who, following after Anicetus and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, endeavoured by all means and might to draw, or rather subdue, the churches of Asia unto his opinion; thinking moreover to excommunicate all those bishops and churches of Asia, as heretics and schismatics, which disagreed from the Roman order: had not Irenæus otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the year of our Lord 197, in the reign of Commodus. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessary, and all they accounted as heretics and schismatics, who dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome.

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Polycarp and Anicetus, disagreeing in controversy, agreed in charity.

Uniformity in ceremonies not required.

With Victor stood the following bishops—Theophilus bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, Narcissus of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Lyons, Palmas [of Amastris] and the other bishops in Pontus, Bachyllus of Corinth, the bishops of Osroene, and others more: all which condescended to have the celebration of Easter upon the Sunday, partly, because they would differ from the Jews in all things as much as they might, and partly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.[3]

On the contrary side, divers bishops were in Asia, of whom the principal was Polycrates bishop of Ephesus; who, having assembled a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parts, by the common assent of the rest, wrote again to Victor and to the church of Rome, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning observed that day, according to the rule of Scripture, unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same; alleging, moreover, for themselves the examples of the apostles and holy fathers their predecessors, as Philip the apostle, with his three daughters, who died at Hierapolis; also John the apostle and evangelist, at Ephesus; Polycarp, at Smyrna; Thraseas of Eumenia, bishop and martyr, at Smyrna; likewise Sagaris at Laodicea, bishop and martyr; holy Papirius, and Melito at Sardis. Beside these, bishops also of his own kindred, and his own ancestors, to the number of seven, who were all bishops before him, and he the eighth now after them; all of these observed (saith he) the solemnity of Easter on the same day, and after the same wise and sort, as we do now.[4]

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus.

Bishops in those days married.

Victor excommunicating the churches of Asia.

Victor, being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounceth against them (more bold upon authority than wise in his

(1) Ex Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 26. (2) See Stillingfleet, Answer to Cressy; Usserii Antiq.—Ed.
(3) See Euseb. lib. v. cap. 23, and Valesius's notes in locum.—Ed.
(4) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed.

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commission) violent excommunication; albeit by the wise handling of Irenæus, and other learned men, that matter was staid, and Victor otherwise persuaded. What the persuasions of Irenæus were, partly may appear in Eusebius,[1] the sum whereof tendeth to this effect:

"That the variety and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the church of Christ, when as this variety is not only in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in divers other usages among the Christians: for some fast one day, some two days, some others fast more. Others there be, who, counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full fast. And this so diverse fashion of fasting in the church of Christ began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet, notwithstanding, they with all this diversity were in unity among themselves, and so be we; neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and such others, who neither observed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others; and yet, notwithstanding, kept christian charity with such as came to communicate with them, though not observing the same form of things which they observed; as well appeared by Polycarp and Anicetus, who, although they agreed not in one uniform custom of rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other."

Diversity commendeth the concord of faith.

Thus the controversy being taken up between Irenæus and Victor, [the matter] remained free to the time of the Nicene council. And thus much concerning the controversy of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome.

After Victor, succeeded in the see of Rome, Zephyrinus, in the days of the aforesaid Severus, about the year of our Lord 202. To this Zephyrinus be ascribed two epistles, in the first tome of the Councils. But, as I have said before of the decretal epistles of other Roman bishops, so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the style, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time, doth otherwise give to think of these letters, but that they be verily bastard letters; not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packed in by some, which, to set up the primacy of Rome, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient fathers, to deceive the simple church. For who is so rude, but that in considering only the state of those terrible times he may easily understand (except affection blind him), beside a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor persecuted bishops in that time would have been glad to have any safe covert to put their heads in: so far was it off, that they had any list or leisure then to seek for any primacy or patriarchship, or to drive all other churches to appeal to the see of Rome, or to exempt all priests from the accusation of any layman; as in the first epistle of Zephyrinus is to be seen, written to the bishops of Sicily: and likewise the second epistle of his to the bishops of the province of Egypt, containing no manner of doctrine, nor consolation necessary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpose, argueth no less, but the said epistles neither to savour of that man, nor to taste of that time.

His epistles and ordinances suspected to be counterfeit.

His first epistle to the bishops of Sicily.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patines of glass, which Damasus saith that the same Zephyrinus ordained to be carried

(1) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed.

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before the priest at the celebration of the mass. Again Platina writeth that he ordained the administration of the sacrament to be no more used in vessels of wood, or of glass, or of any other metal, except only silver, gold, and tin, etc. But how these two testimonies of Damasus and Platina join together, let the reader judge;[1] especially seeing the same decree is referred to Urban that came after him. Again, what needed this decree of golden chalices[2] to be established afterward in the councils of Tribur[3] and Rheims, if it had been enacted before by Zephyrinus? How long this Zephyrinus sat, our writers do vary. Eusebius saith, he died in the reign of Caracalla, and sat seventeen years. Platina writeth that he died under Severus, and sat eight years; and so saith also Nauclerus. Damasus affirmeth, that he sat sixteen years and two months.[4]

Patines of glass borne before the priest.

The ordinances of Zephyrinus of small credit.

Matthew of Westminster,[5] author of the story intituled "Flores Historiarum," with other later chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Revocatus her brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus brothers, and Secundolus, who, in the persecution of this Severus, gave over their lives to martyrdom for Christ; being thrown to wild beasts, and devoured of the same in Carthage in Africa; save that Saturninus, brought again from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secundolus died in prison about the year of our Lord 202, as writeth Florilegus.

Golden chalices.

Councils of Tribur and Rheims.

Martyrs.

This Severus, the persecutor, reigned, as the most part of writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who, about the latter time of his reign, came with his army hither into Britain; where, after many conflicts had with the Britons, in the borders of the north he cast up a ditch, with a mighty wall made of earth and turfs and strong stakes, to the length of about seventy miles, from the one side of the island to the other, beginning at the Tyne, and reaching to the Scottish sea:[6] which done, he removed to York, and there, by the breaking in of the northern men and Scots, was besieged and slain, about the year of our Lord 211, leaving behind him two sons, Bassianus and Geta; which Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla, after he had slain his brother Geta here in Britain, governed the empire alone, the space of six years. After whose death, (he being slain also of his servants, as he had slain his brother before), succeeded Macrinus with his son Diadumenus, to be emperor; who, after they had reigned one year, were both slain of their own people.

Severus warreth in Britain.

A wall between England and Scotland.

Severus, the persecutor, slain at York.

Bassianus.

Macrinus with his son Diadumenus.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monster than a man; so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthiness, and ribaldry. Such was his pomp, that in his lamps he used balm, and filled his fish-ponds with rose-water. To let pass his sumptuous vestures, which he would not wear but only of gold and most costly silks; and his shoes glistering with precious

Monstrous life of Heliogabalus.

(1) Platina has been misunderstood here; he quite coincides with Damasus.—Ed.

(2) "Ligneum calicem usurpatum esse, expresse dicitur dist. 1. de consecrat. can. 'vasa' idemque aperte colligitur ex Concil. Triburiensi c. 18, ubi prohibentur sacerdotes *ne in ligneis vasculis ullo modo conficere præsumant.* Quia tamen propter fragilitatem vitri, usus vitrei calicis periculosus est, tandem circa tempora Caroli M., in concilio Remensi statutum est, *ut calix Domini cum patena, si non ex auro, omnino ex argento fiat,*" etc. Binius apud Labbé conc. tom. i. col. 603.—Ed.

(3) Teuver, near Mentz, A.D. 895. Labbé, Conc. tom. ix. col. 451.—Ed.

(4) He died about A.D. 219.—Ed.

(5) Foxe, it will be remarked, occasionally defers to indifferent or rather modern authority; in the present case, a reference to Tertull. de Animâ, § 55, and Augustin, tom. 6, col. 611, edit. Bened. would be better vouchers. See Tillemont Mémoires, tom. iii. pt. 1, p. 240.—Ed.

(6) The wall of Severus (or the "Pict's Wall") extended from Cousin's House, through Newcastle, to Boulness on the Solway Firth, 68 English and 74 Roman miles. Butler's Geog.—Ed.

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stones finely engraved; he was never two days served with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewise, for his fleshly wickedness, some days his company was served at meal with the brains of ostriches, and a strange fowl called phœnicoptery, another day with the tongues of popinjays, and other sweet singing birds. Being nigh to the sea, he never used fish; in places far distant from the sea, all his house was served with most delicate fishes. At one supper he was served with seven thousand fishes, and five thousand fowls. At his removing in his progress, often there followed him six hundred chariots laden only with bawds, common harlots, and ribalds. He sacrificed young children, and preferred to the best advancements in the common-wealth most light personages, as bawds, minstrels, carters, and such like; in one word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was foretold by his sorcerers and astronomers that he should die a violent death, he provided robes of silk to hang himself, swords of gold to kill himself, and strong poison in [boxes of] jacinth and emerald to poison himself, if needs he must thereto be forced. Moreover, he made a high tower, having the floor of boards covered with gold plate, bordered with precious stones, from the which tower he would throw himself down, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain of the soldiers, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witnesseth Eutropius; others say four years.

A prodigious belly-god.

Heliogabalus slain of his soldiers.

Alexander Severus, emperor.

This Heliogabalus, having no issue, adopted to his son and heir Aurelius Alexander Severus, the son of Mammæa, who, entering his reign the year of our Lord 222, continued thirteen years, well commended for being virtuous, wise, gentle, liberal, and to no man hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himself, through the diligent education of Mammæa his mother, so he was a great favourer of wise and learned men. Neither did he any thing in the commonwealth, without the assistance of learned and sage counsellors. It is reported of him that he bore such stomach against corrupt judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would cast up gall, being so moved with them that he could not speak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court he dismissed all superfluous and unneedful servants, saying, that it was bad economy in an emperor, to feed idle servants with the bowels of his commonwealth.[1]

Against corrupt judges.

The saying of Alexander to be noted and followed.

Among his other good virtues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and favourable unto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the Christians had occupied a certain public place in some good use (belike for the assembling and conventing together of the congregation) the company of the cooks or tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the emperor, he judged it more honest, for the place to be continued to the worship of God, howsoever it were, than be polluted by the dirty slubbering of cooks and scullions.

A note, worthy to be marked.

By this it may be understood, that in Rome no Christian churches

(1) This passage is from Ælius Lampridius, Vit. Alexandri, § 15. Malum pupillum esse imperatorem, etc.: for pupillum, Salmasius proposes to read "pop. villum," contracted for "populi villicum."—Ed.

were erected unto this time, when yet (notwithstanding this favour of the emperor) no public house could quietly be obtained for the Christians. So that, by the reason hereof, may appear the decretal epistle and ordinance of pope Hyginus concerning the dedication of churches, above-mentioned, to be falsified. And likewise the ordinance of Pius his successor, concerning the altar,[1] to be also false. For what altar was it likely they had in the time of Hyginus and Pius, A.D. 150, when at this time, A.D. 223, which was long after, no public place almost could be granted them for the Christians to assemble together.

The Fifth Persecution. A. D. 197 to 235.

Of this Alexander, Platina writeth,[2] that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him; and bringeth in a story of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, by making the people believe that he was of great authority with the emperor, and that he could help them to have whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the emperor being certified, he caused him in the open market to be fastened to a stake, and there killed with smoke, while the crier stood thus crying to the people; "Smoke he sold, and with smoke he is punished."

Punished with smoke, that sold smoke.

Mammæa, the mother of this Alexander above-mentioned (whom Jerome calleth a devout and religious woman), hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origen, who was then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antioch, desirous to see and hear him: unto whom the aforesaid Origen, according to her request, resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the emperor and his mother, returned again to Alexandria. And thus continued this good emperor his reign the space of thirteen years; at length, at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammæa he was slain. After whom succeeded Maximin, A.D. 235, contrary to the mind of the senate, only appointed by the soldiers to be emperor. During all this time between Severus and this Maximin, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some mean tranquillity from persecution. Albeit, some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Nauclerus giveth this reason: "For although," saith he, "Alexander, being persuaded through the entreating of his mother Mammæa, did favour the Christians, yet notwithstanding, there was no public edict or proclamation provided for their safeguard." By reason whereof, divers there were who suffered martyrdom under Almachius and other judges. In the number of whom, after some stories, was Calixtus bishop of Rome, who succeeded next unto Zephyrinus[3] above mentioned; and after him Urban also, who, both being bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, under Alexander Severus. This Calixtus, in his two decretal epistles, written to Benedict and to the bishops of France, giveth these ordinances; that no actions or accusations against the prelates or doctors of the church should be received; that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops; item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate; also, no bishop to excommunicate or to deal in another's diocese. And here he expoundeth the diocese or the parish of any bishop or minister to be his wife: "The wife," saith the apostle, "is bound to the law,

Mammæa, the mother of the emperor.

Nauclerus

Calixtus, bishop of Rome and martyr.

The decretal epistles of Calixtus examined.

The place of St. Paul unfitly expounded.

(1) See suprà, p. 151.—Ed. (2) Platina in vitâ Pontiani. (3) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. 21.—Ed.

The Fifth Persecution. A. D. 197 to 235.

as long as the husband liveth; when he is dead, she is free from the law." "So," saith Calixtus, "the wife of a bishop (which is his church) so long as he liveth, is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or disposed by any other man, without his will and judgment. After his death, she is free from the law to marry to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is 'regulariter,' regularly." In the end of the said his epistle decretal, he confuteth the error of those who hold, "that they which are fallen are not to be received again:" which heresy, after the time of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Novatian, in the days of Cornelius, A.D. 251. Moreover, in his said first epistle decretal is contained the Fast of the Four Times, commonly called the Ember-fast, whereof also Marianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damasus, speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of corn, wine, and oil.

Ember Fasts first ordained

By these hitherto premised, it is not hard for a quick reader to smell out the crafty juggling of that person or persons, whosoever they were, that falsely have ascribed these decretal institutions to those holy fathers. For first, what leisure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their bishops, when we never read, or find in any story, any kind of variance in those days among them; but all love, mutual compassion, and hearty communion among the saints? And as we read of no variance among the people in those days, nor of any fault or backsliding among the bishops, who for the most part then died all constant martyrs, so neither do we read of any tribunal seat or consistory used or frequented then about any such matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of those busy days, he shall see the poor flock of the Christians so occupied and piteously oppressed by the cruel accusations of the heathen infidels, that though the *cause* did, yet the *time* would not serve them to commence any law against their bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against bishops, what conspiracy either would they then practise against them, who always gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when never a true christian man durst once put his head out of his doors? neither was there in the church any christian man in those perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, such as was far from all false conspiracies. And when all the world almost in all places conspired against them, what time, what cause, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that heresy, how standeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Novatian, the author of that heresy, was after him in the time of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the law of Calixtus every diocese or parish be the proper wife of every bishop or minister, then how many bishops' wives, and parsons' wives, has the adulterous pope of Rome deflowered in these latter days of the church! who so proudly and impudently hath intermeddled and taken his pleasure, and his own profit, in every diocese and parish almost through all Christendom, without all leave and license of the good man; who hath been in the mean time, and yet is compelled still, wheresoever the pope's holiness cometh, "Vigilanti stertere naso,"[1] and to give him leave unasked to

(1) Juvenal, sat. i. 57.—Ed.

do what he list. Wherefore if this canon decretal be truly his,[1] why is it not observed, so as it doth stand, without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsely forged upon him, and the church of Christ deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions, under the false pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained so long undetected. For, as I think, the church of Christ will never be perfectly reformed, before these decretal constitutions and epistles, which have so long put on the visor of antiquity, shall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour, wherein they were first painted.

The Fifth Persecution. A.D. 197 to 235.

Against the decretal epistles and constitutions.

And yet neither do I say this, or think contrary, but that it may be, that bishops of Rome, and of the same name, have been the true authors of these traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly suppose), that when other later bishops of the like name have devised these ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitive fathers; although being of another time, yet bearing the same name with the true inventors thereof. But of Calixtus enough; who, as Damasus saith, in the days of this Alexander Severus died a martyr. Vincentius affirmeth, that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a window was thrown into a ditch.[2] Eusebius, speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdom, and saith he sat five years; Platina saith six years; Sabellicus giveth him seven years, and so doth Damasus.[3]

Calixtus, a martyr.

After Calixtus followed Urban, about the year of our Lord 223; who, in his epistle decretal (coming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all bishops, maketh no mention of the heavy persecutions of the church, nor ministereth any exhortation of comfort or constancy to the brethren; but only giveth many strict precepts for not transporting or alienating the goods of the church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow: also to have all common among the clergy. Moreover, about the end of his epistle, he instituteth the confirmation of children after baptism (which the papists be wont to take into the number of their seven sacraments) affirming and denouncing more than Scripture will bear, that the imposition of the bishop's hand bringeth the Holy Ghost, and that thereby men be made full Christians, etc. But of these decretal epistles enough is said before, more may be considered of the discreet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late story-writers do hold, as is aforesaid, that he died a martyr in the days of Alexander Severus,[4] after he had governed that seat four years, as Damasus and Platina do witness; as Marianus saith, eight years.

Urban, bishop of Rome.

Confirmation of children instituted.

Urban martyred.

The same Damasus and Platina do testify of him, that he, by his preaching and holiness of life, converted divers heathens to the faith. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerian the husband of Cecilia, who both, being [brothers and] noblemen of Rome, remained con-

Tiburtius and Valerian, martyrs.

(1) "Selecti viri, qui Romæ operam navarunt in Gratiano emendando, Callixti primi epistolas rejecerunt." Anton. August. in Blondel, p. 265.—Ed.

(2) Vincen. in Spec. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 24.—Ed. (3) Anton. tit. 7, cap. 6.

(4) "Anno sequenti 233 Urbanus Papa, cum sedisset annos 6, menses septem, et dies quatuor, martyrio functus est; licet Eusebius in Chron. cum sedisse dicat annos 9, et anno duodecimo Alexandri ponat successoris ingressum." Baronius ad ann. 233, § 1. Pagi settles the time of his session, more exactly, at seven years, and some months and days.—Ed.

The Fifth Persecution. stant in the faith unto martyrdom. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the Martyrology by Ado:

A. D. 197 to 235. Cecilia, martyr. "Cecilia the virgin, after she had brought Valerian, her husband espoused, and Tiburtius his brother, to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and, with her exhortations, had made them constant unto martyrdom; after the suffering of them she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the idols to do sacrifice: which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the serjeants and officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her conversation, began, with many persuasions of words, to solicit her mind to favour herself, and that so excellent beauty, and not to cast herself away, etc. But she again so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that, by the grace of Almighty God, their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that religion which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiving, desired of the judge Almachius a little respite; which being granted, she sendeth for Urban, the bishop, home to her house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ. And so were they, with divers others, at the same time baptized, both men and women, to the number (as the story saith) of four hundred persons; among whom was one Gordian a nobleman. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the judge, where she was condemned; then, after, was brought to the house of the judge, where she was enclosed in a hot bath. But she, remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commandment given that in the bath she should be beheaded. The executioner is said to have had four strokes at her neck; and yet her head being cut off, she (as the story goeth) lived three days after. And so died this holy virgin martyr, whose body, in the night season, Urban the bishop took and buried among the other bishops."

The martyrdom of Cecilia.

Ado, the compiler of this Martyrology, addeth that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. But that cannot be, forsomuch as Urban, by all histories, was long after those emperors, and lived in the days of this Alexander, as is above declared. Antoninus, Bergomensis, and Equilinus, with such other writers, set forth this history with many strange miracles wrought by the said Cecilia, in converting her husband Valerian and his brother, in showing them the angel which was the keeper of her virginity, and of the angel putting on crowns upon their heads.[1] But as touching these miracles, as I do not dispute whether they be true or fabulous, so, because they have no ground upon any ancient or grave authors, but are taken out of certain new legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

Agapitus, a blessed martyr. Under the same Alexander divers other there be, whom Bergomensis mentioned to have suffered martyrdom, as one Agapitus of the age of fifteen years, who, being apprehended and condemned at Preneste in Italy, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundry torments; first with whips scourged, then hanged up by the feet; after, having hot water poured upon him; at the last cast to the wild beasts: with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally, with sword he was beheaded.[2] The executer of these punishments (as by Henry of Herford may be gathered) was one Antiochus; who, in the executing of the foresaid torments, suddenly fell down from his judicial seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gave up the breath.[3]

A notable example of God's just plague upon a persecutor.

(1) Ex Martyrologio Adonis. (2) Ex Bergomens. lib. viii. [fol. 165, edit. Brixiæ 1485.—Ed.]
(3) Henr. de Herfordia, lib. vi. cap. 29.

The Sixth Persecution.

A. D. 235 to 250.

Also with the same Agapitus is numbered Calepodius, a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawn through the city of Rome, and afterwards cast into the Tiber.[1]

Then followeth Palmatius, a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two; also another noble senator of Rome named Simplicius; all which together, in one day, had their heads smitten off, and their heads afterwards were hanged up on divers gates of the city for a terror of others, that none should profess the name of Christ. Besides these suffered also Quiritius, a nobleman of Rome, who, with his mother Julitta, and a great number more, were put likewise to death. Also Tiberius and Valerian [before-mentioned], citizens of Rome and brothers, suffered (as Bergomensis saith) the same time; who, first being bruised and broken with bats, afterwards were beheaded. Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Henry of Herford, make mention of Martina, a christian virgin, who, after divers bitter punishments, being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

Forty-two martyred Simplicius. Quiritius, Julitta, his mother. Tiberius and Valerian. Martina, a virgin.

Albeit, as touching the time of these aforenamed martyrs, as I find them not in older writers, so do I suppose them to have suffered under Maximin or Decius, rather than under Alexander.

THE SIXTH PERSECUTION.

After the death of the emperor Alexander, who, with his mother Mammæa (as is said), was murdered in Germany, followed Maximin, chosen by the will of the soldiers, rather than by the authority of the senate, about the year of our Lord 235; who, for the hatred he had to the house of Alexander (as Eusebius recordeth), raised up the sixth persecution against the Christians, especially against the doctors and leaders of the church; thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captains of them were removed out of the way. For which reason I suppose the martyrdom of Urban, the bishop of Rome, and of the rest above specified, to have happened rather under the tyranny of this Maximin than under Alexander. In the time of this persecution Origen wrote his book, "De Martyrio;" which book, if it were extant, would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, who now lie in silence unknown: and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have been, had not the provident mercy of God shortened his days, and bridled his tyranny; for he reigned but three years. After whom succeeded Gordian III. in the year of our Lord 238, a man no less studious of the welfare of the commonwealth, than mild and gentle to the Christians. This Gordian, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the monarchy of Rome the space of six years, was slain of Philip, the emperor after him.

Maximin emperor. Gordian. A.D. 238.

In the days of these emperors above recited was Pontian bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Urban above rehearsed, about the year A.D. 230; or in the twelfth year of Alexander, A.D. 233, as Eusebius noteth,[2] declaring him to sit six years.[3] Contrary, Damasus and Platina write, that he was bishop nine years and a half, and that in the time of Alexander he, with Philip[4] a priest, was banished

Pontian, bishop of Rome. Damasus and Eusebius.

(1) Bergomensis, ibidem.
(2) In Chronico.—Ed.
(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 29.—Ed.
(4) Alias, Hippolytus.—Ed.

The Sixth Persecution. A.D. 235 to 250.

into Sardinia, and there died. But it seemeth more credible, that he was banished rather under Maximin, and died in the beginning of the reign of Gordian. In his Epistles Decretal (which seem likewise to be feigned) he appeareth very much bent, after the common example of other bishops, to uphold the dignity of priests, and of clergymen; saying, "that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, he forgiveth their sins, and reconcileth them unto him:" also, "that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others," etc.; which doctrine, how it standeth with the glory of God and testament of Christ, let the reader use his own judgment.[1]

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised up in the church, as Philetus bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Asclepiades afore mentioned, in the year of our Lord 221; and after him Zebinus, bishop of the same place, in the year of our Lord 233.

Hippolytus, bishop and martyr.

Of Hippolytus, also, both Eusebius and Jerome make mention that he was a bishop; but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth Theodoret witness him to be a bishop and also a martyr, but naming no place. Gelasius[2] saith, he died a martyr, and that he was metropolitan of Arabia. Nicephorus writeth, that he was bishop of Porto, a port-town near to Rome.[3] Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the church, which Eusebius and Jerome do recite. By the computation of Eusebius, he was about the year of our Lord 230. Prudentius, in his "Περὶ Στεφάνων," making mention of great heaps of martyrs buried by threescore together, speaketh also of Hippolytus,[4] and saith that he was drawn with wild horses through fields, dales, and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitiful story.

Ammonius, a christian writer.

To these also may be added Ammonius the schoolmaster of Origen, as Suidas supposeth, also the kinsman of Porphyry, the great enemy of Christ: notwithstanding, this Ammonius, indued with better grace, as he left divers books in defence of Christ's religion, so did he constantly persevere (as Eusebius reporteth[5]) in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received; who was about the days of Alexander.

Julius Africanus.

Julius Africanus also, about the time of Gordian aforesaid, is numbered among the ancient writers;[6] of whom Nicephorus writeth, that he was the scholar of Origen, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Natalius.

Unto these doctors and confessors may be adjoined the story of Natalius, mentioned in the fifth book of Eusebius.[7] This Natalius had suffered persecution before, like a constant confessor; but was seduced and persuaded by Asclepiodotus and Theodorus (who were

(1) This doctrine seemeth derogatory to Christ, and blasphemous.

(2) Gel. contra Eutychen, tom. v. "Biblioth. Patrum," col. 477, Edit. Paris, 1575.—Ed.

(3) "Cæterum absque aliqua ambiguitate eum fuisse Episcopum Portuensem, cum tabulæ ecclesiasticæ, tum ejus ac sociorum martyrii Acta significant; eodemque titulo Nicephorus (lib. v. cap. 15) eundem nominat, et alii pæne innumeri recentiores." See Baron. ad an. 229, § 5. Dupin prefers Le Moyne's conjecture, that he was bishop of Portus Romanus (hod. Aden) in Arabia; as it would be easy for those who were unacquainted with this Arabian Portus to suppose, that he was called Portuensis from the bishopric at the mouth of the Tiber.—Ed.

(4) "Quem tamen canit Prudentius, multo discrimine a nostro Hippolyto secernitur. Ille Presbyter, hic Episcopus. Ille Novatiano addictus, hic alienus ab ejus disciplina." Basnagii "Tillemont's Annal." ad an. 222, § 8.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 19.—Ed. (6) Ibid. cap. 31.—Ed.

(7) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 28. quoting (as appears from Valesius's note) the "little labyrinth," written by one Caius against the heresy of Artemon.—Ed.

disciples of Theodotus the tanner[1]), to take upon him to be bishop of their sect; promising to give him every month a hundred and fifty pieces of silver. And so, joining himself to them, he was admonished [of his error] by frequent visions from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, that he would not have his martyr, who had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his church: "For the which cause," saith Eusebius, "God, by certain visions, did admonish him. But he, not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged of the angels; insomuch that he, being made thereby very sore, and early on the morrow putting on sackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephyrinus, the bishop above mentioned; where he, falling down before him and all the christian congregation, showed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them, for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had sequestered himself before; and so was admitted according as he desired."

The Sixth Persecution.

A.D. 250 to 253.

The Lord will not lose them that have done or suffered for him.

After the decease of Pontian, bishop of Rome, afore mentioned, succeeded next in that place Anterus,[2] of whom Isuardus writeth, that Pontian, leaving Rome, did substitute him in his room: but Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. Damasus saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdom himself by Maximin. Concerning the time of this bishop our writers do greatly jar.[3] Eusebius and Marianus Scotus affirm that he was bishop but one month; Sabellicus saith that not to be so; Damasus assigneth to him twelve years and one month; Volateran, Bergomensis, and Henry of Herford, give to him three years and one month; Nauclerus writeth that he sat one year and one month. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this bishop was Fabian, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Anterus, bishop of Rome. A.D. 235.

Authors disagree.

Prudentius.

After the emperor Gordian III. the empire fell to Philip, in the year of our Lord 244, who, with Philip his son, governed the space of six years. This Philip, with his son and all his family, were converted and christened by Fabian[4] and Origen, who by letters

Philip, emperor.

Philip, the first christian emperor.

(1) Said to be the first who asserted that Christ was a mere man, and excommunicated for this opinion by Victor. Euseb. lib. v. cap. 28.—Ed.

(2) "In chronico Damasi legitur: Anteros mense uno, diebus decem. Dormit iii. Nonas Januarii. Maximino et Africano Coss. præsenti sc. anno. Ordinatus fuerat anno præcedenti die 21 mensis Novembris, et currenti e vivis excessit die tertio Januarii. Quare error irrepsit in præfatum locum, quemadmodum et in auctius chronicon veterum pontificum, in quo dicitur Anteros sedisse annos undecim, mensem unum, dies duodecim. Sedit enim mensem, et dies tredecim, die emortuali excluso. Anastasius Antero etiam annum tribuit præter illum mensem et dies; sed annus ille ut temere adjectus omnino expungendus." "Pagii critice in annal. eccles. Baron." an. 238, § 1.—Ed.

(3) "Errore gravissimo libri pontificalis afficitur chronologia, quæ annos xii. mensem unum, dies xii. Antero vindicavit. Quem refellit et errorem Eusebius." Basnagii "Annales" ad an. 235, § 7; who supposes also that this bishop died a natural death: "Quippe si martyrem Euseb. Anterotem scivisset, illum ipsum non minus quam Fabianum tanto titulo exornásset. Neque verba Indiculi Bucheriani Anterotem martyrem sonant, "dormit iii. Nonas Januarii," quæ siccam magis, quam eruentam mortem indicant."—Ed.

(4) Baronius has a long argument (ad an. 246) to show the improbability of this alleged conversion of Philip having taken place, at this date at least; and Pagi, his commentator, endeavours to set it aside altogether: "Philippum Imperatorem Christianam religionem amplexum esse putavit Eusebius, lib. 6, cap. 34, cujus verba Baronius, § 5, recitat. In Chronico vero: Primus omnium ex Rom. Imperatoribus [Constantinus] Christianus fuit. Et denique in vit. Constant. lib. 4, cap. 62. Solus ex omnibus qui unquam fuerunt Imperatoribus Constantinus, in Christi martyriis renatus et consummatus est, id est, in Ecclesiis, quia forte supponit Philippum occulte baptizatum fuisse. Quam opinionem de conversione Philippi ad fidem nostram ab Eusebio hauserunt Paulus Orosius et Vincentius Lirinensis, et ante illos D. Hieronymus lib. de Scrip. eccles. cum de Origene loquitur." Pagi thinks that there is no evidence that Eusebius had *seen* the letters

The Seventh Persecution.

A.D. 250 to 253.

exhorted him and Severa his wife to be baptized, being the first of all the emperors that brought Christianity into the imperial seat. Howsoever Pomponius Letus reporteth him to be a dissembling prince. This is certain, that for his Christianity, he, with his son, was slain of Decius, one of his captains. Sabellicus[1] and Bergomensis[2] show this hatred of Decius against Philip to be conceived, for that the emperor Philip, both the father and the son, had committed their treasures unto Fabian, then bishop of Rome.

THE SEVENTH PERSECUTION.

Decius, emperor.

Thus Philip being slain, after him Decius invaded the crown about the year of our Lord 249; by whom was moved a terrible persecution against the Christians, which Orosius noteth to be the seventh persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant, conceived against the Christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the emperor which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

The cause and occasion of this persecution.

Fabian, bishop of Rome. A.D. 236.

His miraculous election.

This Fabian, first being a married man (as Platina writeth), was made bishop of Rome after Anterus above-mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God; which Eusebius doth thus describe:[3] "When the brethren," saith he, "were congregated together in the church about the election of their bishop, and divers of them had nominated divers noble and worthy personages of Rome, it chanced that Fabian, among others, was there present; who of late before was newly come out of the country to inhabit in the city. The brethren thinking of nothing less than of choosing this Fabian, there suddenly cometh a dove flying from above, and sitteth upon his head; whereupon all the congregation were moved, with one mind and one voice, to choose him for their bishop;" in the which function he remained the space of thirteen years, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus say fourteen years, unto the time of Decius; who, whether for that Philip had committed to him his treasures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philip, in the beginning of his reign caused him to be put to death; sending out moreover his proclamation into all quarters, that all who professed the name of Christ should be slain.

Fabian, martyr.

His ordinances pretensed.

To this Fabian be ascribed certain ordinances; as, of consecrating new oil for baptism once every year, and burning the old; of accusations against bishops; of appealing to the see apostolic; of not marrying within the fifth degree; of communicating thrice a year; of offering every Sunday; with such other things more in his three Epistles Decretal: which epistles, as by divers other evidences may be supposed to be untruly named upon him, giving no signification of any matter agreeing to that time; so do I find the most part of the third epistle word for word standing in the epistle of Sixtus III., who followed almost two hundred years after him; beside the unseemly doctrine

False doctrine detected.

of Origen; that he was misled, etc.; and brings forward long proofs of Philip's adhesion to gentile customs in after life. See "Annall. Baron." tom ii. p. 558, edit. Lucæ, 1738. If the reader cares to inquire farther into this contested point, he may consult the authors referred to in Heinecken's note ad Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 34, vol. ii. p. 241, edit. Lips. 1828.—Ed.

(1) "M. Anton. Sabellicus—maxime celebratur historia Enneadum xi. ab urbe conditâ usque ad annum MDIV. post quem annum triennio superfuit, teste Leandro." Vid. Vossius de hist. Lat. p. 669. The "Enneades" were printed at Basle 1538; but Foxe, if we mistake not, avails himself here of the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. 3. cap. 3, col. 10, edit. 1624.—Ed.

(2) Bergom. lib. viii.

(3) Euseb lib. vi. cap. 29.

also in the end of the said epistles contained, where he, contrary to the tenor of the gospel, applieth remission of sins (only due to the blood of Christ) unto the offerings of bread and wine by men and women every Sunday in the church. *The Seventh Persecution.* A. D. 250 to 253.

To this Fabian wrote Origen "De orthodoxiâ suæ fidei," that is, "Of the orthodoxy of his faith:" whereby is to be understood, that he continued to the time of Decius: some say also to the time of Gallus. Of this Origen partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of Severus, in assisting, comforting, exhorting, and kissing the martyrs that were imprisoned, and suffered for the name of Christ; with such danger of his own life, that had it not been for the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily at his house to be catechised and instructed in the christian faith by him, that soldiers were hired on purpose to defend the place where he taught them.[1] Again, such search sometimes was set for him, that scarce any shifting of place or country could cover him; in whose laborious travails and affairs of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of fifty-two years, unto the time of Decius and Gallus. Divers and great persecutions he sustained, but especially under Decius, as testifieth Eusebius,[2] declaring that, for the doctrine of Christ, he sustained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffered in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus, following the same, say further concerning him, that the said Origen, after divers and sundry other torments which he manfully and constantly suffered for Christ, at length was brought to an altar, where a foul filthy Ethiopian was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him; whether he would sacrifice to the idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly Ethiopian. Then Origen, saith he, who, with a philosophical mind, ever kept his chastity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his body, condescended to their request. Whereupon the judge, putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire upon the altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the church. Epiphanius writeth that he, being urged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the boughs in his hand, wherewith the heathen were wont to honour their gods, called upon the Christians to carry them in the honour of Christ. The which fact the church of Alexandria misliking, removed him from their communion;[3] whereupon Origen, driven away with shame and sorrow out of Alexandria, went into Jewry, where, being in Jerusalem among the congregation, and there requested of the priests and ministers (he being also a priest) to

Persecutions of Origen.

His fall.

Origen excommunicated.

(1) See suprà, p. 155, note (6).—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 39.

(3) The whole of this story is doubted by some writers, and they are disposed to reject it, as supported only by the rather weak testimony of Epiphanius (Hæres, 64, § 2): "Hæc Epiphanius, Origeni haudquaquam amicus, in antiquiorum graviorumque auctorum, Eusebii atque Hieronymi, contemtum nugatur, ne Photio quidem assentiente. Solus Nicephorus (lib. v. pp. 24 et 32) istius auctoris fabulam repetere non dubitat." Vid. "De Scholâ quæ Alexandria floruit commentatio, auct. H. E. F. Guerike," p. 55, Hal. 1824. The subject is fully discussed in Tillemont's "Mémoires," tom. iii. part 3, pp. 354—360.—Ed.

The Seventh Persecution. A. D. 250 to 253.

make some exhortation in the church, he refused a great while to do. At length, by importunate petition being constrained thereunto, he rose up, and turning the book, as though he would have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only read the verse of the fiftieth Psalm: "But to the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?" which verse being read, he shut the book, and sat down weeping and wailing, the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him.[1] What more became of Origen, it is not found in history, but only that Suidas addeth, he died and was buried at Tyre. Eusebius affirmeth, that he departed under the emperor Gallus, about the year of our Lord 255; and in the seventieth year of his age, in great misery (as appeareth) and poverty.

His repentance.

Blemishes noted in him.

Commended for his learning.

In this Origen divers blemishes of doctrine be noted, whereupon Jerome sometimes doth inveigh against him; albeit in some places again he doth extol and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apology against Ruffinus, and in his epistle to Pammachius and Ocean; where he praiseth Origen, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apostle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wit, and for a philosopher: and yet in his Prologue upon the Homilies of Origen on Ezekiel, he calleth him the second master of the churches after the apostle; and, in the preface to his Questions upon Genesis, he wisheth to himself the knowledge of the Scriptures, which Origen had; also with the envy of his name. Athanasius, moreover, calleth him admirable and laborious, and useth also his testimonies against the Arians.[2]

After Origen, the congrue order of history requireth next to speak of Heraclas his usher; a man singularly commended for his knowledge, not only in philosophy, but also in such faculties as, to a christian divine do appertain. This great towardness of wit and learning when Origen perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his usher, or under-teacher, to help in his school or university of Alexandria in the reign of Antoninus Caracalla, son of Severus. And after, in the tenth year of Alexander, Origen departing unto Cæsarea, he succeeded in his room to govern the school in Alexandria. Further also, in the time of Alexander[3] after the decease of Demetrius bishop of Alexandria, this Heraclas succeeded to be bishop of the said city; in which function he ministered the term of sixteen years.[4] Of this Heraclas writeth Origen himself, that he, although he was a priest, yet ceased not to read over and peruse the books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better, out of their own books, confute their errors.[5]

Heraclas, bishop of Alexandria.

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius of Alexandria in the bishopric of Alexandria, like as he succeeded him in the school before; which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas unto Philemon a priest of Rome, saying thus: "This canon and type I received of blessed Heraclas our pope," etc.[6] This Heraclas was no martyr, who died three years before Decius, about the year of our Lord, 247. After whom succeeded next in the same see of Alexandria, Dionysius Alex-

Called pope, yet no bishop of Rome.

A. D. 247.

(1) Suid. et Niceph. lib. v. cap. 32.
(2) Socrates, lib. vi. cap. 13.
(3) Eusebius says "Gordian," lib. vi. cap. 29: but compare cap. 26, and lib. v. cap. 22.—Ed.
(4) Eusebius, cap. 35.
(5) Ibid. cap. 29.
(6) Hunc ego canonem et typum a beato Heracla Papa nostro accepi, etc.

andrinus, who also suffered much under the tyranny of Decius; as hereafter shall be showed (Christ willing) when we come to the time of Valerian. *The Seventh Persecution.* A. D. 250 to 253.

Nicephorus in his first book,[1] and others who write of this persecution under Decius, declare the horribleness thereof to be so great, and such innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith, it is as easy to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this persecution did devour; in which persecution the chiefest doers and tormentors under the emperor appear, in the history of Vincentius,[2] to have been these: Optimus the proconsul, Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and singular persons, in order, that died in this persecution, yet such as remain most notable in stories, I will briefly touch by the grace of Him for whose cause they suffered.

In the former tractation of the fifth persecution, mention was made of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and of his troubles suffered under Severus; and how, afterward, by the miracle of God, he was appointed bishop of Jerusalem, where he continued governor of that church above the term of forty years, till the time of the first year of Decius; at what time he, being brought from Jerusalem to Cæsarea into the judgment place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the judge, was committed unto prison, and there finished his life a very aged man; as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the sixth book of Eusebius.[3] After whom succeeded in that see Mazabanes, the thirty-and-fourth bishop of that city after James the apostle. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, martyr. A.D. 249.

Mention was made also before of Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Severus did likewise persevere in a constant confession; and, as Vincentius[4] testifieth, suffered martyrdom at last under this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time; forsomuch as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, the said Asclepiades, after Serapion, entered the bishop's seat of Antioch, in the year of our Lord 214, and sat seven years before the time of Alexander; after whom succeeded Philetus, A.D. 221, governing the function twelve years. And after him Zebinus followed, A.D. 233; and so after him Babylas; which Babylas, if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared. Of this Babylas, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that under Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem above rehearsed. Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, martyr. A place of Vincentius reproved.

We read in a certain treatise of Chrysostom, intituled "Contra Gentiles," a noble and long history of one Babylas a martyr, who, about these times, was put to death for resisting a certain emperor, not suffering him to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruel murder committed; the story of which murder is this: Babylas, bishop of Antioch, martyr.

(1) Ex Niceph. lib. i. cap. 29.

(2) According to Baronius (an. 253, § 29), all the persons here mentioned, excepting Optimus, suffered themselves, at Civita-Vecchia; so that Vincent is probably mistaken, and the Magdeburg Centuriators, whom Foxe has copied; century iii. col. 10, edit. 1624; vid. Usuard. Mart. Aug. 9. —Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 46.

(4) Specu. Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 52.

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There was a certain emperor, who, upon conclusion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hostage, or surety of peace, the son of the king, being of young and tender age; with conditions upon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should ever be vexed of him. Upon this the king's son was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the emperor; whom the cruel emperor, contrary to promise, caused in short time, without all just cause, to be slain. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haste would enter into the temple of the Christians, where Babylas, being bishop or minister, withstood him that he should not into that place approach. The emperor therewith not a little incensed, in great rage bade him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could bear, and from thence shortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas, going constantly and boldly to his martyrdom, desired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, and so he was.

His story.

The story proceedeth moreover, and saith;

In the continuance of time in the reign of Constantine, Gallus, then made the overseer of the east parts, caused his body to be translated into the suburbs of Antioch, called Daphne,[1] where was a temple of Apollo, famous with devilish oracles and answers given by that idol, or by the devil rather in that place. In the which temple, after the bringing of the body of Babylas, the idol ceased to give any more oracles, saying, that for the body of Babylas he could give no more answers, and complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead men's bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the coming of Julian; who, inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy martyr to be removed again from thence by the Christians, whom he then called Galileans. They, coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens, and children, to the tomb of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commandment of the emperor, singing by the way as they went, the verse of the Psalm, in words as followeth: "Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glory in idols;" which, coming to the emperor's ear, set him in great rage against the Christians, stirring up persecution against them.[2]

The body of Babylas stoppeth the oracles of idols

Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise, saying, that so soon as the body of him and [those of] other martyrs were removed away, incontinent the temple of the idol, with the image, in the night was consumed with fire: for the which cause, saith Zonaras, Julian, stirred up with anger, persecuted the Christians;[3] as shall be showed (Christ willing) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas,[4] who, whether it was the same Babylas bishop then of Antioch, or another of the same name, it appeareth not by Chrysostom, who neither maketh mention of the emperor's name, nor of the place where this Babylas was bishop. Again, the stopping of the emperor out of the church importeth as much as that emperor to have been a Christian: for otherwise, if he had come in as a heathen, and as a persecutor, it was not then the manner of christian bishops violently to withstand the emperors, or to stop them out. Over and besides the testimony of Eusebius, Zonaras doth witness contrary, that this Babylas, who was then bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison:[5] wherefore it is not impossible, but this Babylas, and this emperor of whom Chrysostom speaketh, may be another Babylas

(1) "Daphne" was a famous grove near the city, on the river Orontes.—Ed.
(2) Chrysost. lib. contra Gentiles.
(3) Zonaras, tom iii. [His "Annales were first published by Wolf in 3 tom. Basiliæ, 1557.—Ed.]
(4) If the reader is desirous of settling these or any other difficulties connected with this martyr, he may consult Tillemont's Mémoires, tom. iii. pt. 2, pp. 459—65.—Ed.
(5) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 39.

than that which suffered under Decius. Nicephorus maketh mention of another Babylas beside this, that suffered under Decius, who was bishop of Nicomedia.[1] *The Seventh Persecution.*

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Vincentius[2] speaketh of forty virgins, martyrs, in the forenamed city of Antioch, who suffered in the persecution of Decius.

The same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter, who was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name in the country of Hellespont, and in the town of Lampsacus,[3] under Optimus the proconsul: and likewise of other martyrs that suffered in Troas, whose names were, Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionysia a virgin.[4] Babylas, bishop of Nicomedia, martyr. Forty virgins martyrs.

Also in Babylon, saith he, divers christian confessors were found of Decius, who were led away into Spain, there to be executed.[5] Martyrs. Martyrs of Babylon.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city Cæsarea, in like manner of the said author it is testified, that Germanus, Theophilus, Cæsarius, and Vitalis, suffered martyrdom for Christ.[6] And in the same book mention is also made of Polychronius, bishop of Babylon,[7] and of Nestor bishop of Perga in Pamphylia, that died martyr there.[8]

In Persia, at the town of Cardula, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tyre also, Anatolia a virgin, and Audax, gave their lives likewise to death for the testimony of Christ's name.[9] Olympiades and Maximus martyrs.

Eusebius moreover, in his sixth book reciteth out of the epistles of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, divers that suffered diversely at Alexandria, which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good for the ancientness of the author, to insert and notify in his own words, as he wrote them to Fabius bishop of Antioch, and rendered in our language as followeth:[10] Martyrs.

This persecution began not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a soothsayer and poet; who, coming to our city here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own country superstition; whereby they, being set agog, and obtaining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no less declared, all piety and religion to consist only in their idolatrous worship of devils, and in destruction of us. And first, flying upon a venerable old man, named Metra, they apprehended him and commanded him to speak blasphemous words; which when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes; and afterward bringing him out into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worship with them; which when she refused to do, and expressed abhorrence thereof, they tied her by the feet, and dragged her through the whole city over the rough pavement, and dashed her against millstones, at the same time scourging her with whips; and having finally brought her to the same place of the suburbs, as they did the other before, they stoned her likewise to death. After this, they all with one accord rushed to the houses of the godly, and, each singling out those of his own neighbourhood, spoiled and plundered them, purloining the more valuable goods; the refuse and every thing made of wood they threw out and burnt in the roads; and thus they exhibited the appearance of a city taken and

Epistle of Dionysius to Fabius. A commotion of the people of Alexandria against the Christians. Metra. Quinta, a faithful woman and martyr. Patience, joy, and constancy of the martyrs of Alexandria.

(1) Niceph. lib. v. cap. 25. (2) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 52.
(3) Tillemont. "Mém. Eccles." tom. iii. pt. 2, p. 191 and 272.—Ed.
(4) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 46. (5) Lib. eodem, cap. 43. (6) Eodem, cap. 52.
(7) Cap. 49. (8) Cap. 52.
(9) Foxe has copied the Magdeburg centuriators in his mention of these martyrs. "Extant horum acta" writes Baronius (Martyrol. Rom. April 15) in Surio, tom. iv. ubi legitur hos passos esse Cordubæ in Perside. Interdum suspicatus sum pro Corduba, Corduena restituendum. Est Corduena civitas in Perside, cujus meminit Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii. et lib. xxiv.—Ed.
(10) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 41, &c. A better translation of these extracts from Eusebius has been substituted for Foxe's.—Ed.

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sacked in war. The brethren fled and withdrew themselves, taking no less joyfully the spoiling of their goods than did they of whom St. Paul doth testify; and I am not aware that any person who fell into their hands—except perhaps one—has revolted from his profession and denied the Lord, to this day.

Among others, they seized a most surprising old woman, a virgin, named Apollonia, and dashed out all her teeth; and having made up a pile outside the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless she would join them in blaspheming Christ: she begged and was allowed a little respite, and shortly after leaped into the fire and was consumed.

Apollonia, a virgin, and martyr.

There was also one Serapion, whom they laid hands on in his own house, and having racked him with excruciating tortures, and broken all his joints, they threw him down headlong from the top loft. No way, public or private, was passable by us, night or day; the people always and everywhere crying out, if we would not repeat their blasphemies, that we should be dragged to the fire and burnt; and these evils continued a long time. A sedition and civil war then succeeded among the wretches themselves, which averted their fury from us against one another; and so we had a little breathing time, from their wanting leisure to persecute us.

Serapion, martyr.

Just punishment of God turning the cruelty of adversaries on themselves.

Shortly after this, news came that the government which had been somewhat favourable toward us was changed, and great terror was excited among us by what was threatened against us. At length the edict came; the very thing (one would almost imagine) predicted by our Lord, so exceedingly terrible, as "to seduce if it were possible the very elect." All were seized with consternation: many Christians of quality came running to sacrifice immediately through fear; others who held public offices were constrained by their office to appear. Others were brought up by their Gentile connexions, and, being called on by name, approached the impure and profane sacrifices:—some of them pale and trembling, not as if they were going to sacrifice but to be themselves the victims, so that they were derided by the multitude who stood round, as being manifestly afraid either to die or to do sacrifice; but others of them ran more readily to the altars, affirming boldly that they never had been Christians; of such our Lord affirmed most truly, that they should be saved with great difficulty. Of the rest, some followed one or other of the examples just mentioned, and others fled. Many were taken, whereof some persevered unto bonds and imprisonment, enduring them perhaps for many days, and then, just before they were led to the tribunal, they abjured; others, after having endured torments for some time, then lost heart. But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by him and having received vigour and courage proportionate and correspondent to the strong faith which was in them, became admirable martyrs of his kingdom. The first of these was Julian, a gouty person, who could neither stand nor walk; he was brought forth with two others who used to carry him, one of whom immediately denied Christ; the other, called Cronion the benevolent, and old Julian himself, having confessed the Lord, were led through the whole city—very large as you know it is—sitting on camels, and in that conspicuous situation were scourged: at last they were burnt in a very hot fire in the view of surrounding multitudes.

Julian, martyr.

A certain soldier.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdom, a soldier, named Besas, stood by them and defended them from the insults of the mob; on which they raised an outcry, and this most manful champion for his God was brought forward, and, after behaving himself nobly in the great cause of true religion, had his head struck off.

Macar. Epimachus, Alexander, with four women, martyrs. Ammonarion, Mercuria, Dionysia, and Ammonarion.

Another person, a Libyan by birth, named Macar,[1] and truly meriting the appellation, having resisted much importunity of the judge to deny Christ, was burnt alive. After these Epimachus and Alexander, who had long sustained imprisonment and undergone infinite tortures with razors and scourges, were burnt to death; and along with them four women;—viz. Ammonarion, a holy virgin, who, though she was long and grievously tormented by the judge, for having declared beforehand, that she would not repeat the blasphemy which he dictated, yet was true to her word, and was led off to execution. The other three, viz. the venerable matron Mercuria—and Dionysia, a mother indeed of many children, but a mother who did not love her children more than the Lord—and another Ammonarion,—these were slain by the sword without

(1) Blessed or happy.—Ed.

being first exposed to torments: for the judge was ashamed of torturing them to no purpose, and of being baffled by women; which had been remarkably the case in his attempt to overcome the first of the four, Ammonarion, who had undergone what might have been esteemed sufficient torture for them all. *The Seventh Persecution.* A. D. 250 to 253.

Heron, Ater, and Isidore, Egyptians, and with them Dioscorus, a boy of fifteen, were presented to the judge, who first began with the boy as most likely from his tender years to yield; but the boy resisted both the blandishments and the tortures which were applied to him: the rest, after most barbarous torments still persevering, were burnt. The boy having answered in the wisest manner to all questions, and excited the admiration of the judge, was dismissed by him from regard to his extreme youth, with an intimation of hope that he might afterwards repent. And now the excellent Dioscorus is, with us, reserved to a greater and longer conflict. Heron, Ater, Isidorus, Dioscorus.

Nemesion, another Egyptian, was first accused as a partner of robbers, but he cleared himself of this charge before the centurion: an information that he was a Christian was then brought against him, and he came bound before the president, who most unjustly tortured and scourged him with twice the severity used in the case of malefactors, and then burnt him among robbers.[1] Thus was he honoured in resembling Christ in suffering. Nemesion.

And now some of the military guard, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, and Ingenuus, and with them an old man named Theophilus, stood before the tribunal; when a certain person being interrogated whether he was a Christian, and appearing disposed to deny the imputation, they made the most lively signs of aversion, gnashing their teeth, writhing their countenances, lifting up their hands, and throwing themselves into various attitudes, so as to attract general observation; but before they could be seized, they ran up voluntarily to the tribunal and owned themselves Christians, so that the president and his assessors were astonished: the accused in fact seemed to wax bolder at the prospect of suffering, and the judges were quite daunted. God triumphed gloriously in these, for they went from the judgment-seat to execution in a sort of ovation, glorying in their testimony. Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, Ingenuus, Theophilus. Notable example of christian courage in confessing Christ.

Many others, throughout the various cities and villages, were torn to pieces by the Gentiles. For example—Ischyrion was agent to a certain magistrate. His employer ordered him to sacrifice; on his refusal he scolded him; persisting, he grossly abused him; till at length, seizing a large stake, he ran it through his body and killed him. Ischyrion.

But what shall we say of the multitude of those who wandered in deserts and mountains, and were at last destroyed by famine, and thirst, and cold, and diseases, and robbers, and wild beasts? Those who have survived, are witnesses of their faithfulness and victory. Suffice it to relate one fact: There was a very aged person named Chæremon, bishop of the city of Nilus. He, together with his wife, fled into an Arabian mountain, and did not return; nor could the brethren, after much searching, discover them alive or dead. Many other persons were caught about this Arabian mountain and made slaves by the barbarian Saracens, some of whom were afterwards redeemed for money with difficulty;—others have never regained their liberty to this day. Chæremon, a bishop, had a wife.

Thus much out of the epistle of Dionysius to Fabius.

Moreover, the aforesaid Dionysius in another place[2] writing to Germanus,[3] of his own and others' dangers sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution, of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: The epistle of Dionysius to Germanus.

I say it before God, who knows that I lie not—I did not betake myself to flight, of my own accord or without a providential leading. On the contrary, when the persecuting edict was put forth under Decius, Sabinus, the Roman governor, the same hour sent an officer to seek me, and I remained four days at home, expecting his coming: he made the most accurate search in the roads, the rivers, and the fields where he suspected I might be hid or pass along.

(1) Thieves were, in the old time, amongst the Romans burnt.
(2) Vid. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 40.—Ed.
(3) This Germanus was a bishop in that time, who charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himself.

The Seventh Persecution.

A. D 250 to 253.

A dulness seems to have seized him, that he never inquired for my house; for he had no idea that a man in my circumstances should stay at home. At length after four days, God ordered me to remove; and having opened me a way contrary to all expectation, I and my servants and many of the brethren went out together. The event showed that the whole was the work of Divine Providence.

Again, shortly after, the aforesaid Dionysius, proceeding in the narrative of himself, thus inferreth:

God willed Dionysius to fly in persecution.

About sunset, I was seized, together with my whole company, by the soldiers and was led to Taposiris. But my friend Timotheus, by the providence of God, was not present, nor was he seized. He came afterwards to my house and found it uninhabited and guarded; and he then learned that we were taken captive. How wonderful was the dispensation! but it shall be related precisely as it happened.

The story of the deliverance of Dionysius and his fellows.

And again shortly after it followeth:

Providence of God in preserving his.

A countryman met Timotheus as he was flying in confusion, and asked the cause of his hurry: he told him the truth: the peasant heard the story and went away to a nuptial feast, at which it was the custom to sit up merry-making all night. He informed the guests of what he had heard. At once they all started up, as by a signal, and ran quickly to find us, bawling and shouting: our guards, struck with a panic, fled; and the party came upon us, just as we were, lying on unfurnished beds. I first thought they must have been a company of robbers, in pursuit of their prey, and continued lying still in my shirt as I was, and offered them the rest of my clothes which lay at my side. They ordered me to rise and go out quickly; at length I understood their real designs, and I cried out and entreated them earnestly to depart, and to let us alone. But, if they really meant any kindness to us, I requested them to strike off my head at once, and so to deliver me from my persecutors. They compelled me to rise by downright violence, as my companions can testify: and then I threw myself on the ground. They then seized me by my hands and feet, and pulled me out by force. Gaius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul, followed me (who also are my witnesses), and taking me up carried me out of the place on a chair, and setting me on the back of an ass, conducted me away.

Dionysius and others delivered from the centurion and soldiers.

Thus much writeth Dionysius of himself, the example of whose epistle is cited in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.[1]

Christopher, martyr. His fable.

Nicephorus, in his fifth book,[2] maketh mention of one named Christopher, who also suffered in this persecution of Decius; of which Christopher, whether the fable riseth[3] of that mighty giant set up in churches, wading through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking-staff, etc., it is uncertain. Georgius Wicelius[4] allegeth out of Ruggerus of Fulde and mentioneth one Christopher, born of the nation of Canaanites, who

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 40; lib. vii. cap. 11.—Ed. (2) Niceph. lib. v. cap. 27.

(3) The Church of Rome has nevertheless, it appears, made its use of St. Christopher. "Christophorus describitur ab autore historiæ Lombardicæ, cap. 95, et Petro de Natalibus, lib. vi. cap. 135. Passio ejus placet Joh. Hessels. Eum negare non audet Baronius in notis ad Martyrolog. Jul. 25; sed acta in multis depravata fatetur. Cultum ejus in Papatu evincunt vota ipsi facta, statuæ passim erectæ, et in processionibus solemniter circumductæ. Audiantur modo versus, quos non sine pudore suo fatetur Molanus (de picturis sacris, cap. 27) statuis adscriptos:

Christophore sancte, virtutes sunt tibi tantæ,
Qui te mane vident, nocturno tempore rident.
Christophori sancti speciem quicunque tuetur;
Istâ nempe die non morte mala morietur.

Item:—

Christophorum videas, postea tutus eris.

Officium Christophori celebrare concessum fuit a SS. rit. Congreg. 17 Maii 1600, teste Barbosa in Collectaneis Bullarii, etc. Cameraci reliquias ejus coli, os scil. magnum testis est Arm. Raisse, p. 334." Voetii Disputat. Theolog. pars iii. p. 504.—Ed.

(4) Probably in "Historiarum de Sanctis V. et N. Test. celebr." lib. ii. Basileæ 1577; or in "Vitæ Patrum per Rom. Eccles. in divorum relat. numerum," Moguntiæ 1546. Ruggerus, monk of Fulde, drew up an elaborate hagiography about the year 1156. Vid. "Vossius de Hist. Lat." p. 431. —Ed.

suffered under Decius, being, as he saith, twelve cubits high. But the rest of the history painted in churches, the said Wicelius derideth as fables of centaurs, or other poetical fictions.[1] *The Seventh Persecution.*

A.D. 250 to 253.

Bergomensis[2] maketh relation of divers martyred under Decius, as Meniatus, who suffered at Florence; Agatha, a holy virgin of Sicily, who is said to have suffered divers and bitter torments at Catania under Quintian the proconsul; with imprisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking; rolled also upon sharp shells and hot coals; having moreover her breasts cut from her body, as Bergomensis and the martyrology of Ado record. In which authors as I deny not but that the rest of the story may be true, so again, concerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a silken vesture, with a hundred young men after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, "Mentem sanctam," etc., I doubt. Meniatus, Agatha, martyrs.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this persecution, when whole multitudes went into wildernesses and mountains, wandering without succour or comfort; some starved with hunger and cold, some with sickness consumed, some devoured of beasts, some with barbarous thieves taken and carried away. Vincentius, in his twelfth book, speaking of Asclepiades, writeth also of forty virgins martyrs, who, by sundry kinds of torments, were put to death at Antioch about the same time, in the persecution of this tyrant. Martyrs wandering in mountains. Forty virgins martyrs.

Likewise, in the said Vincentius, mention is made of Trypho, a man of great holiness, and constant in his suffering; who being brought to the city of Nicæa, before the president Aquilinus,[3] for his constant confession of Christ's name was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the sword put to death. Trypho.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the city there to sacrifice to the idols, seven Christians were found, whose names were Maximian, Malchus, Martinian, Dionysius, Johannes, Serapion, and Constantine, who, refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same unto the emperor to be Christians. Which when they constantly professed and did not deny notwithstanding, because they were soldiers pertaining to the emperor's service, respite was given them for a certain space, to deliberate with themselves, till the return again of the emperor, who then was going to war. In the mean space, the emperor being departed, they, taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret caves of the mount Cælius. The emperor returning again, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed up with heaps of stones; that they, not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they continued the space of certain ages after, till the time of Theodosius the emperor, before they did awake, as report Vincentius, Nicephorus,[4] and partly also Henry of Herford. But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list to believe Maximian, and six other martyrs, commonly called the seven sleepers. The fable of the awaking of these seven martyrs

(1) In this he is supported by Tillemont, tom. iii. part ii. p. 628.—Ed.
(2) Ex Bergomens. lib. viii.; et ex Martyrologio Adonis.
(3) See Baron. Mart. Rom. Nov. 10.—Ed.
(4) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 45. Niceph. lib. v. cap. 27, and lib. xiv. cap. 45.—Ed

The Seventh Persecution. it. Certain it is, that at the last day they *shall* awake indeed, without any fable.

A.D. 250 to 253. Jerome, in the life of Paul the hermit, reciteth a story of a certain youth, whom when the prætor could not otherwise with torments remove from his Christianity, he devised another way, which was this:

A notable example of a chaste youth. He commanded the youth to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden, among the flourishing lilies and red roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himself there left alone, a beautiful harlot came to him, who embraced him, and with all other incitements of an harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtiness. But the godly youth, fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was kissing him; and so got he the victory, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.[1]

A like example of chastity. Another like example of singular chastity is written of the virgin Theodora, and a soldier, by Ambrose.[2]

At Antioch this Theodora, refusing to do sacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the judge to the stews; and notwithstanding, by the singular providence of God, was well delivered. For as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the door to press into the house where she was, one of the brethren [named Didymus, as Ado saith], moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a soldier's habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who, rounding her in the ear, told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a Christian as she was: his counsel was, that she should put on the soldier's habit, and so slip away; and he, putting on her garments, would there remain to abide their force, and so did, whereby the virgin escaped unknown. Didymus, left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being found a man instead of a woman, was presented unto the president, unto whom, without delay, he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing himself, so as he was, to be a Christian; and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing herself, offered herself, as the guilty party, unto the judge; claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other, as innocent, to be discharged. But the cruel judge (crueller than Dionysius, who spared Damon and Pythias), neither considering the virtue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanly proceeded in execution against them both; who, first, having their heads cut off, after were cast into the fire.[3]

Theodora, Didymus, martyrs.

Agathon. At what time, or in what persecution these did suffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appear.[4] Agathon, a man of arms in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certain lewd persons scornfully deriding the dead bodies of the Christians, was cried out of, and railed on, of the people; and afterwards, accused to the judge, was condemned to lose his head.[5]

Paulus, Andreas. Henry of Herford maketh mention also of Paul and Andreas, whom the proconsul at Troas gave to the people; who, being scourged, and after drawn out of the city, were trodden to death with the feet of the people.

Justin, Nicostratus, Portius. Among others that suffered under this wicked Decius, Bergomensis also maketh mention of one Justin a priest of Rome, and of another, Nicostratus a deacon. To these Vincentius also addeth Portius a priest of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the converter of Philip the emperor aforementioned.

(1) Foxe (copying the Centuriators) erroneously calls this youth a soldier: see Hieron. in vitâ Pauli Eremitæ.—Ed.
(2) Ambr. lib. ii. De Virginibus, cap. 4.—Ed.
(3) Ambros. et Ado. The narrative in the text is a translation of Ado's martyrology, April 28.—Ed.
(4) Basnage has placed them under Diocletian, an. 304, § 6, and supposes Ambrose to have miscalculated the time, and mistaken the place, Antioch, instead of Alexandria.—Ed.
(5) Henr. de Erford.

The Seventh Persecution.

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Abdon, Sennas.

Of Abdon and Sennas[1] we read also in the aforesaid Bergomensis and Vincentius, two noble men; who, because they had buried the Christians whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to Decius, and brought to Rome, where they, being commanded to sacrifice to dead idols, would not obey; and, for the same, were given to the wild beasts to be devoured. But when the wild beasts, more gentle than the men, would not touch them, they were at length with the sword beheaded.[2] Albeit to me it seemeth not impossible nor unlike this Abdon and Sennas to be the same, whom in other stories we find, and before have mentioned to be Ammon and Zeno.

Secundian, Verian, and Marcellian.

One Secundian was accused to Valerian, a captain of Decius, to be a Christian; which profession when he stoutly and constantly did maintain, he was commanded to prison. By the way, as the soldiers were leading him to the gaol, Verian and Marcellian, seeing the matter, cried to the soldiers, asking them whither they drew the innocent? At the which word, when they also confessed themselves to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a city named Centum-Cellæ;[3] where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit upon the idols. And so after sentence and judgment given, first they were beaten with wasters or truncheons; after that they were hanged and tormented upon the rack, having fire set to their sides. Vincentius addeth moreover that some of the tormentors falling suddenly dead, others being taken with wicked spirits, the martyrs with the sword at length were beheaded.[4]

A brief catalogue of divers which suffered under Decius. Ex Beda.

To prosecute in length of history the lives and sufferings of all them, which in this terrible persecution were martyred, it were too long,[5] and almost infinite: briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we find alleged out of a certain brief treatise of Bede, intituled, "De Temporibus," cited by Henry of Herford, it shall be at this time sufficient.[6] Under Decius suffered—at Rome, Hippolytus and Concordia, Irenæus and Abundus, Victoria a maiden, Miniates, and Tryphonia, wife of Decius, eldest son of the emperor:[7] at Antioch, Babylas the bishop: at the city of Apollonia in Pontus, Leucius, Thyrsus, and Callinicus: at the city of Thmuis in Egypt, Phileas the

(1) "Nous avons l'histoire des SS. Abdon et Sennen dans la première partie des actes de S. Laurent, qui est si insoutenable et si fabuleuse, que Baronius l'abandonne absolument." *Tillemont*, tom. iii. pt. 2, p. 406, edit. 12mo. 1699. For "Corduba," we should, according to Baronius (Mart. Rom. April 22), read "Corduena" or "Cordubenna."—Ed.

(2) Bergomensis et Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 4.

(3) Now called Civita Vecchia, bordering upon the Campagna di Roma.—Ed.

(4) Vincent. lib. xii. c. 51.

(5) It is an advantage, perhaps, that no more have been catalogued, for there is doubtless much truth in Spanheim's remark: "*Actis* innumeris *Martyrum*, quales fervente hac Deciana persecutione memorantur, et tanquam ex Hieronymo, Greg. Nysseno, Beda, Adone, Usuardo, et veteribus Menologiis asseruntur, nulla fides." See "Spanheim Hist. Christ." sæc. iii. col. 764, edit. 1701. —Ed.

(6) Bede de Temporibus, citante Henrico de Erfordia. [Foxe is here copying the Magdeburg Centuriators. The reference to Bede is to his smaller treatise "De Temporibus, seu Chronicon de Sex Mundi Ætatibus." No such list, however, occurs in the printed copies of that work; but it will be found with some variation in the "Chronicon de Sex Mundi Ætatibus" of Hermannus Contractus, p. 142, in the "Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores," tom. i. edit. Ratisb. 1726, and in the Chronicle of Regino; and a part of it in "Mariani Scoti Chronicon," and Rolwink's "Fasciculus Temporum," quoted by Foxe under the tenth persecution. From these sources, with the aid also of Bede's Martyrology, Aug. 13, Sep. 17, Dec. 23, Jan. 24, Feb. 28, Feb. 4, Feb. 17, Feb. 26, April 22, April 30, March 2, Dec. 4, Jan. 21, and March 3; Baronius's "Martyrologium Romanum;" Adonis Martyrologium; and Tillemont's "Mémoires à l'Histoire Eccles.;" it has been attempted to correct the list, which is extremely corrupt as it stands in the Centuriators and in Foxe. The *exact list*, as it stands in Foxe (edit. 1583, p. 64), will be found in the Appendix. Some of these martyrs seem to have suffered under subsequent emperors, but there is an acknowledged difficulty and confusion concerning them.—Ed.]

(7) See "Fasciculus Temporum;" and Bede's and Ado's Martyrologies, October 18th.—Ed.

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bishop, and Philoromus a military tribune, with many others: in Persia, Polychronius bishop of Babylon and Ctesiphon:[1] at Perga in Pamphylia, Nestor the bishop: at Corduba in Persia, Parmenius a priest, with divers more:[2] at Cirta in Numidia, Marianus and Jacobus: in Africa, Nemesian and Felix, bishops, Rogatian a priest, and Felicissimus: at Rome, Jovinus and Basilius, Ruffina and Secunda, virgins, Tertullian and Valerian; also Nemesius, Symphronius, and Olympius: in Spain at Tarragona, Fructuosus the bishop, with Augurius and Eulogius, deacons: at Verona, Zeno the bishop: at Cæsarea in Palestine, Marinus and Astyrius: in France at the town of Mende,[3] Privatus the bishop.[4]

Children martyred.

Vincentius, in his twelfth book, maketh mention, citing from Hugo, of certain children suffering martyrdom under the same persecution, in a city of Tuscany, called Arezzo,[5] whose names I find not, except they be Pergentinus and Laurentinus mentioned in Equilinus.[6]

Such as revolted and fell in this persecution.

Now that I have recorded of those sufficiently, who under this tempest of Decius constantly gave their lives to martyrdom for the testimony of Christ, it remaineth that a few words also be spoken of such as for fear or frailty in this persecution did shrink and slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first cometh

Serapion.

in the remembrance of Serapion, an aged old man; of whom writeth Dionysius bishop of Alexandria unto Fabius bishop of Antioch, declaring that this Serapion was an old man, who lived amongst them a sincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell.[7] This Serapion oft and many times desired to be received again; but no man listened to him, because he had sacrificed. After this, not long after, he fell into sickness, wherein he remained three days dumb, and benumbed of all senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his daughter's son, and said, "How long, how long, my son, do ye hold me here? Make haste, I pray you, that I may be absolved. Call hither one of the presbyters to me." And so, saying no more, held his peace as dumb and speechless. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the presbyter, who, at the same time being sick, could not come with the messenger: but—forsomuch as Dionysius had previously ordered that such as lay a dying, if they coveted to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they might depart hence—therefore he

The holy Eucharist in time of great need committed to a boy.

gave to the boy a little of the Eucharist,[8] willing him to moisten it in water, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the Holy Eucharist. As he was now near at hand, before he had entered in, Serapion the old man, speaking again, said, "Thou art come, my son: the priest is sick and cannot come, but do as he willeth you, and let me go." Then the boy moistened the Eucharist in water, and dropped it softly into the

(1) See Regino, and Ado's Martyrology, Feb. 17; also April 21, where he calls St. Simeon bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, Seleucia being the same as Babylonia.—Ed.
(2) See Ado's Martyrology, April 22; and suprà, p. 177, note 9.—Ed.
(3) See Gallia Christiana.—Ed.
(4) Herman Contract ends the list with the words "Theodorus, cognomento Gregorius, episcopus Ponti." To these we should prefix "Nazanzo," from the middle of Foxe's list; Regino adds "virtutum gloriâ claret;" *i. e.* he flourished then at Nazianzum, not suffered: in fact he retired from the persecution. See Baron. Annal. Eccles. an. 253, § 129.—Ed.
(5) Vincent. lib. xii. c. 52. (6) Also Baron. Mart. Rom. Junii 3.—Ed.
(7) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 44.
(8) Note here the sacrament to be called the Eucharist, and not the body of Christ.

mouth of the old man, who, after he had swallowed it by little and little, immediately gave up the ghost.[1] *The Seventh Persecution.*

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In the city of Troas, as the proconsul was grievously tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out, "That he was no Christian;" and so was let down again. And after, when he had sacrificed, he was taken eftsoons with a wicked spirit, and so thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed.[2]

A terrible example of denying, showed upon Nicomachus.

Dionysius in his epistles also, writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terror of this persecution, declareth, how that many worthy and notable Christians, for fear and horror of the great tyranny thereof, did show themselves feeble and weak men. Of whom some for dread, some of their own accord, others after great torments suffered, yet afterwards revolted from the constancy of their profession. Also St. Cyprian, in his treatise "De Lapsis," reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth how that a great number, at the first threatening of the adversary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the enemy, but of their own voluntary weakness, fell down themselves. "Not even," saith he, "tarrying while the judge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, they turned their backs, and played the cowards; not only coming to their sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion; bringing moreover their infants and children, either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord; and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example."

Weakness of Christians denying their faith.

Examples of God's punishment after denial.

Of this weakness and falling the said author showeth two causes, either love of their goods and patrimony, or fear of torments: and addeth, moreover, examples of the punishments of them which revolted; affirming, that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked spirits; and that one man among others, after his voluntary denial, was suddenly stricken dumb. Again, another after his abjuration, as he should communicate with others, instead of bread, received ashes in his hand. Item, a certain maiden, being taken and vexed with a spirit, did tear her own tongue with her teeth, and tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts, so deceased.

Nicostratus.

Amongst others of this sort, St. Cyprian, in his Epistles,[3] maketh also mention of one Evaristus, a bishop, who, leaving his proper charge, and making shipwreck of his faith, went wandering about in other countries, forsaking his own flock. In like manner, he maketh also mention of Nicostratus a deacon, who, forsaking his deaconship and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries. Albeit Bergomensis affirmeth, that this Nicostratus the deacon afterward died a martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there were, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cause them to betray their confession; but they stood like glorious martyrs unto the end.

The same Cyprian also, in another book, "De Mortalitate,"[4] reciteth a notable story of one of his own colleagues and fellow-priests,

(1) Hæc Dionys. ex Euseb.; whence some expressions in Foxe's text have been changed.—Ed.
(2) Ex Henr. de Erford.
(3) S. Cyprian. lib. ii. epist. 8. Evaristus and Nicostratus were adherents of Novatian at Rome, and accompanied Novatus on his return from Rome to Carthage.—Ed.
(4) Cyprian. lib. De Mortalitate. [Tract. p. 163. Edit. Oxon, 1682.—Ed.]

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who, being oppressed with weakness and greatly afraid, with death drawing at hand, prayed for a longer furlough ere he departed.[1] As he was thus entreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent majesty, of a tall stature and comely behaviour, so bright and clear to behold, that scarce any man's carnal eyes were able to bear it, unless he were now ready to depart this world. This young man, speaking to him with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus said, "To suffer ye dare not; to depart ye wish not; what would ye have me to do for you?"[2]

A notable voice of God to a priest of Carthage.

The occasion and rising up of the Novatian heresy.

Upon the occasion of these and such others, who were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose up first the quarrel and heresy of Novatus, who, in these days, made a great disturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for fear of torments had offered incense to the idols, although they repented there-for, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the church of Christ. This Novatus, being first priest under Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by stirring up discord and factions, began to disturb the bishopric of Cyprian, to appoint there a deacon called Felicissimus, against the bishop's mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certain of the brethren from the bishop; all which Cyprian[3] doth well declare. After this the said Novatus going to Rome, kept there the like stir with Cornelius (as the same Cornelius in Eusebius[4] doth testify), setting himself up as bishop of Rome against Cornelius, who was the lawful bishop of Rome before: which to bring to pass, he used this practice: first, he had allured to him, to be his adherents, three or four good men and holy confessors, who had suffered before great torments for their confession, whose names were Maximus, Urban, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this he enticed three simple bishops about the coasts of Italy to repair to Rome, under pretence to make an end of certain controversies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counsel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him bishop; and so they did. Wherefore the one of those three bishops hardly was received to the communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two, by discipline of the church, were displaced from their bishoprics, and others possessed with their rooms. Thus then were there two bishops together in one church of Rome, Novatian and Cornelius, which was unseemly, and contrary to the discipline of the church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of St. Cyprian, writing in his epistles so much of one bishop, and of the unity to be kept in ecclesiastial regiment.[5] And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himself of one bishop, saying of Novatian, "He knows not that there ought to be one bishop in a catholic church."[6]

The meaning of Cyprian opened: writing of one bishop only to govern in a catholic church, falsely wrested of the papists for the papacy.

(1) "Commeatum sibi precabatur." Commeatus, "a soldier's furlough," *i. e.* here, "leave of longer absence from the Lord."—Ed.

(2) "Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?"

(3) Cyprian. lib. ii. epist. 8.

(4) Cornelii Epist. ad Fabium; Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43. Both Eusebius and Foxe are slightly inaccurate here: the anti-bishop was Novatian, a priest of Rome, whom Novatus seduced to his party: but the two names are often confounded. See Heinecke, not. in Euseb. lib. vi. 43.—Ed.

(5) As appeareth, lib. iv. epist. 2. "De Simplicit. Prælat.;" Item, lib. iii. epist. 11, etc.

(6) "Itaque vindex ille evangelii ignoravit unum esse debere episcopum in catholicâ ecclesiâ." Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.

This by the way (not out of the way I trust) I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wresting of the papists, who falsely apply these places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintain the pope's supreme mastership alone, over the whole universal church of Christ in all places; when their meaning is otherwise, how that every one catholic church or diocese ought to have one bishop over it, not that the whole world ought to be subject to the dominion of him only that is bishop of Rome. Now to the story again.

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Novatian, being thus bishop, took not a little upon him, going about by all means to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Insomuch that (as in the aforesaid book of Eusebius appeareth) when Novatian came to the distributing of the offerings, and should give every man his part, he compelled the simple persons every man to swear, before they should receive of the benediction and of the collects or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long till that they swore, he speaking these words unto them, "Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt not leave me and go to Cornelius;" and instead of "Amen" (to be said at the receiving of the bread),[1] they were to say, "I will not return to Cornelius." Where note by the way, that the Latin book of Christophorson's translation,[2] in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of "bread." This story being written in Eusebius, and also contained in Nicephorus (although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him), doth declare in plain words in both the authors (whoso will mark the same), that the sacrament of the body of Christ is termed with the plain name of "bread," after the consecration.

The Latin translation of Eusebius corrupted by Christophorson.

It followeth moreover in the story, that Maximus, Urban, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty dissimulation and arrogancy of Novatian, left him, and, with great repentance, returned again to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius; as they themselves, writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an epistle gratulatory, do declare;[3] and Cornelius, also, in his epistle to Fabius witnesseth the same. In this epistle the said Cornelius, moreover, writeth of one Moses, a worthy martyr, who, once being also a follower of Novatian, afterwards perceiving his wickedness, forsook him, and refused communion with him. Of whom Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth him "a blessed confessor."[4] Damasus, in his "Pontifical" saith, "That he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicostratus above mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life." And thus much of Novatian, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a synod was holden at Rome of threescore sundry bishops in the time of Cornelius, under the reign of Decius, in the year of our Lord

Four confessors.

Moses, martyr.

A synod at Rome. A. D. 251.

(1) Note here the sacrament of the body to be called bread. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43. Nicephor. lib. vi. cap. 3.—Ed.

(2) [He was bishop of Chichester in the reign of queen Mary; a learned man, and according to Godwin ("De Præsulibus Angliæ," p. 513. edit. Cantab. 1743) "multa Eusebii et Philonis e Græco in Lat. sermonem fidelissime transtulit." This may consist with occasional oversights; see the last note of Valois upon Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 10. Baronius, it is stated by Ittigius, has been led into mistakes by his partiality for Christophorson's translation: "Dum Baronius linguæ Græcæ minus peritus in annalibus suis (Christoph.) sequitur, haud raro cæcus a cæco in erroris foveam abripitur, ut monet Pet. Halloixius Jesuita, tom. ii. Script. orient, p. 730. Fuitque hæc versio Baronio tanto gratior, quanto est dogmatibus Romanæ ecclesiæ accommodatior, quod exemplis nonnullis Dallæus 'de usu Patrum,' cap. 5. p. 124, demonstravit." Ittigii de biblioth. et catenis Patrum tractatus, (Lips. 1707,) p. 736.—Ed.]

(3) Cyprian, lib. iii. epist. 3.

(4) Lib. ii. epist. 4.

The Seventh Persecution. 251; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

A.D. 250 to 253. After Fabian (or, as Zonaras calleth him, Flavian) next succeeded into the bishopric of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthy bishop, and for his great virtue and maidenly continency much commendable, chosen to that room not so much by his own consent, as by the full agreement, both of the clergy and also of the people.[1] Jerome addeth also, that he was a man of great eloquence: whereby it may appear those two epistles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeness of the barbarous and gross style, and also for the matter therein contained; nothing tasting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the church. Whereof in the first, he writeth to all his brethren of the holy church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul from the catacombs, and transferring them to the Vatican and the Appian Way, at the instance of a certain devout woman named Lucina, having no great argument or cause to write thereof unto the churches, but only that he, in that letter, doth desire them to pray unto the Lord, that, through the intercession of those apostolical saints, their sins might be forgiven them, etc. In the second epistle, written to Rufus, a bishop of the eastern church, he decreeth and ordaineth, that no oath ought to be required or exacted of any bishop or clergyman, for any cause or by any power; also, that no cause of priests or ministers ought to be handled in any strange or foreign court, without his precinct, except only in the court of Rome by appellation: wherein who seeth not the train of our later bishops, going about craftily to advance the dignity of the court of Rome, under and by the pretensed title of Cornelius, and of ancient bishops? If Cornelius did write any epistles to any indeed in those turbulent times of persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would have touched in the said his letters, either in ministering consolation to his brethren, or in requiring consolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given some touch also of the matter of Novatian, with whom he had so much to do: as he did elsewhere; for so we find it recorded both in Eusebius and Jerome, that he wrote unto Fabius, bishop of Antioch, of "the decreements of the council of Rome;" and another letter "of the manner of the council;" the third also, of "the cause of Novatian;" and again of the "repentance of such as fell," whereof there is no word touched at all in these aforesaid epistles decretal.[2]

A.D. 250. Cornelius bishop of Rome, and martyr.

A censure of the decretal epistles of Cornelius.

Constancy of Cornelius in his trial. What trouble this Cornelius had with Novatian, sufficiently is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himself very constantly and faithfully, and sustained great conflicts with the adversaries, as St. Cyprian giveth witness.[3] Jerome testifieth that he remained bishop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, and so it appears also by St. Cyprian, who hath these words: "Et tyrannum armis et bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicit." But Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers,[4] affirm, that he was both

(1) Bishops were chosen then not without the voice of the people.

(2) Blondel has quoted refutation sufficient of these tales from Baronius, and to him we may leave it. Epist. Decret. Examen, pp. 310—314.—Ed.

(3) Cyprian, lib. i. epist. 1.

(4) "Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers" (Foxe means his *copyists*), "affirm," etc. This statement, it appears from Baronius, is not strictly correct. "Error inde a Scriptoribus sumptus

exiled, and also martyred, under the tyrannous reign of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this story, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and saith, "that Cornelius, by the commandment of Decius, was banished to a town called Centum-Cellæ,[1] bordering on Etruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian again to him." This coming to the ears of Decius the emperor, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him, "How he durst be so bold to show such stubbornness; that he, neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his princes, durst, against the commonwealth, give and receive letters from others?" To whom Cornelius answering again, thus purged himself, declaring to the emperor, "That letters indeed he had written, and received again, concerning the praises and honouring of Christ and the salvation of souls; but nothing as touching any matter of the commonwealth." And it followeth in the story, "Then Decius, moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with plumbats[2] (which, as saith Sabellicus, is a kind of scourging), and so to be brought to the temple of Mars; either there to do sacrifice, or to suffer the extremity. But he, rather willing to die than to commit such iniquity, prepared himself to martyrdom, being sure that he should die. And so, commending the charge of the church unto Stephen, his archdeacon, he was brought to the Appian Way, where he ended his life in faithful martyrdom." Eusebius, in one place, saith that he sat two years; in another place, he saith that he sat three years; and so doth Marianus Scotus, following also the diversity of the said Eusebius. Damasus giveth him only two years.

The Seventh Persecution. A. D. 250 to 253.

Accused for writing letters to Cyprian.

Cornelius martyred.

In this aforesaid persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished; but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reign of Gallus, next emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in his place hereafter. In the meantime the said Cyprian in his epistles[3] maketh mention of two that suffered, either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius, a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his confession, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the adversary till he was banished, and also after; and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certain brethren, to have him for their "lector;" as in the aforenamed epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who, on the day before he suffered, declaring to the proconsul in the midst of his torments, and saying, "To-morrow you shall see a struggle for a prize,"[4] was brought forth, according as he forespoke, to martyrdom; and there, with no less constancy than patience, did suffer.

Aurelius.

Mappalicus.

videtur quod passim ferretur Cornelius in persecutione Decii martyrio insignitus; deceptus (quisquis fuerit) auctor ille, dum, quod in *persecutione* Decii factum esset, sub *ipso* Decio contigisse putavit; sicque et quod sub Volusiano gestum esset, sub Decio actitatum, inconsulte correxit." See "Annales Eccles." an. 255, § 55. The story given by Foxe is taken (as he supposes) from Damasus, or Anastasius "De Vitis Rom. Pontiff." (Mogunt. 1602,) p. 10. In the 12th volume of Mansi's edition of Baronius, pp. 671, 672, there are some critical remarks upon this compilation, as from the strange inequalities of style noticed by Holstenius, it may well be entitled. The various readings are very numerous: vide Riveti "Critici Sacri," lib. iii. cap. 14; and Pagi on Baronius, tom. iii. p. 17: Lucæ, 1738.—ED.

(1) Civita Vecchia, see suprà p. 183, note (3).—ED.

(2) Either clubs loaded with lead, or thongs (see Ducange's Glossary). Upon the *place* of martyrdom, Basnage ("Annales Politico-Eccles." tom. ii. p. 368: Roterod. 1706) remarks:—"Ut autem vera sint, quæ de *plumbatis* Cornelii vultui admotis, &c. prædicantur, Romæ beato martyri mors afferri debuit."—ED.

(3) Lib. ii. epist. 5 et 6.

(4) "Videbis cras agonem."

The Seventh Persecution.

A. D. 250 to 253.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God's saints. Now to touch also the power of God's vengeance and punishment against him. Like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement not long to continue, so it happened with this tyrannical tormentor; who, reigning but two years, as saith Eusebius,[1] or three at most, as writeth Orosius, among the middle of the barbarians, with whom he did war, was there slain with his son.[2] Like as he had before slain Philip and his son, his predecessors, so was he with his son slain by the righteous judgment of God himself. Pomponius affirmeth, that he, warring against the Goths and being by them overcome, lest he should fall into their hands ran into a whirlpit, where he was drowned, and his body never found afterwards.

Death and destruction of Decius.

Just revenge of God against persecutors.

Neither did the just hand of God plague the emperor only, but also revenged, as well, the heathen Gentiles and persecutors of his word throughout all provinces and dominions of the Roman monarchy; amongst whom the Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lasting for the space of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almost incredible to believe. Of this plague or pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hierax, a bishop in Egypt,[3] where he declareth the mortality of this plague to be so great in Alexandria, where he was bishop, that there was no house in the whole city free. And although the greatness of the plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more: besides that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much diverse. For, as the aforesaid Dionysius doth record, the Christians, through brotherly love and piety, did not refuse one to visit and comfort another, and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger; for divers there were, who, in closing up their eyes, in washing their bodies, and in interring them in the ground, were next themselves who followed them in their graves: yet all this stayed not them from doing their duty, and showing mercy one to another. Whereas the Gentiles, contrarily, being extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their neighbour; but, every man shifting for himself, nothing cared one for another; but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doors, half dead, to be devoured of dogs and wild beasts; some they let die within their houses without all succour; some they suffered to lie unburied, for that no man durst come near them. And yet, notwithstanding, for all their voiding and shifting, the pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them. Insomuch that Dionysius, bishop the same time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his own city; that such a mortality was then among them, that the said city of Alexandria had not in number so many altogether, both old and young, from fourteen to fourscore years of age, as it was wont to contain before of the old men only from the age of forty to seventy.[4] Pomponius Lætus also, and other Latin writers, making mention of the said pes-

Just punishment of God upon the heathen, for persecuting of his people.

The plague and hand of God.

Brotherly love and piety among the Christians in the time of plague.

Terrible pestilence reigning through all the Roman monarchy.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 1. (2) Orosius, lib. iv. cap. 14.
(3) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 21, 22.—Ed.
(4) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 21. The men from forty to seventy years of age were called ὁμογέροντες at Alexandria, and were registered to receive a public distribution of corn. Vales. and Heinecke. ad locum.—Ed.

tilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they think) out of Ethiopia, and from the hot countries; and so, invading and wasting first the south parts, from thence spread into the east; and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially wheresoever the edicts of the emperor went against the Christians, it followed after and consumed the most part of the inhabitants; whereby many places became desolate and void of all concourse. It continued the term of ten years together.

The Seventh Persecution.

A. D. 250 to 253.

This pestiferous mortality (by the occasion whereof Cyprian took the ground to write his book "De Mortalitate") began (as is said) immediately after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the reign of Vibius Gallus, and Volusian his son; who succeeded through treason next unto Decius, about the year of our Lord 251, and continued their reign but two years.

Gallus and Volusian, emperors, A. D. 251.

This Gallus, although the first beginning of his reign was something quiet, yet shortly after, following the steps of Decius by whom rather he should have taken warning, set forth edicts in like manner for the persecution of the Christians; albeit we find no number of martyrs to have suffered in consequence thereof, but all this persecution to rest only in the exilement of bishops and guides of the flock. Of other sufferings or executions we do not read; for the terrible pestilence following immediately, kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Unto this time of Gallus, rather than to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage; of the which banishment he himself testifieth in divers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise upon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himself, lest the sedition should grow greater: notwithstanding, the said Cyprian, though being absent, yet had no less care of his flock and of the whole church, than if he had been present with them, and therefore never ceased in his epistles continually to exhort and call upon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst divers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himself, writing to certain that were condemned to mining for metals, whose names were Nemesian, Felix, and Lucius, with other bishops, priests, and deacons, he declareth unto them—

First banishment of Cyprian.

How it was no shame, but a glory, not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at, when they suffered banishment, or other pains, for Christ. And, confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, he signifieth how nobly they distinguished themselves as valiant captains of virtue; and that they stirred up, both by the confessions of their mouth and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of their brethren to christian martyrdom; and that their example was a great confirmation to many, even maids and children, to follow the like. "That you have been grievously beaten with clubs (saith he), and have been initiated by that punishment in your christian confession, is a thing not to be lamented. The body of a Christian trembles not on account of clubs: all his hope is in wood.[1] The servant of Christ acknowledges the emblem of his salvation: redeemed by wood to eternal life, by this wood he is advanced to his crown. O happy feet, shackled indeed at present with fetters, ye will quickly finish a glorious journey to Christ! Let malice and cruelty bind you as they please, ye will soon pass from earth and its sorrows to the kingdom of heaven. In the mines ye have not a bed on which the body may be refreshed; nevertheless, Christ is

The bishops and priests condemned to the mines.

Bishops condemned for the name of Christ.

Cyprian exhorteth and confirmeth the christian martyrs.

(1) That is, in the passion of him that died on the tree.

The Seventh Persecution.

A.D. 250 to 253.

your rest and consolation: your limbs are fatigued with labour, and have only the ground to lie on; but so to lie down, when you have Christ with you, is no punishment: filth and dirt defile your limbs, and ye have no baths at hand; but remember, ye are inwardly washed from all uncleanness: your allowance of bread is but scanty; be it so, 'man doth not live by bread alone, but by the word of God:' ye have no proper clothes to defend you from the cold; but he who has put on Christ, is clothed abundantly. How will all these deformities be compensated with honour proportioned to the disgrace! What a blessed exchange will be made of this transient punishment for an exceeding and eternal glory! And if this do grieve you, that the priests of the Lord are not permitted now to present your oblations and celebrate divine sacrifices among you after the wonted manner, yet you do indeed offer that which is most precious and glorious in the sight of the Lord, of which he saith, 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.'[1] You also cease not day and night offering yourselves as victims, according to the exhortation of the apostle, 'I beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service: and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your minds, that ye may know what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God:'[2] this is of all sacrifices the most acceptable to God.

The christian man's sacrifice

And though your travail be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certain to follow: for God, beholding and looking down upon them that confess his name, in their willing mind approveth them, in their striving helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them; rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath perfected in us."[3] With these and such like comfortable words he doth animate his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a joyful journey, hasting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkness a light and brightness, greater than all their passions, according to the apostle's saying, "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us."[4]

Seagrius, Rogatian.

And, after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation, writing to Seagrius and Rogatian, who were in prison and bonds for the testimony of truth, "he doth encourage them to continue steadfast and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run; for that they have the Lord with them as their helper and defender, who promiseth to be with us to the world's end; and therefore willeth them to set before their eyes, in their death, the immortality to follow; in their pain, everlasting glory; remembering that it is written, 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' Item, 'Though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality: and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded: for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself; as gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt-offering. And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble: they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.'"[5] He writeth moreover, admonishing them, that "it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteousness here should suffer in conflicts with the powers of this world; for so just Abel was slain in the beginning of the world, and, after him, a long train of righteous men and prophets, down to the apostles sent of the Lord himself; unto whom the Lord gave an example in himself, teaching that there is no coming to his kingdom, but by that same way by which he entered himself, and telling them, 'He

(1) Ps. li. 17. (2) Rom. xii. 1, 2.
(3) This, and the subsequent extracts from Cyprian's writings are given more accurately and fully than they appear in Foxe.—Ed.
(4) Cyprian, lib. iii. Epist. ult. (5) Wisdom, chap. iii. 4—8.

that loveth his life in this world, shall lose it,' etc. And again, 'Fear ye not them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul,' etc. And St. Paul, likewise, admonishing all them whosoever covet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow his example, saith, 'If we suffer together with him, we shall reign together,'[1] etc." *The Seventh Persecution.* A.D. 250 to 253.

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage here the holy martyrs, who were in captivity, to persist, so likewise, writing to the priests and deacons who were free, he exhorteth them to be serviceable and obsequious, with all care and love to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds.[2] Whereby may appear the fervent zeal and care of this good bishop toward the church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

In the same time, and under the said Gallus, reigning with his son Volusian, was also Lucius, bishop of Rome, sent into banishment; who next succeeded after Cornelius in that bishopric, about the year of our Lord 252. Albeit, in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epistles of St. Cyprian[3] may appear. As to all the other bishops of Rome in those primitive days certain decretal epistles with several ordinances be ascribed, bearing their names and titles, as hath been before declared; so also hath Lucius one epistle fathered upon him, in the which epistle he, writing to the brethren of France and of Spain, appointeth such an order and form of the church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present: for so he decreeth in that epistle, that a bishop in all places, whithersoever he goeth, should have two priests or three deacons waiting upon him to be witnesses of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance, although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I see not how that time of Lucius, A. D. 252, could serve then for a bishop to carry such a pomp of priests and deacons about him, or to study for any such matter; forsomuch as bishops commonly in those days were seldom free to go abroad, went they never so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or else in banishment. Moreover in the said epistle how pompously writeth he of the church of Rome! "This holy and apostolical church of Rome," saith he, "the mother of all churches of Christ, through the grace of God omnipotent, hath never been proved to swerve out of the path of apostolical tradition, neither hath ever been depraved and degraded with heretical innovations: but even as, in the beginning, she received the rule of the apostolical faith from its first teachers, the princes of the apostles, so she continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end."

Lucius, bishop of Rome, banished, A.D. 252.

His epistle decretal, and ordinances.

Pompous style of the church of Rome.

Unto this Lucius also is referred, in the decrees of Gratian, this constitution, that no minister whatsoever, after his ordination, should at any time re-enter into the chamber of his own wife, on pain of losing his ministry in the church.[4] Eusebius, in his seventh book, making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdom, saith, that he sat but eight months: but Damasus, in his Martyrology,

Eusebius and Damasus vary in time. Lucius, bishop of Rome, martyr.

(1) Cyprian, lib. iv. epist. 1. [This portion of Cyprian's writings is, in the earlier editions (namely, that of Antwerp, 1542, and that of Rome, 1563), divided into books. In the former of these (page 162) we find this epistle addressed to Seagrius; but later editions read *Sergius*.—Ed.]
(2) Cyprian, lib. iii. epist. 6. (3) Lib. iii. epist. 1.
(4) Dist. 81, "ministri." Also, Labbei Conc. Gen. tom. i. cols. 721, 725, 727.—Ed.

The Seventh Persecution.

A. D. 250 to 253.

holdeth that he sat three years, and was beheaded the second year of Valerian and Gallien, emperors;[1] and so do also Marianus Scotus and Nauclerus, with others that follow Damasus, affirm the same.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, martyr.

After him came Stephen, next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus affirm to have sat seven years and five months, and to have died a martyr.[2] Contrary, Eusebius, and Volaterran holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh most near to the truth, I leave to the reader's judgment.

Censure of the decretal epistles and ordinances of Stephen.

Of his two epistles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to say, for two respects; either for that concerning these decretal epistles, suspiciously entituled by the names of the fathers of the primitive church, sufficiently hath been said before; or else because both the phrase is so barbarous and incongruous, and also the matter itself therein contained is such, that although no testimony came against them, yet they easily refell themselves. As where, in the second epistle, he decreeth: "That

No bishop ought to be accused, after he be expulsed, before he be restored again.

no bishop, being expulsed out of his see, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answer for himself, before that by the law regularly he be restored again fully to his former state; and that the primate and the synod render unto him again all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the laws canon and also secular." First, here I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himself, who be these here meant, who either used to, or might, despoil these bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their sees for such wrongful causes, but only kings and emperors? who at this time were not yet christened, nor used any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as that either primates or synods could restore them again to their places and possessions. Again, what private goods or possessions had bishops then to be taken from them? whereas, neither were churches yet endowed with patrimonies or possessions; and if any treasures were committed to the church, they pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in general to the subvention of the poor in the church, as appears in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, alleged in Eusebius;[3] wherein he, speaking of his own church, and declaring how there ought to be but one bishop in the same, inferreth mention of forty and six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors, of widows and indigent persons to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and

Number of the poor found at Rome by the church goods.

nourished in the same, by the merciful benignity and providence of God.[4] It followeth, moreover, in the end of the said canon, "Which thing is forbidden both by the laws ecclesiastical, and also secular." Now what laws secular were in the time of Stephen, for bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored again to

(1) Basnage is disposed to agree with Eusebius as to the duration of Lucius' *episcopate*. On the time of his *death* he remarks: "Passum esse IV. Nonas Martii anno 253, probabilius existimamus. In errore versantur Martyrologia, Auctoresque, quibus placet *Lucium* extinctum esse imperante Valeriano, quorum sententiam refellit Dionys. Alexandrinus." Basnagii "Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 252, § 13.—Ed.

(2) "Hoc ipso anno (260) quarto Nonas Augusti, Stephanus Martyrio coronatur, cum sedisset annos tres, menses tres, et dies viginti-duos." Pagi assents to the accuracy of this reckoning, with the verification of which we do not trouble the reader: the "Acta passionis Stephani" are printed by Baronius from MSS. § 3.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.

(4) See Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.—Ed.

their state, let any reader, marking well the state of the heathen laws that then were, judge; and, in judging, I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to describe the untruth hereof. *The Seventh Persecution.* A. D. 250 to 253.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephen, it may be easily espied, that this epistle is feigned and mis-authorized; especially by the sixth canon of the said epistle, wherein he so solemnly entreateth of the difference between primates, metropolitans, and archbishops: which distinction of degrees and titles, savouring more of ambition than of persecution, giveth me verily to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephen, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time, when the church began to be settled in more prosperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and the limits of his authority; according as is specified by the sixth and seventh canons of the Nicene council, decreeing of the same matter. Primates, metropolitans, archbishops.

The like estimation may be conceived also of the seventh canon of the said epistle, wherein he willeth and appointeth all causes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper province, and not to pass over the bounds thereof, "unless," saith he, "the appeal be made to the apostolical see of Rome;" which savoureth in my nose rather of a smack of popery, than of the vein of Christianity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretal epistle of Stephen; although of the first epistle, also, written to Hilary, something may be said—as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the altar serving to divine worship; and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, saving of priests alone—concerning all which implements my opinion is this: I think the church of Rome not to have been in so happy a state then, that either Stephen, or Sixtus before him, being occupied about other more serious matters, and scarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to study upon such unnecessary inventions serving in public churches. Neither do I see how the heathen in those days would have suffered those ornaments to be unconsumed, who would not suffer the bishops themselves to live amongst them, notwithstanding Isidore and Polydore judge the contrary. Between this Stephen and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a great contention about re-baptizing heretics, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said. Lawful to appeal to Rome. Vestments and holy vessels serving for the altar.

Besides these bishops above specified, divers others there were also sent into banishment under the aforenamed emperors, Gallus and Volusian, as appeareth by Dionysius, writing to Hermammon on this wise: that Gallus, not seeing what was Decius's destruction, nor foreseeing the occasion of his own ruin, stumbled himself also at the same stone, lying openly before his eyes: for whereas, at the first beginning, his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drave out the holy men who prayed for his peace and safeguard, and so with them rejected also the prayers by which they interceded for him.[1] Otherwise, of any Bishops banished in the time of Gallus.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 1.—Ed.

The Eighth Persecution.

bloodshed, or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not read.

A.D. 257 to 259.

After the reign of which emperor Gallus and of his son Volusian being expired (who reigned but two years), Æmilian, who slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place; who reigned but three months, and was also slain: next to whom, Valerian and his son Gallien were advanced to the empire.

Gallus and Volusian, emperors, slain, A. D. 253.

About the changing of these emperors, the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague reigning in all places, partly for the change of the emperors, although it was not for very long. For Valerian, in the first entrance of the empire, for the space of three or four years was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the senate. Neither was there any of all the emperors before him, no not of those who are openly reported to have been Christians, that showed himself so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did: insomuch that (as Dionysius, writing to Hermammon, doth testify) his whole household was replenished with holy saints and servants of Christ and godly persons, and was seemingly a church of God. But, by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days endured not very long. For, in process of time, this Valerian—being mis-advised by a certain Egyptian, a chief ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or enchanters (who indeed was troubled, because that he could not for the Christians[1] do his magical feats)—was so far infatuated and bewitched, that, through the detestable provocations of that devilish Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in cutting the throats of young infants, and sacrificing the children of unhappy parents, and ripping open the bowels of new-born children; and so, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magical enchantings, about the year of our Lord 257.[2]

Persecution ceases for a time.

The good beginning of Valerian.

Wicked counsel, what evil it doth.

THE EIGHTH PERSECUTION.

A.D. 257.

In this persecution the chief administers and executers were Æmilian, president of Egypt, and Paternus and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus, prefect of Rome, and of Perennis.[3] Vincentius speaketh also of Nicerius and Claudius, presidents.

The chief executers of this persecution.

What was the chief original cause of this persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian; but as this was the outward and political cause, so St. Cyprian showeth other causes more special and ecclesiastical in his fourth book,[4] and fourth epistle, whose words be these:

The special causes of it.

"But we," saith he, "must understand and confess that this turbulent oppression and calamity, which hath wasted, for the most part, all our flock, and

(1) Dionysius here states, that there were (and always had been) persons among the Christians, capable by their presence and aspect, by blowing upon, or by speaking, of dissipating the machinations of the demons.—Ed. (2) Dionys. in Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 10, et Nicephi. lib. vi. cap. 10.—Ed.
(3) These two names appear to have been borrowed from the times of Commodus, A.D. 184, when these persons filled the office of Prefects of the Prætorian guards: see Basnage (ut suprà) ad an. 184. § 2.—Ed. (4) Cypr. lib. iv. Epist. 4.

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doth still waste it, hath come upon us for our sins; while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his heavenly precepts, given to guide us to salvation. Our Lord observed the will of his Father in all points, but we observe not the will of the Lord; being wholly set upon lucre and the improvement of our fortunes, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing; renouncing this world in word only, and not in deed; every man pleasing himself, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the very confessors themselves, who ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, keep no discipline? Wherefore, because some grew insolent and elated on their confession, and made swelling and unmannerly bragging thereof, these tortures came—tortures which are not soon at an end—tortures not intended to dismiss them easily to their crown, but to keep them on the rack till they prevail against them to betray their profession; except perhaps in the case of a very few, who through the peculiar mercy of God sank under the pressure, and so went straight to glory, not by bearing the full measure of their punishment, but by expiring before its completion. These things do we suffer for our sins and deserts, as holy scripture long since forewarned us, saying: 'If they shall forsake my law, and will not walk in my judgments; if they shall profane my institutions, and will not observe my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges.'[1] This rod and these scourges," saith he, "we feel, who neither please God by good deeds, nor make penitential satisfaction for our evil deeds."

The sins of the Christians, cause of persecution.

Wherefore the said Cyprian addeth this exhortation withal:

"Let us, therefore, from the bottom of our hearts and with our whole soul entreat the mercy of God, who hath subjoined to the former commination this comfortable promise—'Nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him.' Let us ask and we shall receive: and if, in regard to the grievousness of our offences, it be long ere we receive, yet let us knock, provided our knocking consist in genuine prayer, sighs, and tears, offered with perseverance, and with brotherly unanimity."

Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the Christians, he further specifieth in the said epistle, which chiefly were division and dissension among the brethren.

Discord and division among the brethren.

"What hath moved me more particularly to write in this manner to you is, an admonition which I received in a vision from the Lord, saying unto me, 'Ask and ye shall have.'[2] Next, my people were in the same vision directed to pray for certain persons there described to them: but they could not agree in asking; which exceedingly displeased him who had said, 'Ask and ye shall have;' seeing it is written, that 'God maketh men to be of one mind in a house;' and we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that 'the multitude of them that believed were of one heart;' and the Lord with his own mouth hath told us saying, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another.'"

And so, by the occasion hereof, he writeth unto them in the aforesaid epistle, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement.

"It is promised," saith he, "in the gospel—'If two of you shall agree on earth touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.'—Now if the agreement of two be so prevailing, what would not the agreement of all accomplish? Certainly, we should have obtained long ago what we had asked; and our faith and salvation would not have been in the danger they now are, of shipwreck. Nay, and—I may add—these calamities would not have befallen the brethren, if they had continued like-minded."[3]

After the causes thus declared of this and other persecutions, the said St. Cyprian moreover, in the aforenamed epistle (worthy to be

A vision foreshowing persecution.

(1) Psalm lxxxix. 30—32. (2) "Petite et impetrabitis."
(3) Nec venissent fratribus hæc mala, si in unum fraternitas fuisset animata.

The Eighth Persecution. read of all men), describeth likewise a certain vision, wherein was showed unto him by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this:

A. D. 257 to 259. "There seemed to be a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a young man sad and pensive, with indignation in his looks, resting his cheek upon his hand, his countenance heavy and uncheerful. On the left hand sat another person, having in his hand a net, with which he seemed to threaten to catch the people that stood round about. And as he was marvelling that saw all this, it was said unto him: 'The young man, whom thou seest sitting on the right hand, is sad and sorry that his orders were not observed. But he on the left hand is exulting, for that opportunity is given him by the aged father to vent his fury without control.' And this vision was vouchsafed long before this tempest of persecution arose. But we have since seen fulfilled what was therein revealed; viz. that whilst we keep not the Lord's commandments, but despise his precepts, the enemy should have power to hurt us, to cast his net over us (as it were), while we were naked and defenceless, and unprepared for such a sudden onset. And all, because we foreslack our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as we should be. Wherefore, the Lord, because he loveth, chasteneth; chasteneth, to amend; amendeth, to save us."

Our sins give Satan power against us.

Another revelation showed to St. Cyprian. Furthermore, the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle, writing of his own revelation or message sent to him, thus saith:

"Finally, to the least of his servants, both sinful and unworthy" [meaning himself,] "God, of his tender goodness, hath vouchsafed to direct this word: 'Tell him,' saith he, 'that he be easy and of good comfort, for that peace is coming; albeit a little delay there is for a while longer, because some yet remain to be proved and tried.'"

Spare diet and sober drink convenient in christian bishops. And he showeth also in the same place of another revelation, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drink, lest his mind, now given to heavenly meditation, should be carried away with worldly allurements; or, oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinks, should be less apt or able for prayer and spiritual exercise. Finally, in the latter end of the aforesaid epistle mention also followeth of other revelations or showings:

The peace of the church foreshowed by the Lord.

"Wherein the Lord," saith Cyprian, "doth vouchsafe to foreshow to his servants the restoration of his church; the security of our salvation; fair weather to succeed the present rain; light after darkness; peaceable calm after stormy tempest; the helps of his fatherly love; the wonted displays of his divine majesty, whereby both the blasphemy of the persecutor shall be repressed, and such as have fallen be renewed to repentance, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shall rejoice and glory."

Thus much hath St. Cyprian written of these things to the clergy.[1]

Crimes and causes falsely laid to the Christians. As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, these were the principal: first, for that they refused to do worship to the idols and to the emperors; then, for that they professed the name of Christ. Besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famine and pestilence, were imputed only to the Christians. Against all which quarrelling accusations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Christians in his book "Ad Demetrianum," like as Tertullian had done before, writing "Ad Scapulam." And first touching the objection, for not worshipping idols, he cleareth the Christians both in his book "Ad Demetrianum," and also "De Vanitate Idolorum," proving—

The apology of Cyprian.

(1) Cypr. lib. iv. Epist. 4.

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Those idols to be no true Gods, but images of certain dead kings, which neither could save themselves from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that, by the testimony of Hostanes,[1] Plato, and Hermes Trismegistus; the which God the Christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be the cause of public calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles' idols, he purgeth the Christians thereof; proving, that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Again, for that it hath been so foresaid and prophesied, that towards the end of the world should come wars, famine, and pestilence. Moreover, if there be any cause thereof more proper than another, it is most reasonably to be imputed to their vain idolatry, and to their contempt of the true God. Also that such evils be increased by the wickedness of the people, so that (to speak in his own words) "Famine cometh more by avarice of men monopolizing the corn, than by drought of the air."[2] But, especially, the cause thereof proceeded of the cruel shedding of the innocent blood of the Christians.[3]

Thus, with many other more probations, doth Cyprian defend the Christians against the barbarous accusations of the heathen Gentiles. Of which Cyprian, forsomuch as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here, in ample discourse, the full sum, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and martyrdom, as the worthiness of that man deserveth to be remembered.[4] Of this Cyprian therefore, otherwise named Thascius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzen, Jerome, and others; that he, being an African, and born in Carthage, first was an idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the magical arts;[5] of whose parentage and education in letters during his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy rhetorician in Africa: of whose conversion and baptism he himself, in his second book and second epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent history. Which his conversion unto the christian faith, as Jerome affirmeth in his "Catalogus" and his commentary upon Jonas, was through the grace of God, and the means of Cæcilius a priest (whose name afterward he bare), and through the occasion of hearing the history of the prophet Jonas.[6] The same Jerome moreover testifieth, that he, immediately upon his conversion, distributed among the poor all his substance, and, after that, being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted bishop of the church of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus (of whom he often maketh mention, who also was the first author of re-baptization), or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth uncertain. But this is most true, he himself shined in his office and dignity with such good gifts and virtues, that, as Nazianzen writeth, he had the government of all the churches throughout the East and in Spain; and was called in the edict for his banishment "the bishop of the Christians."

The country and education of Cyprian.

His conversion.

First priest, then bishop of Carthage.

And, to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly virtues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy writers, he was courteous and gentle, loving and full

Virtues of Cyprian's life.

(1) Hostanes, a philosopher belonging to the Eastern Magi, contemporary with Xerxes. Plin. lib. xxx. cap. 1. See also Minutius Felix, § 26.—Ed.

(2) "Famem majorem facit rapacitas quam siccitas."

(3) Cyprian. "De Vanitate Idolorum," § 1, 4. "Ad Demetrianum," § 2, 3, 5.—Ed.

(4) Nearly the whole of the following account of Cyprian is from the Centuriators, Cent. iii. cap. 10, whence several corrections are made in the text.—Ed.

(5) Our author qualifies this last assertion respecting Cyprian, infrà, p. 205.—Ed.

(6) Hieronymi Comment. in Ionam, cap. iii.—Ed.

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of patience, and therewithal sharp and severe, according as the cause required, and always in his office; as appeareth in his first book and third epistle. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the elders and deacons of his bishopric, charging them that, with all study and endeavour, they should gently entertain and show pleasure unto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

Care of Cyprian towards the afflicted brethren.

His modesty in conferring with his fellows.

The third epistle of his first book doth declare of what stomach and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the consent of his fellow-bishops and other inferior ministers; and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth epistle of his third book witness. He was of a marvellous liberal disposition towards the poor brethren of other countries; for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poor men to his fellow-officers, and wrote to them, that of their own proper goods they should help their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the twenty-fourth epistle of his third book. He reciteth among other gifts wherewith he was endued, the visions and heavenly admonitions concerning the persecutions that should follow, and concerning other matters touching the government of the church, in his first book and third epistle, and fourth book and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain vision, which we have before sufficiently expressed.

Visions concerning the troubles and peace of the church, recited and expounded by Cyprian.

He had, moreover, great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the sixth epistle of his fourth book. Also Augustine doth attribute unto him many worthy virtues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humility in the second book of his "De Baptismo contra Donatistas," the fourth chapter; and in his seventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also, of his candour and meekness, by which virtues he concealed nothing that he thought, but [yet] uttered the same meekly and patiently. Also, that he kept the ecclesiastical peace and concord with those that were of another opinion than he was of. Lastly, that he neither dictated nor overbore any man, but allowed him to follow that thing which seemed good in his judgment, it is manifest in the fifth book of St. Augustine's "De Baptismo contra Donatistas." Neither is this to be passed over, which Jerome writeth, that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian: for he saith, that he once saw at Concordia in Italy a certain old man whose name was Paul, who told him he had seen at Rome the notary of blessed Cyprian, the said notary being then an old man, when he himself was but a springal;[1] who told him that it was Cyprian's wont, never to let one day pass without reading some of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say unto him, "Give me my master;" meaning thereby Tertullian.[2]

Cyprian meek and patient.

A great reader of Tertullian.

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdom. Of his epistles which he wrote back to his congregation, leading his life in

(1) "Springal," a young man, or stripling."—Ed. (2) Hieron. "Catal. Script. Eccl." de Tertull.—Ed.

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exile, mention is made above; wherein he showeth the virtue beseeming a faithful pastor, in that he took no less care when absent, as well of his own church, as of those of other bishops, than he did being present: wherein also he himself doth signify that voluntarily he absented himself, lest he should do more hurt than good to the church by reason of his presence; as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epistle is manifest; which thing seemeth to be done in the reign of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned again out of exile in the reign of this Valerian; he was also, after that, the second time banished by Paternus, the proconsul of Africa, into the city of Curubis,[1] as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian showeth; or else, as Pontius the deacon saith, into a city named Furabilitana, or Curubitana. But when Paternus, the proconsul, was dead, Galerius Maximus succeeded in his room and office; who, finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his serjeants, and to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the proconsul, breaking forth in these words, said, "Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together [very many] men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast showed thyself an enemy to the gods of the Romans, and to their holy laws: neither could the sacred emperors Valerian and Gallien recall thee to the profession of their ceremonies." At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the sword, as Jerome affirmeth.[2] And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord, Sixtus then being bishop of Rome (as Eusebius noteth), in the year of our Lord 258. Sabellicus saith that he was martyred in the reign of Gallus and Volusian, Lucius being bishop of Rome: but that seemeth not likely.

His second banishment.

His apprehension.

The martyrdom of Cyprian.

A. D. 258.

Now remaineth to speak something likewise of his works and books left behind him, although all, peradventure, that he wrote do not remain; whereof some are missing, some again, in the livery of his name and title, are not his: but such as be certainly his, by the style and sense may soon be discerned; such is the eloquence of his phrase, and gravity of his sentence, vigour of wit, power in persuasion, so much differing from many others, as he can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the which his books with us extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the school of rhetoricians, so is the authority thereof of no less reputation, not only among us of this age of the church, but also among the ancient fathers. Whereof St. Augustine, speaking in his commendation, saith, "Ego literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis considero: et quod in eis divinarum scripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respuo, etc."[3] By which words it may appear, that Augus-

The books of Cyprian.

Judgment of Augustine upon them.

(1) *Curubis*:—a city, about ten or twelve leagues from Carthage. Dupin. "Locus exilio destinatus erat *Curubis*, ut testantur Pontius, Acta passionis, et S. Augustinus: erat autem *Curubis* in Zeugitana provincia sub jurisdictione proconsulis posita." Pagius in Baron. "Annal. Eccles." an. 260, § 33; also Tillemont, "Mem. Eccles." tom. iv. pt. i. p. 279. edit. 12mo. 1706. Dupin states this second banishment to have been August 30th, 257, and his martyrdom to have happened September 14th, 258.—Ed. (2) Hieron. in Catal. Script. Eccles.—Ed.

(3) Aug. contra Crescon. lib. ii. cap. 32.—Ed.

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tine, although he did not repute the books and writings of Cyprian to be equivalent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding, next after the holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

Sentences of Cyprian collected.

Vincentius and Laziardus Celestinus,[1] reciting the names of divers books bearing the title of Cyprian (more, perchance, than be truly his), do collect out of them a certain extract of his most pithy sentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taste of the special, I thought it not impertinent: as where he, speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth, saying:[2]

Let not that sleep in thy treasures, which may profit the poor.[3]

Two things never wax old in man; the heart, ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue, ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.[4]

That which a man must of necessity lose, it is wisdom for him voluntarily to distribute, so that God may everlastingly reward him.[5]

Discipline is an orderly amendment of manners present, and a regular observation of evils past.[6]

There can be no integrity, where they are ever wanting, who should condemn the wicked; and they only are ever present, who are to be condemned.[7]

A covetous man possesseth his goods only for this:—that another should not possess them.[8]

Women that pride themselves in putting on silks and purple, cannot put on Christ.[9]

Women who dye their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to give unlucky presage of the fiery locks which they will wear in hell.[10]

They who love to paint themselves in this world of a different colour from what God created them of, have reason to fear, lest, when the day of resurrection cometh, the Creator should not know his own creatures.[11]

He that giveth an alms to the poor, offereth a sacrifice to God of sweet-smelling savour.[12]

All the injury of evils present is to be disregarded, in faith of good things to come.[13]

It is useless to set out virtue in words, and to destroy the same in deeds.[14]

The more children thou hast at home, the more cause hast thou not to hoard up, but to disperse abroad; for that there are so many who have sins to be redeemed, so many who have consciences to be purged.[15]

A place of Scripture expounded.

Moreover, lest the papists here should take an occasion by this text, grounded upon the text of Tobit, cap. iv., "Alms delivereth from all sin and death," to build up the works of satisfaction, the

(1) John Laziarcus Cœlestinus lived at the beginning of the 16th century, and wrote "Hist. Univ. Epitome" (Paris, 1521), of no great value. (Vossius.) Upon the "divers books bearing the title of Cyprian," see Rivet's "Critic. Sac." lib. ii. cap. 15; and "Tillemont's Memoires," tom. iv. pt. 1, p. 318.—Ed. (2) Ex Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 63.

(3) Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.

(4) Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: cor semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.

(5) Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro divinâ remuneratione distribuendum est.

(6) Disciplina est morum præsentium ordinata correctio, et malorum præteritorum regularis observatio.

(7) Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi, qui improbos damnent, desunt: et soli, qui damnentur, occurrunt.

(8) Avari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent;—ut ne alteri possidere liceat.

(9) Sericum et purpuram indutæ Christum induere non possunt.

(10) Fœminæ crines suos inficiunt malo præsagio: capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metuunt.

(11) Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit Deus; metuant, ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.

(12) Qui pauperi eleemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem sacrificat.

(13) Contemnenda est omnis injuria præsentium malorum, fiduciâ futurorum bonorum.

(14) Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, et factis destruere.

(15) Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, sed erogandum est, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purgandæ conscientiæ. [Many of these sentences are not verbatim.—Ed.

said Cyprian more plainly expoundeth both himself and that place of Scripture, writing in these words: *The Eighth Persecution.* A. D. 257 to 259.

"'Alms do deliver from all sin and from death.' (Tob. iv.) Not from that death which the blood of Christ hath once for all extinguished, and from which the saving grace of our baptism and of our Redeemer hath delivered us; but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by our failings."[1]

By which words it is apparent, that Cyprian meaneth this death, from which deliverance cometh by alms-giving, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlasting, from which only the blood of Christ doth save us; but for temporal or transitory punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of sin. For so it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal virtues may have their temporal rewards in this life, and likewise sins committed may have temporal punishments both in us and in our families; our eternal salvation standing evermore firm in Christ, yet notwithstanding.

The aforesaid Vincentius, moreover, speaking of another book of Cyprian (although the said book be not numbered in the catalogue of his works), maketh mention of twelve abuses or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these: *Twelve abuses in the life of man noted out of Cyprian.*

1. A wise man without good works.—2. An old man without religion. 3. A young man without obedience.—4. A rich man without alms-giving. 5. A woman without modesty.—6. A guide without virtue.—7. A christian man contentious.—8. A poor man proud.—9. A king unrighteous.—10. A bishop negligent.—11. A multitude without discipline.—12. A people without law.[2]

As we have hitherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian, this blessed martyr, so must we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger which the papists are commonly accustomed to run into; whose fault is, always almost to be immoderate and excessive in their proceedings, making too much almost of every thing. So, in speaking of the holy sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of sacraments require; not using them, but abusing them; not referring or applying them, but adoring them; not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himself; turning religion into superstition, and the creature into the Creator; the things signifying into the things themselves signified. To the church, likewise, and ceremonies of the church, to general councils, to the blessed Virgin Mary mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, and to all others in like case—not contented to attribute [to them] that which is sufficient, they exceed, moreover, the bounds of judgment and verity; judging so of the church, and general councils, as though they could never, or did never, err in any jot. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth do give: but, to say that she was born without all original sin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve but

The learning of Cyprian joined with his blemishes.

The fault of papists to make too much of every thing.

(1) Ex Cypr. lib. iv. epist. 2. 'Quia scriptum est, 'Eleemosyna ab [omni peccato et] morte liberat,' Tob. iv., non utique ab illa morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, et a qua nos salutaris baptismi et Redemptoris nostri gratia liberavit, sed ab ea quæ per delicta postmodum serpit." etc.

(2) 1. Sapiens sine operibus.—2. Senex sine religione.—3. Adolescens sine obedientiâ.—4. Dives sine eleemosynâ.—5. Fœmina sine pudicitiâ.—6. Dominus sine virtute.—7. Christianus contenti osus.—8. Pauper superbus.—9. Rex iniquus.—10. Episcopus negligens.—11. Plebs sine disciplinâ 12. Populus sine lege.

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only for order' sake; unto the which they have attributed so much at length, that they have set in them a great part of our religion, yea, and also of salvation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein the papists have not exceeded?

How far the authority of the doctors ought to extend.

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the papists, we must beware, in commending the doctors and writers of the church; and so commend them, that truth and consideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian and other blessed martyrs were holy men, yet notwithstanding, they were *men;* that is, such as might have, and had, their falls and faults; men, I say, and not angels, nor gods; saved by God, not saviours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthy doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it does not therefore hold, that what they said, it must stand for a truth.

Blemishes and errors of doctors.

That pre-eminence of authority only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man: for of men and doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of reprehension. In Origen, although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular, yet how many things be there, which the church now holdeth not? But, examining him by Scripture, where he said well, they admit him; where otherwise, they leave him. In Polycarp, the church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter-day after the Jews. Neither can holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings; as where he maketh the fasting upon Sundays or Saturdays (except the Saturday before Easter-day) as great an offence, as to kill Christ himself;[1] contrary to this saying of St. Paul, "Let no man judge you in meat and drink." Also where the said Ignatius speaketh "De Virginitate," and of other things more. Irenæus did hold, that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free-will in man, in those things also that be spiritual. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fifty years old, abusing this place of the gospel, "Quinquaginta annos nondum habes." Tertullian (whom St. Cyprian never laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chiliast:[2] also to have been of Montanus's sect. The same did hold also, with Justin, Cyprian, and others, that the angels fell first for the concupiscence of women.[3] He defendeth free-will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of them which defend the possibility of keeping God's law. Concerning marriage; "We know," saith he, "one marriage as we know one God;"[4] condemning the second marriage. Divers other things of like absurdity in him be noted. Justin also seemeth to have inclined unto the error of the Chiliasts; of the fall of certain angels by women; of free-will of man; of possibility of keeping the law; and such other things. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great scholar of Tertullian, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the doctrine of the church, did hold with re-baptizing of such as were before baptized of heretics; whereof speaketh St. Augus-

(1) Ignat. Epist. ad Philippenses.—Ed. (2) A Millenarian; from Χιλιάς.—Ed.
(3) Lib. De Habitu Mulierum.
(4) "Unum matrimonium novimus, sicut unum Deum." Lib. De Monogam.

tine, misliking the same error of Cyprian, in these words contained in his second book "contra Cresconium." *The Eighth Persecution.*

"Cypriani laudemas sequi non valeo, cujus multis literis mea scripta non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror:—non accipio quod de baptizandis hæreticis et schismaticis sensit." A. D. 257 to 259.

Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the said Cyprian and Stephen bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himself likewise, of Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearly passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose, at this present to treat. And thus much concerning the story of Cyprian, the holy learned martyr of Christ. Contention between Cyprian and Stephen, bishop of Rome.

Albeit, here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of Cyprian, that, whereas the narration of Nazianzen (as is above mentioned) declareth that he, from art magic, was converted to be a Christian, this is rather to be understood of another Cyprian; which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward bishop of the same city, and was martyred under Dioclesian, at Nicomedia:[1] whereas this Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, and died under Valerian, as is said. By the decrees of Gratian[2] it appeareth, moreover, that there was also a third Cyprian, in the time of the emperor Julian the Apostate, long after both these afore-named: for so giveth the title prefixed before the said distinction, "Cyprianus Juliano Imperatori:" the distinction beginning, "Quoniam idem Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, sic actibus propriis et dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit." Upon the which distinction the gloss cometh in with these words, saying, "that the popedom and the seat imperial have both one beginning of one, that is Christ, who was both Bishop, and King of kings;" and "that the said dignities be distinct:" albeit the pope, notwithstanding, hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both sometimes. Cyprian, divers of that name. A blind gloss challenging both the swords to the pope's hand.

"And therefore, although they be distinct, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally under the other, so that the imperial dignity is subject under the papal dignity, as the inferior is subject under the superior: that as there is one ruler over the whole world, which is God; so in the church there is one monarch, that is, the pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion."[3]

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered upon Cyprian, which is false: for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred years; and so likewise the other Cyprian, who died martyr under Dioclesian. Of A distinction of Gratian disproved.

(1) See Gregorii Nazianz. Orationem xviii. The history of Cyprian of Antioch is given by Vincentius, Antoninus, Jacobus de Viragine, Henry of Herford, and Volateran: see Centuriators. It does not appear, however, that he was *bishop* of Antioch (as Foxe asserts), either from the historians above-named, or from the catalogue of bishops of Antioch given in "L'Art de Vérifier des Dates;" the Centuriators, however, assert it in one place, and Foxe probably derived it thence. Joseph Asseman thinks he was bishop of Damascus. Foxe twice mentions him again as "bishop of Antioch" under the tenth persecution.—Ed.

(2) Dist. 10, "Quoniam." [This name, and the compilation cited, occur so often, particularly in the earlier pages of this volume, that a short notice of both may not be unsuitable. "Gratianus de Clusio, Tusciæ civitate, monachus S. Felicis Bononiensis, ord. S. Benedict. A. c. 1151, tempore Eugenii III. papæ, in illo monasterio absolvit opus jam ab anno 1127 cæptum, quod Innocentius III. 'corpus Decretorum' vocat, auctor ipse 'Concordantiam discordantium Canonum' inscripsit. Dividitur illud in *Distinctiones* 101 (quarum singulæ suis iterum distinguuntur capitulis) et *Causas* 36 (quæ suis iterum *Quæstionibus*, quæstiones capitulis subdividuntur) et tractationem 'de Consecratione,' quinque distinctionibus absolutam." See "Fabricii Biblioth. mediæ Latinitat." lib. vii. vol. iii. p. 82, edit. Patavii, 1754.]—Ed.

(3) Hæc Glossa

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any Cyprian besides these two we read not; neither is it credible, that, if there were any such Cyprian, he would ever have written of any such matter, as the difference and yet mutual need of christian emperors and christian popes; when that emperor, being an apostate,[1] neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any pope.

Sixtus II. bishop of Rome, martyred, with six deacons.

About this time, and under the same emperor Valerian, suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, bishop of Rome, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six deacons to the place of execution, where he, Nemesus, and other his deacons, were beheaded and suffered martyrdom. Lawrence in the same time, being also deacon, followed after, complaining to Sixtus (as one being aggrieved) that he might not also suffer with him, but was secluded as the son from the father. To whom the bishop, answering again, declared that within three days he should follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any, unto the poor. The judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be given to the poor, and thinking that Lawrence had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of the story hereunder written more fully may appear. Which history, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the reader, we have therefore with the more diligence here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God's glory showed in him.

The story and martyrdom of Lawrence.

Now then, as order requireth, let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ, St. Lawrence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in christian hearts, as is the flourishing laurel-tree.[2] This thirsty hart, longing after the water of life, desirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd Sixtus, led as a harmless lamb, of harmful tyrants, to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart invincible, saying,

> "O dear father! whither goest thou, without the company of thy dear son? Whither hastenest thou, O reverend priest, without thy deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What crime is there in me, that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved me unnatural? Now try, sweet father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful minister or not? Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lord's blood? See that thy judgment be not mistaken, whilst thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abasing of the scholar is the disgracing of the master. What! have we not learned that worthy masters have obtained most worthy fame by the worthy acts of their disciples and scholars? Finally, Abraham sacrificed his only-begotten Isaac; stoned Stephen prepared the way for preaching Peter: even so, father, declare thy manifold virtues by me thy son. Offer thou him that proffereth himself; grant that the body of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified."

The words of Lawrence to Sixtus.

These words with tears Saint Lawrence uttered, not because his master should suffer, but because he might not be suffered to taste

(1) "In MSS. omnibus, excepto undecimo Vaticano, abest dictio *Imperatori*, quemadmodum et apud Ivonem. Nonum autem habet *Juliano episcopo*: aliud pervetustum Jubiano." See "Corr. Rom." in loc. p. 9, edit. Paris, 1687.—ED.

(2) Ex Ambros. lib. i. offic. cap. 41; et ex Prudentio, lib. "De Coronis."

of death's cup which he thirsted after. Then Sixtus to his son shaped this answer: *The Eighth Persecution.*

"I forsake thee not, O my son; I give thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lusty and young art thou, and more lustily, yea more gloriously, shalt thou triumph over this tyrant. Thy time approacheth; cease to weep and lament; three days after thou shalt follow me. Decent it is that this space of time come between the priest and the levite. It may not beseem thee, O sweet pupil! to triumph under thy master, lest it be said, he wanted a helper. Why cravest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So Elias left behind him his beloved Eliseus. I yield up into thy hands the succession of my virtues." A. D. 257 to 259. The answer of Sixtus.

Such was their contention, not unmeet for so godly a priest, and so zealous a minister; striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration people clapped their hands, when Pylades named himself Orestes, and Orestes (as truth it was) affirmed himself to be Orestes: Pylades wishing to die for Orestes, but Orestes not suffering Pylades to lose his life for his sake. But neither of them might escape death; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Lawrence, the martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only by his ardent zeal and fervent spirit; who, thirsting after the cup of martyrdom, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let us draw near to the fire of martyred Lawrence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless tyrant,[1] understanding this virtuous levite not only to be a minister of the sacraments, but a distributer also of the church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Sixtus), promised to himself a double prey, by the apprehension of one silly soul. First, with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of tyranny, so to toss and turmoil them, that they should wax weary of their profession. With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolf demanded where this deacon Lawrence had bestowed the substance of the church: who, craving three days' respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the mean time, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be congregated. So, when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Lawrence, stretching out his arms over the poor, said:

"These are the precious treasure of the church; these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion-place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, 'I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me.' And again; 'Look, what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me.' What greater riches can Christ our Master possess, than the poor people, in whom he loveth to be seen?" The true treasure of Christ's church.

(1) Some say that this tyrant was Decius the emperor, but that cannot be, except Gallien or some other judge was now called by the name of Decius. "Turpiter errat Ado in Martyrologio, qui et Sixtum et Laurentium passos esse tradit, *sub Decio Imper. Valeriano Præfecto.*" See Basnagii "Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 258, § 9.—Ed.

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O, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrant's heart! Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boar foamed, his teeth like a hellhound grinned. Now, not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion, he might be called.

"Kindle the fire (he cried)—of wood make no spare. Hath this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traitor with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it; bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire-hot, on with him: roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him: on pain of our high displeasure do every man his office, O ye tormentors."

Lawrence tormented on the fiery gridiron.

The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done. After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but on his soft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Lawrence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it unto Lawrence. Not Lawrence, but the emperor, might seem to be tormented; the one broiling in the flesh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant martyr had been pressed down with fire-picks for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:

His singular patience in his pains.

> This side is now roasted enough; turn up, O tyrant great!
> Essay whether roasted or raw, thou thinkest the better meat."

His martyrdom and blessed end.

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only dost not burn, but by means unspeakable dost recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted, and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in God's promises infallible. By thee this glorious martyr overcometh his torments, vanquisheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the Christians, sleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace, by the life of Lawrence to learn in Christ to live, and by his death to learn for Christ to die, Amen.

A Roman soldier converted by Lawrence, and martyred.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear saints, like good seed, never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth some increase: so it pleased the Lord to work at the martyrdom of this holy Lawrence, that, by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant deacon, a certain soldier of Rome being therewith compuncted, and converted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptized of him: for the which he, being called for of the judge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded.[1]

Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, with his fellows, banished.

Under the same Valerian, suffered also Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, much affliction and banishment, with certain other brethren: of the which he writeth himself in his letter to Germanus, a bishop of those times; which is alleged in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,[2] the words whereof tend to this effect: Dionysius with Maximus, one of his priests, and three of his deacons, to wit, Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon, also with a certain brother of Rome, came

(1) Henr. de Erfordia. (2) Lib. vii. cap. 11.—Ed.

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before Æmilian, the prefect of Alexandria; who declared unto them in circumstance of words, how he had signified unto them the clemency of his lords the emperors, who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the gods who were the protectors (as he called them) of their empire; asking them what answer they would give him to these proposals, and trusting, as he said, that they would not show themselves ungrateful towards the clemency of those who so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said, "All men worship not all gods, but divers men divers gods; so as every one hath in himself a mind or fantasy to worship. But we worship only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our lords, Valerian and Gallien, the government of their empire; making to him our prayers incessantly for the permanency and stability of their empire." Then the prefect said, "And what hinders but that you may both worship your God (what God soever he be), and these our gods also? For you are commanded to worship such gods, as all men own to be gods." Dionysius answered, "We worship none other but as we have said." Æmilian the prefect said, "I see you are ungrateful men, and consider not the benignity of the emperors; wherefore you shall remain no longer in this city, but shall be sent out to the parts of Libya, unto a place called Cephro; for that place by the commandment of the emperors I have chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawful for you to convent your assemblies, or to resort as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you." And it followeth more in the said Dionysius, speaking of himself: "And as for me, although I was sick, yet he urged me so strictly to depart, that he would not give me one day's respite. And how then could I have leisure to congregate, or not congregate, any assemblies?"[1] And after a few lines it followeth,

The examination of Dionysius before the prefect of Alexandria.

His constant confession.

Dionysius banished to Cephro.

"And yet neither was I altogether absent from the corporal society of the Lord's flock; but I collected them together which were in the city, being absent, as though I had been present; 'absent in body, yet present in spirit.' And in the same Cephro, a great congregation assembled with me, as well of those brethren who followed me out of the city, as also of those who resorted to us from the rest of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me a door [to preach] his word. Although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And so by us the word was preached to those who before were infidels; which ministry after that we had accomplished there, the Lord removed us to another place. For Æmilian resolved to translate us thence to more uncomfortable places, wretched even for Lybia, and commanded us to repair all together to Mareotis, thinking there to separate us severally into sundry villages, and ordering us to reside near the high road, that we might be the more easily apprehended at any time. After we were come thither, it was assigned to me (saith Dionysius) to go to the parts of Colluthio; which was a great grief to me; yet some solace it was to me, that (as the brethren suggested to me) it was rather near to the city; for as my being at Cephro brought us many new brethren out of Egypt, so my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I should be) to the city, might procure the familiarity and concourse of certain loving brethren, who would resort and assemble with us; and so it came to pass, etc."[2]

Infidels converted by Dionysius in his banishment.

(1) This is said in reference to a charge of Germanus against Dionysius.—Ed.
(2) Ex Dionysii Epist. ad Germanum, apud Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 11.—Ed.

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Moreover, the said Dionysius in his epistle "Ad Domitium et Didymum," making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian, recordeth in these words, saying:

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"It were superfluous here to recite the particular names of all our brethren slain in this persecution, who were many, but to you unknown. But this is certain, that there were men and women, young men and old, maidens and old wives, soldiers, simple innocents, and persons of all sorts and ages: of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword, obtained victory, and got the crown [of martyrdom]. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved; in the which number am I reserved hitherto, to some other opportune time known unto the Lord, who saith: 'In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee.' Now as concerning ourselves, in what state we are, if thou desirest to know—how I and Gaius, and Faustus, Peter, and Paul, being apprehended by the centurion and the magistrates of Alexandria and their officers, were forcibly taken away by certain of Mareotis, you have fully heard.[1] At present, I and Gaius, and Peter, are here alone, shut up in a desert and most uncomfortable place of Lybia, distant the space of three days' journey from Parætonium, etc."

Mar'yrs of all sorts and ages.

And in process further he addeth:

"In the city (saith he) are certain which privily visit the brethren: of priests, Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they who are more eminent in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, do travel up and down Egypt. Of the deacons, besides them which died in the plague,[2] Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon are yet alive. Eusebius hath God raised up and furnished with great vigour to minister to the confessors lying in bonds, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the prefect cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as be brought before him, tearing some with tortures, imprisoning and wasting some in prisons, commanding that no man should come to them, inquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding, God through the cheerfulness and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted."[3]

Commendation of Eusebius the deacon.

Concerning these deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus, the priest aforesaid, had the government of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, unto the later persecution; wherein he, being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

Eusebius, bishop of Laodicea. Maximus of Alexandria. Faustus.

As touching Dionysius himself, the stories report, that he, surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, unto the twelfth year of the reign of Gallien, which was about the year of our Lord 265; and so departed in peace in great age, after he had governed the church of Alexandria the space of seventeen years, before which he had taught the school of the said city of Alexandria the term of sixteen years; after whom succeeded Maximus, as is above specified. And thus much touching the full story of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

Death of Dionysius.

At Cæsarea in Palestine suffered also, about the same time, Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander; the which three good men, dwelling in the country, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to venture and constantly to stand and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent and

(1) The events here referred to are stated suprà, p. 180.—Ed.
(2) Probably the plague mentioned suprà, p. 196.—Ed.
(3) Ex Dionysii Epist. ad Domitium et Didymum, apud Euseb. ibid. Valesius and Dupin consider this epistle as relating wholly to the Decian persecution.—Ed.

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accuse their own so great sluggishness and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the crown of christian martyrdom. And first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to Cæsarea; and there, stepping up before the judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also, and in the same city of Cæsarea, a certain woman, whose name Eusebius expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion, was brought before the prefect, and likewise obtained the same martyrdom.[1]

Martyrs.

Neither was the city of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be given to the "Speculative Glass" of Vincentius, who, citing it out of Hugo, recordeth of three hundred martyrs, of which three hundred martyrs the story saith thus; that the president setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice by a lime-kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition; either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to go into the furnace of lime: whereupon they all together, with a general motion, suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered.[3]

Three hundred martyrs in Carthage.[2]

In Africa also, in the city of Tuburba, the said Vincentius out of the Martyrology inferreth mention of three constant virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda; who, in the persecution of this Valerian and Gallien, first had given them for their drink vinegar and gall; then with scourges were tried; after that upon the rack were tormented, and rubbed with lime; then were scorched upon the fiery gridiron; at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded.[4]

Martyrs at Tuburba in Africa.

In Cimele,[5] a city in Italy, under the Alps, one Pontius being there apprehended, by the commandment of Claudius the prefect, was first hanged upon the rack, then cast to the wild beasts, of whom being nothing hurt, he was after committed to the fire; and finally not touched therewith (if the story of Vincentius be true), he was beheaded by the river's side, and his body thrown into the flood; where immediately, the same hour, the aforesaid Claudius and his assessor Anabius were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed that Claudius bit his own tongue in pieces, and Anabius's eyes started from their sockets through the pain he was in; and so they died.[6]

Pontius, martyr at Cimele.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to have sustained martyrdom.[7]

Zeno, martyr.

Moreover, Bergomensis, in his eighth book,[8] writing of the story of Valerian the emperor, maketh mention of Philip, bishop of the see of Alexandria aforesaid; who (as he saith) was under the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such Philip was then bishop of Alexandria, or any other, except only Dionysius.

Bergomensis reproved.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 12.—Ed.
(2) Rather, "Historical Mirror." Speculum Historiale Vincentii, lib. xi. cap. 83.—Ed.
(3) Vincent. (Ibid.—Ed.) Erford. (4) Ibid.
(5) This town, now in ruins, was near Nice, *under the Alps* certainly, but on the French side. See Tillemont's "Mém. Eccles." tom. iv. pt. 1, p. 26. It is perhaps the modern Cimies, which has formed the scene of one of Mrs. Sherwood's instructive narratives.—Ed.
(6) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 78, 79. See also infrà, pp. 215, 216.—Ed (7) Ibid. cap. 83.
(8) Bergomen. lib. viii. Erford. lib. vi. cap. 17.—Ed.

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After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteen years, and after him Theonas, etc.: so that, by the ancient records of old writers, it appeareth not that Philip, or any other of that name,[1] was bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other later writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certain history of one Philip, prefect of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Gallien, elected by the emperor and senate of Rome, to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the christian faith, and after made priest or bishop (as they say) of Alexandria; but that not to be so, the testimony of ancient writers doth manifest. The history of this Philip, witnessed in our later chronicles, is this: Philip, being promoted to the prefecture of Alexandria, came down with his wife Claudia, and his two sons, Avitus and Sergius, and with his daughter, named Eugenia; of the which Eugenia a long history, full of strange and prodigious miracles, is written by Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story; leaving to the judgment of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.[2]

The story of Philip and Eugenia.

This Eugenia, daughter of Philip, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her parents in the study of science and learning, was by occasion of hearing Christians reduced and brought up to Christianity, with two others, eunuchs, her school-fellows, called Protus and Hyacinthus, with whom she taking counsel, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marry with a pagan), unknown to her parents and friends did fly away; and because the more boldly she might resort to hear the readings of Helenus, then an aged bishop, and of others, she changed herself into man's apparel, and named herself Eugenius, under the which name she was at length admitted unto a certain monastery, or a society of Christians, in the suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly believe that any monastery of Christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted); where also, at the last, for her excellency of learning and virtue, she was made head of the place.

Eugenia, leaving her parents, changeth herself into man's apparel.

Helenus, bishop of Heliopolis.

Here, by the way I omit the miracles of the aforesaid Helenus, bishop (as the story saith) of Heliopolis,[3] how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himself to go in the burning fire, to refel wicked Zereas, a pagan, remaining in the same unburnt. Here also I omit the careful search of her parents for her, and of the answer of the Pythoness again unto them, that she was taken up to heaven among the goddesses. I omit, moreover, the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, etc. The story proceedeth thus: Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certain matron of Alexandria, named Melancia, who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence; insomuch that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to break her mind, and to entice

Eugenia accused of Melancia.

(1) Baronius agrees with Foxe in the succession, excluding only Philip. Vid. "Annal. Eccles." ad an. 266, § 12; and an. 285, § 15.—Ed. (2) Ex Antonin. tit. vii. cap 6. § 12.—Ed.

(3) Foxe by mistake says "Hierapolis," but Antoninus, and Baron. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 188, § 2, say "Heliopolis:" he was really bishop of Tarsus, see p 214.—Ed.

her to her lewdness. Eugenius, contrarily, exhorted her to virtue and honesty, showing her the miseries of this life, and the peril of that folly. Melancia, seeing that by no means she would be allured, nor by force drawn to her desire, and fearing moreover, that she, in detecting of her, would bring her to shame, beginning first to make an outcry of Eugenius, declared how that she went about corruptly to deflower her; and so presented her accusation before Philip the prefect as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the crime began to seem suspicious; and so much the more, because it was objected against the Christians. By reason whereof Eugenius, with her fellow-christians, was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius, although purging herself and her honesty with sufficient probation, yet notwithstanding, perceiving that whatsoever she said could take no place, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own self, as specially of her brethren (which troubled her more), she desired of the judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth; and so showed herself what she was, and how she was his daughter, the others to be Protus and Hyacinthus, the two eunuchs, her school-fellows; uttering moreover to him and to her brothers the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof, Philip her father, Claudia her mother, and her two brothers, coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy in receiving their Eugenia again, whom they thought to have been lost. No less gladness was among the people, to see the evidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falseness of the other; whereat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first, for her dishonesty falsely cloaked; secondly, for the untruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth, moreover, that the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia, trying her honesty to her parents and friends, was not only received of them again, but also, by the grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby Philip, the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his own daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been lost, not only he found again, but also with her found his own soul, and his own life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philip (saith the story) was made afterward bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdom; concerning whose martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proved out of Eusebius and other ancient historians.

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A. D. 257 to 259.

Eugenia known of her parents, and brothers.

False accusation convicted.

Philip, by his daughter, converted unto Christ.

Philip, martyr.

Likewise, it is said, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her father, returning to Rome with Protus and Hyacinthus, by occasion of converting Basilla (who should have been married to a pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the christian faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death; first, being tied to a great stone and cast into the Tiber, where she was carried up from drowning; then, put in the hot baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved; afterward, by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary miracles I leave to the

Eugenia, martyr.

The Eighth Persecution.

reader to judge of them, as shall seem good unto him. At last, the story saith, she was with the sword beheaded.[1]

A. D. 257 to 259.

And because in this present history mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellows noteth to be the bishop of Heliopolis, here is to be understood and observed, by the way, that as Philip in the aforesaid history is falsely said to be bishop of Alexandria; so likewise untrue it is, that Helenus was bishop of Heliopolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, alleging the words of Dionysius, that he was bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia;[2] and there he had oversight of that church from the time of our Lord God 254, to the year of our redemption 274.[3]

Corrections in the story above touched.

Helenus, bishop of Tarsus.

A.D. 262. Victor, Victorinus, Claudian, Bassa, martyrs.

Under the sixth year of Valerian and Gallien, we read in the History of Herfordiensis (who cites Isuardus) of Victor and Victorinus, who, lying in prison the space of three years with Claudian and Bassa his wife, are said to have sustained great torments and martyrdom for the testimony and name of Christ.[4]

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, with his two deacons.

Aurelius Prudentius, in his book intituled "Περὶ Στεφάνων," inferreth mention of Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, who, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, suffered also martyrdom, being burnt after six days' imprisonment under the aforesaid emperors in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christ's name; their judge and condemner was Æmilian; their imprisonment endured six days; the kind of death ministered unto them was fire; wherein they, being altogether cast with their arms bound behind them, their bands (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolved, their hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this judge unto the bishop was this: "That he should worship the gods whom the emperor Gallien worshipped." To whom Fructuosus the bishop answering: "Nay," saith he, "I worship no dumb god of stocks and blocks, whom Gallien doth worship, but I worship the Lord and Master of Gallien, the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent down to us, of whose flock I am here the pastor and shepherd." At this word Æmilian answering again, "Nay," saith he, "say not thou art, but say thou wast." And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their bands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the element, which seemed to fly from them, might work its full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the mean space, as they were in the fire, there was a certain soldier in the house of Æmilian, who did see the heavens above to open, and these aforesaid martyrs to enter into the same; which soldier likewise showed the sight the same time unto the daughter of Æmilian the prefect, who,

Fructuosus and his deacons strengthened in the fire.

Favour of God toward his martyrs declared.

(1) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 78. Antonin. Bergom. Ado. [Foxe has done well in leaving the reader to believe as much as he thinks proper of these narratives. See "Tillemont's Mémoires," tom. iv. pt. 1, pp 20 and 329, edit. 12mo. 1706.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 5.—Ed. (3) Cent. Magd. cent. iii. cap. 10.—Ed.

(4) Ex Isuardo, [or "Usuardus," a monk of Fulde, of the Benedictine order. Charlemagne instructed him to draw up a Martyrology, which exists, says Vossius (De Hist. Lat. p. 295), "non exiguo sane historiæ Ecclesiasticæ bono." There are editions of Louvain 1568, of Antwerp 1714, and of Paris 1718. "Martyrologium Usuardi, Monachi Paris., prodiit Lovanii 1568, item 1573—recusum deinde cum annotatt. et addit. Joh. Molani, Antv. 1583. Verum in edit. Ant. 1583, omissa sunt ea, quæ Pontificiis in priori minus placebant." N. P. Sibberu schediasma de libris Latinorum eccles. Viteb. 1706, p. 101.—Ed.]

beholding the same sight with the soldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom her cruel father had condemned. *The Eighth Persecution.*

As this godly bishop was preparing to his death (saith Prudentius) the brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, desiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refused to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readiness the brethren also were diligent about him to pluck off his shoes and hose, as he was addressing himself to the fire; but neither would he suffer any servant's help in that, wherein he was no less willing than able to help himself. And thus this blessed and fruitful bishop Fructuosus, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of Christ with the shedding of their blood.[1] A. D. 257 to 259. The modesty of Fructuosus.

And thus far continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny against the saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before, and oppressors of the Christians, had their deserved reward at the just hand of God, who rendereth to every man according to his works; so this cruel Valerian, after he had reigned with his son Gallien the term of six or seven years, and about two years had afflicted the church of Christ, felt the just stroke of his hand, whose indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witness Eutropius, Pollio,[2] Sabellicus, Volateran.[3] For, making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud and treason of some about him, or whether by his own rashness, it is doubtful; but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of fourscore years; where he spent his wretched age in a more wretched captivity: insomuch that Sapor, the king of the Persians, used him (and well worthy) not for his riding-fool, but for his riding-block; for whensoever the king should light upon his horse openly in the sight of the people, Valerian, emperor quondam, was brought forth instead of a block, for the king to tread upon his back in going to his horseback. And so continued this blockish butcherly emperor with shame and sport enough unto his final end, as witness Lætus and Aurelius Victor.[4] The notable plague against Valerian the persecutor. God's punishment to be noted.

Albeit Eusebius, in a certain sermon "Ad conventum Sanctorum," declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was slain, writing in these words: "And thou Valerian, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering of the subjects of God, hast proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thyself hast been bound in chains, and carried away for a captive slave with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperial attire; and at length also, being commanded of Sapor, king of the Persians, to be flayed and powdered with salt, hast set up unto all men a perpetual monument of thy wretchedness."[5] Valerian, the persecuting emperor.

The like severity of God's terrible judgment is also to be noted in Claudius, the prefect, and minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius Henry of Herford thus writeth, that he was possessed and The punishment upon Claudius the prefect.

(1) Aurelius Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus. (2) Pollio, § 5.—Ed.
(3) Also Lactantius, "De Mort. Persecut." cap. 5.—Ed. (4) Epitome, cap. 32, § 5.—Ed.
(5) "Sed et tu, Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum sævitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, justum Dei judicium declarasti, dum captivus ac vinctus una cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu abductus ac tandem a Sapore Persarum rege excoriari jussus saleque conditus, perpetuum infelicitatis tuæ trophæum erexisti," etc. Ex Euseb in Sermone ad Conventum sanctorum, cap. 24.—Ed.

The Eighth Persecution.

vexed of the devil, in such sort, that he biting off his own tongue in many small pieces, so ended his life.

A.D. 257 to 259.

Neither did Gallien, the son of Valerian, after the captivity of his father, utterly escape the righteous hand of God: for beside the miserable captivity of his father, whom he could not rescue, such portents strange and out of the course of nature, such earthquakes did happen,[1] also such tumults, commotions, and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in sundry places, all at one time, took upon them to be tyrants and emperors over the monarchy of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to succour his father, though he would.

Gallien plagued for his persecution.

Notwithstanding, the said Gallien, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did remove, at least did moderate, the persecution stirred up by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperial proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be seen in Eusebius.[2]

Peace granted to the church.

Emperor and Cæsar, Publius Licinius Gallien, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinna, Demetrius, and the rest of the bishops. I have commanded that the indulgence of my gracious bounty be published through the whole world, viz. that all should depart from[3] the places devoted to religious worship. And for this cause I have here sent to you the copy of my rescript for you to peruse and keep, that no man may molest you. And that, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore, for your more warrant in the same, I have committed the copy hereof to the custody of Aurelius Cyrenius, my high steward.

Another grant of Gallien unto the christian bishops, A.D. 263.

This mandate above prefixed did Gallien send to Dionysius Alexandrinus, and other bishops, as is premised. Another rescript also the said emperor sent to other christian bishops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places[4] where they were wont to associate together, called of them Cœmeteria.

By this it may appear that some peace was granted then under this Gallien to the church of Christ: albeit not so, but that some there were who suffered, of whom was one Marinus, mentioned in Eusebius.[5] This Marinus, being a warrior and a nobleman at Cæsarea in Palestine, stood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of course was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him, that should follow next after him, supplanted him both of office and life; for he accused him to be a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, he being against their religion. Whereupon Achæus, then being judge, examined him of his faith; who, finding him to be a Christian indeed, and constantly to stand to his profession, gave him three hours to deliberate and advise with himself. There was about the same time bishop at Cæsarea, one named Theotecnus;[6] who, perceiving him to stand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himself, took him by the hand, and brought him into the church of the Christians, laying before him a sword (which he had under his cloak for the same purpose) and a book of the New Testament; and so willed him to take

Marinus, martyr.

Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea.

(1) Tillemont takes the same view as Foxe, "Mémoires," tom. iv. pt. 1, pp. 39—41.—Ed.
(2) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 13.—Ed.
(3) Ἀποχωρήσωσι, *i. e.* desist from molesting.—Ed
(4) *i. e.* the burial grounds.—Ed.
(5) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 15.—Ed.
(6) Otherwise called "Theoctistus." Ibid. cap. 5.—Ed.

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his free choice which of them he would prefer. The soldier immediately, without delay, ran to the book of the gospel, taking that before the sword. And thus he, being animated by the bishop, presented himself boldly before the judge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr.[1] Whose dead body one Astyrius, a noble senator of Rome, a man very wealthy and among the chief of that order (who in the same time was there present at his martyrdom), took up and bare upon his own shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed, and so honourably committed it to burial.[2]

Astyrius, a rich senator and confessor.

Of which Astyrius the said author writeth moreover this story; how that in the aforesaid city of Cæsarea, the gentiles used there, of an ancient custom, to offer up a certain sacrifice by a fountain side, the which sacrifice, by the working of the devil, was wont suddenly to vanish out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the bystanders. Astyrius seeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the devil any longer: by the virtue of whose prayer the sacrifice was seen to swim in the water of the fountain; and so the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more.

The work of Satan disappointed by the prayer of Astyrius.

A miracle noted in Eusebius.

And because mention is made here of Cæsarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle, if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the same city was the woman who in the gospel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody issue, her house being in the city of Cæsarea. Before the door thereof was set up a certain pillar of stone, and upon the pillar was an image, made of brass, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands, as one that had some suit. Against the which there was another image of a man, proportioned of the same metal; standing upright, dressed decently in a short vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which pillar grew up a certain herb of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation; which growing up to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have had such virtue, that it was able to cure all manner of diseases. This image of the man (they say) represented our Saviour. The history is written in Eusebius, as is said; the credit whereof I refer to the reader, whether he will think it true or false. If he think it false, yet I have showed him mine author: if he think it true, then must he think withal that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the virtue of the one image, nor by the prayer of the other (being both dumb figures, and engraven no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels); but to be wrought by some secret permission of God's wisdom, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the belief of the story, or to admonish the Christians to consider with themselves what strength and health was to be looked for only of Christ and no other advocate; seeing the dumb image, engraven in brass, gave his efficacy to a poor herb, to cure so many diseases. This image (saith Eusebius) remained also to his time, which was under Constantine the Great.[4]

A miraculous operation of an herb, touching the hem of Christ's image, to heal diseases.

No virtue to be ascribed to images.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 15.—Ed.
(2) Ibid. cap. 16.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. cap. 17.—Ed.
(4) Ibid. cap. 18.—Ed.

The Ninth Persecution.

A.D. 275 to 284.

As touching the line and order of the Roman bishops hitherto intermitted; after the martyrdom of Sixtus above specified, the government of that church was committed next to one Dionysius, about the year of our Lord 259; who continued in the same the space of nine years, as Eusebius saith: as Damasus recordeth, but only six years and two months. Of his decretal epistles, because sufficient hath been said before concerning that matter, I omit to speak. After whom succeeded Felix, toward the first year of Aurelian the emperor, about the year of our Lord 269, who governed that church five years, and died, as Platina saith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychian, and then Caius, both martyrs, as the histories of some do record.

Dionysius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 259.

Felix, Eutychian, and Caius, bishops of Rome, and martyrs.

About the time of these bishops lived Theodore bishop of Neocæsarea [in Pontus], who is otherwise called Gregory the Great, whom also Nicephorus, for his miracles, calleth *θαυματούργην*.

Thus Gallien the aforesaid emperor reigned, as is declared, with his father Valerian seven years, after whose captivity he ruled the monarchy alone about eight years, with some peace and quietness granted to the church.

Claudius II. emperor, A.D. 268.

The days of this Gallien being expired, followed Claudius II. a quiet emperor, as most histories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mover of persecution against the Christians, and maketh mention of two hundred sixty and two martyrs, who in his time did suffer; but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius (who would not have omitted some memorial thereof, if it had been true), therefore I refer the same to the free judgment of the reader, to find such credit as it may. This Claudius reigned but two years, after whom came Quintillus his brother, next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but only seventeen days, and had to his successor Aurelian; under whom Orosius, in his seventh book, doth number the ninth persecution against the Christians.[1]

Quintillus, emperor, A.D. 270.

THE NINTH PERSECUTION.

Aurelian, emperor, A.D. 270.

The good beginning of Aurelian.

Hitherto from the captivity of Valerian, the church of Christ was in some quietness till the death of Quintillus, as hath been declared; after whom Aurelian the next successor possessed the crown; who in the first beginning of his reign (after the common manner of all princes) showed himself a prince moderate and discreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was severe, and rigorous in correcting, dissolute in manners; insomuch as it was said of him in a vulgar proverb, "That he was a good physician, saving that he gave too bitter medicines." This emperor when sick, never sent for a physician, but cured himself with abstinence. And as his beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the Christians, whom he did not only tolerate in their religion, but also their councils; and they, being the same time assembled at Antioch, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding, in continuance of time, through sinister motion and instigation of certain about him (as commonly such are never absent in all places from the ears of princes), his nature, somewhat

A proverb: a good physician, but he giveth too bitter medicines.

The council of Antioch.

(1) See Pagi, Crit. in Baron. Ann. Eccl., ad an. 272, § 8.—Ed.

The Ninth Persecution.

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inclinable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny first he showed, beginning with the death of his own sister's son, as witnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to move, or at least to purpose, persecution against the Christians; albeit that wicked purpose of the emperor the merciful working of God's hand did soon overthrow. For when the edict or proclamation should have been published for the persecuting of the Christians, and the emperor was now ready to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above did stop his purpose, binding (as a man might say) the emperor's hands behind him, declaring (as Eusebius saith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence against the servants of God, unless his permission do suffer them, and give them leave.[1] Eusebius in his Chronicle and Orosius affirm, that, as the said Aurelian was beginning to raise persecution against us, he was suddenly terrified with lightning; and that not long after, about the fifth or sixth year of his reign, he was slain between Byzantium and Heraclea (as also Eutropius and Vopiscus affirm), in the year of our Lord 275. Thus Aurelian rather intended than moved persecution; neither is there any more than this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the church: wherefore I marvel the more, that Vincentius, collecting out of the Martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs, which in France and in Italy (saith he) suffered death and torments under this emperor Aurelian; whereunto Orosius also seemeth to agree in numbering this, under the said Aurelian, to be the ninth persecution.[2]

A notable example of God's hand stopping persecution.

No power against the people of God, except God give leave.

The death of Aurelian, A.D. 275.

Next after Aurelian the succession of the empire fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who reigned but six months; him succeeded his brother Florian, who reigned but threescore days; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus.[3] Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appear.

Tacitus, emperor.

Florian, emperor.

In the mean time, within the compass of these emperors falleth in a story recorded of Eusebius, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to understand the faithful diligence of good ministers, what good it may do in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius the deacon of Dionysius, whom God stirred up to visit and comfort the saints that were in prison and bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made bishop (as is said) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea, to be bishop there, it chanced, while the said Eusebius was remaining as yet at Alexandria, the city was besieged of the Romans, in that part of it called Bruchium.[4] In which siege part of the city did hold with the Romans, the other part withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman captain was Eusebius, being also in great favour with the captain for his worthy fidelity and service showed. With the other part, that resisted the Romans, was Anatolius,

Eusebius, deacon of Alexandria.

Anatolius, rector of the university of Alexandria.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 30.—Ed. (2) Oros. lib. vii. c. 23, 27. See Appendix.—Ed.
(3) Ex Eutropio et Victore, cap. 36.—Ed.
(4) Ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοῦ Πυρουχείου πολιορκίᾳ. Euseb. Foxe had misunderstood Πυρουχείου to be the name of the Roman general. Pyruchium still remains in the text of Eusebius; but Valesius has shown from Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxii.) and the chronicle of Eusebius, etc. that *Bruchium* is the correct reading. Ὥκει δὲ ἐν τῷ Προυχίῳ περὶ τὸν ὁρόμον, ἐν τόπῳ οὕτω καλουμένῳ περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Apollonii Dyscoli Vita, quoted by Vales. in Euseb. vii. 32.—Ed.

The Ninth Persecution.

A. D 275 to 284.

governor or moderator then of the school of Alexandria, who also was bishop, after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatolius, perceiving the citizens to be in miserable distress of famine and [peril of] destruction, by reason of penury and lack of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius being then with the Romans, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the city, instructing him moreover what to do in the matter. Eusebius, understanding the case, repaireth to the captain, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would fly out of the city from their enemies, might be licensed to escape and freely to pass, which was to him eftsoons granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captain, on the other side Anatolius for his part laboured with the citizens, moving them to assemble together, and persuading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof, "yet," said Anatholius, "with this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you in this miserable lack of things to void out of your city all such persons as are superfluous and unnecessary incumbrances about you, as old women, young children, aged men, with such others as be feeble and impotent; and not suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they die, and less if they live, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serve them that be more able to defend the city." The senate hearing this counsel, and understanding moreover the grant of the captain promising them their safety, were well consenting thereunto. Then Anatolius, having a special care to them that belonged to the church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and persuading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to void the city; and not only them, but also a great number of others more, who persuaded by him, under that pretence, changing themselves in women's apparel, or feigning some impotency, so escaped out of the city. At whose coming out, Eusebius on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies; whereby not only they, but the whole city of Alexandria was preserved from destruction.[1]

The piety of Anatolius and Eusebius to their country.

The prelates of Rome are clean contrary to these good prelates.

By this little history of Eusebius and Anatolius, described in Eusebius, and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle reader) thou mayst partly understand the practice of the prelates, what it was in those days in the church; which was then only employed in saving of life, and succouring the commonwealths wherein they lived, as by these two godly persons Eusebius and Anatolius may well appear. Unto the which practice if we compare the practice of our later prelates of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appear.

Marcus Aurelius Probus, emperor, A.D. 276. Peace in the church.

The saying of Marcus Aurelius.

The next emperor to Florian (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wise and virtuous, and no less valiant in martial affairs, than fortunate in the success of the same. During his time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the church, but much quietness as well in matters of religion as also in the commonwealth. Insomuch that, after his great and many victories, such peace ensued, that his saying was: "There needed no more soldiers, seeing there were no more enemies for the commonwealth to fight

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 32.—Ed.

against." It was his saying also, "that his soldiers need not to spend corn and victual, except they laboured to serve the commonwealth." And for the same cause he caused his soldiers to be set at work about certain mountains at Sirmium in Pannonia and in Mœsia, to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest; therefore by them at length he was slain, after he had reigned the space of six years and four months, in the year of our Lord 282.[1]

The Ninth Persecution.

A. D. 275 to 284

Marcus Aurelius slai, A. D. 282.

Carus, with his two sons Carinus and Numerian, succeeded next after Probus in the empire; the reign of which emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which three, first Carus, warring against the Persians, was slain with lightning. Of Numerian his son, being with his father in his wars against the Persians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers, who testify him to be a valiant warrior; and an eloquent orator, as appeareth by his declamations and writings sent to the senate; and thirdly, to be an excellent poet. This Numerian, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great soreness of his eyes; by reason whereof he, keeping close, was slain not long after of his father-in-law, named Aper; who, traitorously aspiring to the empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people asking for him, saying, "For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather;" till at length, by the stench of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.

Carus, with his two sons, emperors

In the life of this emperor Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius in the later edition set forth by Frobenius,[2] I find (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appear), that Numerian, the son of this Carus, was he that slew Babylas the holy martyr, whose history before we have comprehended. But that seemeth not to be likely, both by the narrative of Chrysostom, and also for that Urspergensis (declaring the same history, and in the same words, as it is in Eutropius) saith that it was Cyril whom Numerian killed; the story whereof is this: "What time Carus the emperor, in his journey going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerian his son would enter into the church of the Christians, to view and behold their mysteries. But Cyril their bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the church, saying, "that it was not lawful for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with sacrifices of idols." Numerian, full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyril, in his fury did slay the godly martyr. And therefore justly (as it seemed) was he himself slain afterward by the hands of Aper.[3]

Correction of a certain place of Eutropius.

Cyril resisteth the emperor.

Cyril, bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Thus Carus with his son Numerian being slain in the East parts, as is declared, Carinus the other son reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus striving for the empire, and reigned there with

(1) Eutrop. [lib. ix. § 11.]—Ed.

(2) Ex editione Frobeniana. It bears the title "Eutropii insigne volumen, quo Rom. historia universa describitur ex divers auc. &c. collecta, edente Sigis. Gelenio;" Basileæ, 1532; and again in 1569: and Foxe might easily discover in *it*, what was not supplied by other and more genuine editions, this of Frobenius being the History of Eutropius as interpolated by Paul, deacon of Aquileia (who lived at the end of the eighth century), and is entitled "Historia Miscella; quæ Eutropii historiam (says Tzschucke, his last editor) non solum iisdem verbis, etsi alia multa assuat vel intertexat, reddit, sed et ab initio auget et ad ulteriora tempora prosequitur.—Decuplo major exhibetur Eutropius in edit. Basil, 1532." This will satisfactorily account for Foxe's discovery.—Ed.

(3) Ex Chroni. Urspergen. [Eutrop. lib. ix. § 5.—Ed]

The Ninth Persecution.

A.D. 275 to 284.

much wickedness, till the returning home of the army again from the Persians, who then set up Dioclesian to be emperor; by whom the aforesaid Carinus, for the wickedness of his life being forsaken of his host, was overcome, and at length slain with the hand of the tribune, whose wife before he had deflowered. Thus Carus with his two sons, Numerian and Carinus, ended their lives, whose reign continued not above three years.

Carinus, emperor, slain, A.D. 284.

All this mean space we read of no great persecution stirring in the church of Christ, but it was in mean quiet state and tranquillity, unto the nineteenth year of the reign of Dioclesian; so that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian unto this aforesaid year of Dioclesian, the peace of the church, which God gave to his people, seemeth to continue about four and forty years; during the which time of peace and tranquillity, the church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous; insomuch that (as Eusebius in his eighth book describeth)[1] amongst the emperors themselves, divers there were who not only bare singular good-will and favour to them of our profession, but also did commit unto them offices and regiments over countries and nations; and so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they privileged the same with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to speak of those who not only lived under the emperors in liberty, but also were familiar in the court with the princes themselves, entertained with great honour and special favour beyond the other servitors of the court: as was Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, highly accepted and advanced in the palace of the emperor; also Gorgonius in like manner; with divers others more, who, for their doctrine and learning which they professed, were with their princes in great estimation. In like reverence also were the bishops of cities and dioceses with the prefects and rulers where they lived; who not only suffered them to live in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God's favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in every city, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cause they, being not able to be contained in their old edifices, had large and great churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by process of time did the church of Christ grow and shoot up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could enchant, neither the crafty policy of man's wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God's heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of christian life.

The peace of the church from Valerian to the tenth persecution lasted four and forty years.

Dorotheus Gorgonius, Christians of great reputation in the emperor's court.

The peaceable state of the church described.

Corruption, through much peace and prosperity, crept into the church.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of itself unruly and untoward, always seeketh and desireth prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace always abuseth the same: so here likewise it happened with these

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 1.—Ed.

men, who through this so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish into idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves, for every occasion, with railing words after most despiteful manner; bishops against bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another; besides also cursed hypocrisy and simulation with all extremity increasing more and more. By reason whereof the judgment of God, after his wonted manner (the multitude of the faithful as yet meeting in their assemblies), began by little and little to visit the people with persecution, falling first upon the brethren who were abroad in warfare. But when that touched the others nothing or very little, neither did they seek to appease God's wrath, and call for his mercy, but wickedly thought with themselves, that God neither regarded nor would visit their transgressions, they heaped iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they who seemed to be pastors, rejecting the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one against another. And thus, whilst they were given only to the study of contentions, threatenings, emulations, envy and mutual hatred, every man seeking for himself the first place in the church of Christ, as if it were a secular principality: then, then, (saith Eusebius) according to the voice of Jeremy, "the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his anger: the Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Israel, and thrown down all his strongholds."[1] And as it is predicted in the Psalms, "He hath made void the covenant of his servant, and profaned his sanctuary in the earth [to wit, by the destruction of the churches]. He hath broken down all his hedges, he hath made his strongholds fear. All the multitudes of the people that pass by the way spoil him, and further, he is a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his enemies, and hath turned away the help of his sword, and hath not assisted him in the war. But he hath put an end to his purification, and hath broken his throne by casting it to the ground. The days of his life hath he shortened, and, lastly, covered him with ignominy."[2] All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the temples razed from the top to the ground, and the sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market-place, and the pastors of the church to hide themselves, some here, some there; others of them ignominiously apprehended, and exposed to the scorn of their enemies; when also, according to the saying of the prophet in another place, "Contempt was poured upon the princes, and he caused them to wander in the wilderness, where there was no way."[3]

The Tenth Persecution.

A. D. 303 to 313.

Hatred and disdain among the churchmen.

Christians persecuting one another.

The wrath of God toward his people.

THE TENTH PERSECUTION.

By reason whereof the wrath of God being kindled against his church, ensued the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it maketh the pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so tedious that never was any persecution before or

(1) Lament. ii. 1, 2.
(2) Psalm lxxxix. 39, etc. These passages are translated exactly from Eusebius's text.—Ed.
(3) Psalm cvii. 40.

The Tenth Persecution. A. D. 303 to 313.

since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten years together. This persecution, although it passed through the hands of divers tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Dioclesian, who was emperor, as is above noted, next after Carinus and Numerian. This Dioclesian, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be emperor.[1] To whom, when serving in Gaul as a common soldier, a Druidess foretold, "that after he had killed a wild boar, he should be emperor." He, taking effect at these words, used much to kill with his hands wild boars; but seeing no success to come thereof, he used this proverb: "Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur," that is, "I kill the boars, but others eat the flesh." At length the said Dioclesian, being nominated to be emperor, and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerian the emperor) standing thereby, sware to the soldiers that Numerian was wrongfully killed; and forthwith, running upon Aper with his sword, slew him.[2] After this, he being stablished in the empire, and seeing on every side divers and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himself to sustain, in the first beginning of his reign he chooseth for his colleague Maximian, surnamed Herculius, father of Maxentius. Which two emperors, because of divers wars that rose in many provinces, chose to them two other noblemen, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called Cæsars; of whom Galerius was sent into the east parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent over to Britain, to this our country of England, to recover the tribute, where he took to wife Helena the daughter of king Coel, who was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no less famously brought up in the study of learning,[3] of whom was born Constantine the Great.

Dioclesian, emperor. A.D. 284.

Aper slain. A.D. 290.

Maximian fellow emperor with Dioclesian.

Helena, daughter of Coel, married to Constantine.

All this while hitherto no persecution was yet stirred of these four princes against the church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they governed the commonwealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great victories: Dioclesian in Egypt, Maximian in Africa and in France, Galerius in Persia, Constantine in England, and in France also. By reason of which victories, Dioclesian and Maximian, puffed up in pride, ordained a solemn triumph at Rome: after which triumph Dioclesian gave commandment that he should be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the sun and moon; and adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kiss his feet.

Pride in Dioclesian.

And not long after, by the judgment of God for certain enormities used in the church (above touched), began the great and grievous persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Dioclesian, which was about the nineteenth year of his reign, who in the month of March, when the feast of Easter was nigh at hand,[4]

Cruelty followeth pride. A.D. 303.

(1) Eutrop. lib. ix. § 16; Vopisc. Numer. § 13, 15.—Ed.

(2) Vopiscus, vitâ Numeriani, whence Foxe's text has been a little altered.—Ed.

(3) This is a disputed point. "Helenam mulierem *vilissimam*, Daciæ Nayso, ut conjectura est, ortam, vel *uxorem* habuit, vel *concubinam*. Qua de re variant auctores." Basnagii Annales Historico-Polit. ad an. 292, § 3; who gives references to Zosimus, lib. ii. cap. 8. Aurelius Victor: Stephanus De Urbibus, etc.—Ed.

(4) Eusebius, in his Chronicle, also says "March," "in diebus Paschæ;" but in the history of the Martyrs of Palestine, he says it was in April. Lactantius states, that the destruction of the churches and the burning of the Scriptures began February 23, being the Roman Terminalia; and that next day the edict was published for depriving Christians of office. ("De Mort. Persec." cap. 13.) Easter day fell in A.D. 303, on April 18.—Ed.

commanded all the churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the books of holy Scripture to be burnt. *The Tenth Persecution.*

The most violent edicts and proclamations, as is said, were set forth throughout all the Roman empire, for the overthrowing of the christian temples. Neither did there want in the officers any cruel execution of the same proclamations; for their temples were [already] defaced when they celebrated the feast of Easter. The same proclamations contained orders for the burning of the books of the holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open market-place, as before stated: Item, for the displacing of such as were magistrates, and all others whosoever bare any office, and that with great ignominy: Item, for imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the heathen religion. And this was the first edict given out by Dioclesian. And these were the beginnings of the Christians' evils.[1]

A. D. 303 to 313.

Christian temples destroyed.

Books of the Scriptures burnt.

Christian magistrates displaced, and Christian subjects imprisoned.

It was not long after, but that new edicts were sent forth (nothing for their cruelty inferior to the first), for the casting of the elders and bishops into prison, and then constraining them with sundry kinds of punishments to offer unto their idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution against the governors of the church; amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversely; some were scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges, some were cruciated with racks and razings of their flesh that were intolerable; some one way, some another way put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the impure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Others, neither coming at all to their altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that stood by, that they had sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies quietly went away. Others, as dead men, were carried and cast away, being but half dead. Some they cast down upon the pavement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, others there were who stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice; of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying, that neither they had nor ever would be partakers of that idolatry. And these, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the saints did seem never so little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit, all this purpose of the adversary did nothing prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weak sort innumerable there were, who for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first brunt.[2]

Bishops and elders constrained with torments to sacrifice.

On the first publishing of the edict against the churches at Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Christian, who was no obscure person, but eminently illustrious for

The noble courage and constancy of a martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 2, whence several corrections have been made in the text; also Basnagii annales ad an. 303, § 5, and Lactant. de M.P. § 12.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. cap. 2, 3. Nicephorus, lib. vii. cap. 3, 4. Zonaras, tom. ii.—Ed.

The Tenth Persecution. A.D. 303 to 313.

secular honour and esteem; who, moved by a zeal of God, after the proclamation was set up, by and by ran and took down the same, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two emperors, then being in the city. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancy endured, even to the last gasp.[1]

Persecution first beginning in the emperor's camp.

After this, the furious rage of the malignant emperors, being let loose against the saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making havoc of God's people throughout all quarters of the world. Dioclesian (who had purposed with himself to subvert the whole christian religion) executed his tyranny in the East, and Maximian in the West. But wily Dioclesian began very subtilely; for he put the matter first in practice in the camp, where his lieutenant[2] (as Eusebius affirmeth) put the christian soldiers to this choice; whether they would obey the emperor's commandment in that manner of sacrifice he commanded, and so both to keep their offices, and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armour and weapons.

A notable religion and faith in soldiers.

Whereunto the christian men courageously answered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the emperor. There might a man have seen very many who were desirous to live a simple and poor life, and who regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godliness. And this was no more but a subtle and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward, by little and little, the enemy began more manifestly to burst out into persecution.[3] After the second edict, commanding that all the governors of churches should be committed to prison; the sight of what was then done, no expressions are sufficient to describe; when infinite multitudes were every where committed to custody, and the prisons, which had formerly been provided for murderers and robbers of the dead, were then filled with bishops, priests, and deacons, readers and exorcists; insomuch that there was now no place left therein for those who had been condemned for their crimes. Again, when another edict offered the choice to the imprisoned, of liberty on sacrificing, or a thousand tortures on refusal, it can hardly be expressed with words what number of martyrs, and what blood was shed, throughout all cities and regions for the name of Christ.[4]

Martyrs of Palestine and Phœnicia.

Eusebius saith, that he himself knew some worthy martyrs that suffered in Palestine; and others in Tyre of Phœnicia. He declareth, in the same place, of a marvellous martyrdom made at Tyre, where certain Christians being given to most cruel wild beasts, were preserved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those bears, boars, leopards and bulls (kept hungry for that purpose, and stimulated with hot irons), had no desire to

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 5. See infrà, p. 232.—Ed.

(2) Στρατοπεδάρχης, Eusebius; who in his Chronicle says that this man's name was Veturius. Foxe renders the word "Marshal of the field," but see infrà, p. 241, note (3.)—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 4.—Ed.

(4) Ibid. cap. 6.—Ed.

devour them; which, notwithstanding, most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the stage, who, standing (as they thought) out of danger of them, were first devoured; but the christian martyrs, because they could not be hurt of the beasts, being slain with the sword, were afterward thrown into the sea.[1] At that time was martyred the bishop of Tyre, whose name was Tyrannio, who was made meat for the fishes at Antioch; and Zenobius, a presbyter of Sidon and a skilful physician, who died under the torments at the same place. Sylvanus, bishop of Emisa, a notable martyr, together with certain others, was thrown to the wild beasts at Emisa. But Sylvanus, the bishop of Gaza, was slain with nine and thirty others at the copper mines of Phæno.[2] At Cæsarea, Pamphilus a presbyter, who was the glory of that church, died a most worthy martyr;[3] whose life Eusebius hath written in a book by itself, and whose commendable martyrdom (as he had promised in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter) he hath declared in another treatise.[4]

The Tenth Persecution. A. D. 303 to 313.

Tyrannio, martyr.

Zenobius, a physician, martyr

Furthermore, he maketh mention in the same book of others at Antioch who were broiled on gridirons set over the fire—yet not to death, but so as to protract their punishment; of some others that were brought to the sacrifices, and commanded to do sacrifice, who would rather thrust their right hand into the fire, than touch the profane or wicked sacrifice; also of some others, that, before they were apprehended, would cast down themselves from steep places, lest that, being taken, they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two virgins very fair and proper, with their mother also, who had studiously brought them up, even from their infancy, in all godliness, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their keepers; who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves down headlong into a river. Also of two other young maidens, being sisters, and of a worshipful stock, indued with many goodly virtues, who were cast of persecutors into the sea; and these things were done at Antioch, as Eusebius, in his eighth book and twelfth chapter, affirmeth.

Martyrs of Antioch.

Two virgins with their mother, martyrs.

Two sisters.

Divers and sundry torments were the Christians in Mesopotamia molested with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the smoke of a small fire strangled; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken.[5]

Martyrs of Mesopotamia and Cappadocia.

Henry of Herford[6] maketh mention of the martyrs of Tarsus in Cilicia, as Taracus, Probus, and Andronicus: but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus suffered far more passing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention.[7] So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bithynia, as before is said, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the most chief princes and pages of his court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own children. Such an one was Peter, who among divers and sundry torments as a victorious martyr ended his life; who, being stripped naked, was lifted up, and his whole body so beaten and torn with whips, that a man might see

Martyrs of Tarsus and Pontus.

Martyrs of Nicomedia.

Persecution in Nicomedia exceeding.

Peter a most valiant and constant martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 7.—Ed.
(2) The mines of Phæno were near Petra in Idumea. Hoffman's Lex.—Ed.
(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.—Ed.
(4) "De Martyr. Palæstin." cap. 11.—Ed.
(5) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 12.—Ed.
(6) The "Acta Proconsularia," first printed by Baronius (an. 290, § 2), respecting these martyrs, are better authority.—Ed.
(7) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 12.—Ed.

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the bare bones; and after they had mingled vinegar and salt together, they poured it upon the most tender parts of his body, and lastly, roasted him at a slow fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, being in a great authority and office under the emperor, after divers torments were strangled with a halter; both which being of his privy chamber, when they saw and beheld the grievous punishment of Peter their household companion, "Wherefore," say they, "O emperor, do you punish in Peter that opinion which is in all us? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confess? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of." Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almost with like pains to be tormented as Peter was, and afterwards hanged.[1] After whom Anthimus, the bishop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confession, bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. To this end came Lucian, a presbyter of the church of Antioch, who also was martyred after he had made his apology [at Nicomedia] before the emperor. These men being thus dispatched, the emperor vainly thought that he might cause the rest to do whatever him listed.[2]

Dorotheus and Gorgonius, martyrs.

Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, with a great multitude beheaded.

Hermannus Gigas[3] hath reported Serena, the wife of Diocletian the emperor, to be martyred for the christian religion:[4] so much did the rage of persecution utterly forget all natural affection. Other martyrs doth Nicephorus recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, at Nicomedia; Agape, Irene, Chionia, [at Thessalonica];[5] and Anastasia, a Roman lady, who, under the prefect of Illyricum, was bound hand and foot to a post and burnt.[6] He mentions, also, a matter full of horror and grief. There assembled together in their temple many christian men to celebrate the memory of the nativity of Christ; of every age and sort some. Maximian, thinking to have a very fit occasion given him to execute his tyranny upon the poor Christians, sent thither such as should burn the temple. The doors being shut and closed round about, thither came they with fire; but first they commanded the crier with a loud voice to cry, that whosoever would have life, should come out of the temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter they came to; and unless they would do this, they should all be burnt with the temple. Then one stepping up in the temple answered in the name of all the rest with great courage and boldness of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God and King, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghost; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled, and compassed about the temple, and there were burnt of men, women. and children, certain thousands.[7] There were also in Arabia

Serena, wife of Diocletian.

Martyrs.

Some thousands of martyrs burnt together in one church.

Martyrs of Arabia.

Martyrs in a certain city of Phrygia burnt.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 6.—Ed. (2) Ibid. cap. 6, 13.—Ed.

(3) Cited by the Magdeburg Centuriators (cent. 4. cap. 3); and again (cap. 13), somewhat disparagingly, as author of "De Floribus Temporum." He was named "Gigas," no doubt, to distinguish him from Herman "Contract."—Ed.

(4) A very doubtful story, unless, according to Tillemont (Mémoires, tom. iv. pt. 3, p. 1361), Prisca, the queen, is meant: still she is not considered a martyr. This subject is discussed in Cuper's Notes on "Lactantius, De Morte Persecut." cap. 50. Basnage considers that the work of Lactantius, "De Morte Persecutorum," has, both in this and several other instances, supplied much better than the current information: "Serenam Augustam Cæsarum throno pellit (Lactant.), ut in eo Priscam, veram Diocletiani conjugem, collocet." "Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 303, § 10.—Ed. (5) The place is supplied from the Martyrologies.—Ed.

(6) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 14.—Ed.

(7) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 6. Nicephorus says διςμυρίους, 20,000, which seems enormous.—Ed.

very many martyrs slain with axes.[1] There was in Phrygia a city, unto which the emperor sent his edicts, that they should do sacrifice to the gods, and worship idols; on which all the citizens, including the quæstor and the chief magistrate,[2] confessed that they were all Christians. The city upon this was besieged and set on fire, and all the people burnt.[3] At Sebaste, in lesser Armenia, Eustratius was martyred. This Eustratius, as Nicephorus declareth, was born in Arabrace, a region near adjoining to Armenia,[4] and very skilful in Greek learning, and executed the office of scribe to Lysias, who was governor of the east and a cruel minister of the persecution there against the Christians. This man, beholding the marvellous constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire of martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the christian religion. Therefore he, not abiding for other accusers, detected himself, and worthily professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked gentiles. He therefore, being carried away, was first tied up, and most bitterly beaten. After that, he was parched with fire being put into his bowels, and then basted with salt and vinegar; and lastly, so scotched and bemangled with the shards of sharp and cutting shells, that his whole body seemed to be all one continual wound: howbeit, by God's great goodness, afterward it was restored to the first integrity. After this he was carried away to Sebaste before Agricolaus, where, with his companion Orestes, he was burnt. Nicephorus saith, that at Nicopolis, in greater Armenia, the martyrs were in most miserable and pitiful wise handled, where Lysias had the execution thereof; at which time suffered Eugene, Auxentius, and Mardarius.[5] In Chalcedon suffered Euphemia, under Priscus the proconsul.[6] And in no less wise raged this persecution throughout all Egypt, where Eusebius maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus, martyrs and bishops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable conflicts of christian and true constant martyrs that suffered; which Phileas the bishop of Thmuis[7] describeth, as after (God willing) shall be declared. In this persecution at Alexandria, the principal that then suffered was Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, with the elders of the same, most worthy martyrs: as Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius, also Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius, and Theodorus; who all were bishops of the churches within Egypt, and besides them many other both famous and singular men.[8] The whole legion of christian soldiers, usually quartered at Thebes in Egypt,[9] under the christian captain Maurice, when they would not obey the emperor's commandment touching the worshipping of images, were tithed to death once, and then again: and at last, through the exhortation of Maurice, died all together like constant martyrs.[10] Likewise at Antinoe in Egypt divers christian

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Martyrs in Armenia.

Eustratius, a martyr

Bishops and martyrs in Egypt.

The christian soldiers and martyrs of Thebes and Antinoe.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 12.—Ed. (2) Στρατηγὸς, sheriff. See infrà, p. 241, note (3).—Ed.
(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 11. What Foxe adds about the bishops of Meletina is a misconception of Eusebius's meaning.—Ed.
(4) The district seems to be called Orbaliæna. Compare "Martyrol. Rom." by Baronius, p. 544 (Antverpiæ, 1589), and Tillemont, "Mém. Eccles." tom. v. pt. 1, pp. 280, 281.—Ed.
(5) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 14.—Ed. (6) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 77.—Ed.
(7) A city near the Mendesian, or Western, mouth of the Nile.—Ed.
(8) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.—Ed.
(9) The following quotation from Basnage's "Annales Politico-Eccles." (ad an. 301, § 4) has corrected several mistakes in the text. "Harum Legionum unam, quæ tota Christianorum erat, in auxilium Maximiano ab Orientis partibus accitam venisse fertur. Eorum natale Sept. XXII. illigatur. Seduni in Gallia in loco Agauno, natalis SS. Mart. Thebæorum, Mauritii," etc. Foxe mentions these martyrs again infrà, p. 234, more at large.—Ed.
(10) Vincentius in Speculo, lib. xii. cap. 2.—Ed.

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soldiers, notwithstanding they were seriously dissuaded, suffered death together, among whom were Ascla, Philemon, and Apollonius.[1] And also in the other parts of Africa, and Mauritania, was great persecution.[2] Also [in Lesbos;[3] and] in Samos,[4] of which place Chronicon maketh mention; and Sicily, where were seventy-nine martyrs slain for the profession of Christ.[5]

Seventy-nine martyrs.

Now let us come unto Europe. Henry of Herford saith, that at Rome, Johannes and Crispus, being priests, suffered execution as martyrs; and at Bologna,[6] Agricola and Vitalis;[7] and at Aquileia the emperor commanded to kill all the Christians.[8] And among those martyrs he maketh mention of the two Felixes and Fortunatus.[9] Regino also writeth, that in other places of Italy the persecution became great, as at Florence, Bergamo, Naples; at Benevento in Campania; at Venosa in Apulia; and in Tuscany: Henry of Herford saith, also, at Verona. In France, doubtless, Rectius Varus the prefect played the cruel hellhound, of whose great cruelty against the Christians many histories are full.[10] At Marseilles suffered Victor:[11] and at Marseilles, Maximian set forth his decree, that either they should all do sacrifice unto the gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many martyrs there died for the glory of Christ.[12] In Beauvais suffered Lucian.[13]

The persecution in Europe.

Persecution in France.

Lucian, martyr.

Vincentius and Regino[14] write of many places in Spain, where was great persecution, as at Merida, where suffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth hereafter; and Avila, where also suffered Vincentius, Sabina, and Christina.[15] At Toledo suffered Leocadia[16] the virgin; Saragossa were put to death eighteen; besides a great number of other martyrs who suffered under Dacian the governor, who afflicted with persecution all the coasts of Spain, as saith Vincentius.[17] The aforesaid Rectius made such persecution at Treves, near the river of Moselle, that the blood of the christian men that were slain ran like small brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this suffice him, but from thence he sent certain horsemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death.[18]

The persecution in Spain.

Eighteen martyrs in Spain.

Rectius Varus, a notable tyrant.

The blood of the Christians made rivers.

Martyrs in Rhætia.

Also Henry of Herford and Regino make mention of great per-

(1) Vincentius in Speculo, lib. xii. cap. 50.—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 6.

(3) "Lesbos" is introduced from the Centuriators, who refer to Sabellicus, Ennead, vii. lib. 8. See also Baron. Martyrol. April 5th.—Ed.

(4) So say the Centuriators, without naming the Chronicle: Foxe has altered Samos into "Sammium." The chronicles of Regino and Herman Contract both mention "Sirmium," which perhaps misled the Centuriators. See Baron. Martyrol. Feb. 23d.—Ed.

(5) Henr. de Erfordia. See Baron. Martyrol. Feb. 21st.—Ed.

(6) Tillemont, Mém. tom. v. pt. 2, p. 220.—Ed. (7) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 49.—Ed.

(8) Ibid. cap. 58.—Ed. (9) Basnagii Annales, ad an. 303, § 15.—Ed.

(10) Basnage has produced evidence to the contrary. "Purum commentum esse, quæ Baluzius habet de multis Christianis in Gallia ethnico furore cæsis, indicio est veterum silentium." Ad an. 303, § 17.—Ed.

(11) Antonin. et Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 7. Foxe (copying the Centuriators) says Victor suffered at Milan. Vincent (loco citato) mentions two martyrs of that name, one at Milan the other at Marseilles, the latter of whom should here be mentioned, as our author is speaking of French martyrs.—Ed. (12) Ib. cap. 136.

(13) Ibidem. Vincentius (lib. x. cap. 25) places the martyrdom of Lucian of Beauvais under Decius; and he only refers here to his former preaching, as one cause of there being now so many excellent Christians in those parts.—Ed.

(14) Regino, Abbas Prumiensis, floruit circa A.D. 904—chronicon condidit a nativitate Christi ad an. 908, quod primus luci exposuit Seb. de Rotenhan, Moguntiæ, 1521. "Hallervord de Hist. Lat. in Supplem. ad Vossium," (Hamb. 1709,) p. 779. It was afterwards reprinted with Lambert of Aschaffenburg at Frankfort, 1566.—Ed.

(15) Baron. Martyrol. Oct. 27th.—Ed. (16) Baron. Ann. 303, § 139.—Ed.

(17) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 123, 124, 129, 130, 134.—Ed.

(18) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 136.—Ed.

secution to be at Cologne; and also at Augsburg in the province of Rhætia, where was martyred Afra with her mother Hilaria.[1] *The Tenth Persecution.*

Bede also saith, that this persecution reached even unto the Britons, in his book "De ratione temporum." And the Chronicle of Martinus[2] and "the Nosegay of Time"[3] do declare, that all the Christians in Britain were utterly destroyed: furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, as no man's tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the emperor by his subtlety and wiliness rather dallied than showed his rigour, he threatened them with bands and imprisonment: but, within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments, as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire, and ship-boats, wherein a great number being put, were sunk and drowned in the bottom of the sea.[4] Also hanging them upon crosses; binding them to the trunks of trees with their heads downwards; hanging them by the middles upon gallows till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to such kind of wild beasts as would devour them, as boars, bears, leopards and wild bulls;[5] pricking and thrusting them in with bodkins and iron claws, till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in Thebais they did unto the women, being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and so hanging down with their bodies, which thing to see was very pitiful: with other devised sorts of punishments, most tragical or rather tyrannical, and pitiful to describe; as the binding of them to the boughs and arms of trees, forcibly bent together, then pulling and tearing asunder of their members and joints by letting go the said bent boughs and arms of trees;[6] the mangling of them with axes; the choking of them with smoke by small and slow fires; the mutilation of their hands and ears, and cutting off their other limbs; which things the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered: the scorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed; with which kind of torment the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus, other horrible punishments, and fearful to be heard, did the martyrs of Christ suffer; of whom some had their fingers' ends under the nails thrust in with sharp bodkins; some all-to besprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members mutilated; others suffering most filthy and intolerable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members.[7]

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Persecution of England.

Diocletian did but dally in the beginning of the persecution.

Sundry sorts of torments.

The women of Thebais, martyrs.

The persecution in Antioch.

In Pontus.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which reigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundry kinds of new devised punishments the martyrs were afflicted, Phileas, the bishop of Thmuis, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his Epistle to the Thmuitans, the copy whereof Eusebius hath; out of the which we mean here briefly to recite somewhat:

In Alexandria.

(1) Chron. Regin.—Ed.

(2) Polonus, col. 66, edit. Basileæ, 159. Martin Strempus was made grand penitentiary by pope Nicolaus III. in 1277, and soon after archbishop of Gnesen in Poland. "Nihil celebrius ejus chronico" are the words of Fabricius (Biblioth. med. et inf. Lat. tom. v. p. 42, edit. 1754). An accurate edition was published, Coloniæ, 1616.—Ed.

(3) "The Nosegay of Time," by which is meant the "Fasciculus Temporum," written by Wernerus Rolwink, and of which the editions in the fifteenth century are numerous; in a copy before us (fol. 47), "in Anglia pene tota fides extincta est hoc tempore a Maximiano."—Ed.

(4) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 3—6.—Ed. (5) Ibid. cap. 7, 8.—Ed.

(6) Ibid. cap. 9.—Ed. (7) Ibid. cap. 12. See the Centuriators, whom Foxe copies.—Ed.

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Free leave being given to all persons, so disposed, to annoy the Christians, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, others with whips; some again with leathern thongs, and others with ropes. The spectacle of the beating was sometimes interchanged with other torments, exhibiting much wanton cruelty. For some of the martyrs, having their hands tied behind them, were suspended, on the wooden rack, and every limb was stretched out with certain machines: in this position the tormentors, by command of the judge, operated on them all over the body; and not only on the sides (as in the case of murderers), but also on the belly, the legs, and the cheeks they tortured them with scrapers. Others were hung up by one hand at a portico, the consequent straining of their limbs and joints causing them the most dreadful of all pain. Others were bound face to face against pillars, their feet not touching the ground, so that the cords, being strained by the weight of the body, were drawn tighter and tighter. And this they had to endure, not merely while the president was at leisure personally to attend them, but almost the whole day; for when he passed from them to others, he appointed officials to stay by those whom he left, and watch whether any of them, overcome by the tortures, seemed to flinch, charging them to brace with the cords unsparingly, and then when they were about to expire to let them down and haul them along the ground. "No care," said he, "ought to be taken of these Christians; let all treat them as unworthy the name of men." Therefore our adversaries devised this second torture, to follow the beating. There were some, who, after they had been scourged, lay in the stocks, their feet being stretched four holes asunder; insomuch that they were obliged to lie in the stocks with their faces upward, unable to stand because of their fresh wounds, caused by the stripes which they had received all over their bodies. Others threw themselves on the ground, where they lay, by reason of the innumerable wounds made by their tortures exhibiting a spectacle more horrid to behold than the very operation of torture, and bearing on their bodies the varied torments devised against them. Some of the martyrs expired under their tortures, having shamed the adversary by their persevering constancy. Others, being half dead, were shut up in prison, where, in a few days, sinking under their sufferings, they were consummated. The residue having recovered by medical attention, became more stout and confident by time and their abode in prison. Therefore when, afterwards, a new order was issued, and it was put to their choice, whether, by touching the detestable sacrifice, they would free themselves from all molestation, and obtain an acceptable liberty; or whether, refusing to sacrifice, they would abide the sentence of death; without hesitation, they cheerfully proceeded forth to death. For they well knew what was before prescribed to us by the sacred Scriptures: for "he (say they) that sacrificeth to other gods, shall be utterly destroyed:" and again, "Thou shalt have no other gods, but me."[1]

The contents of the epistle of Phileas sent to his congregation

Strange kinds of torments.

Thus much wrote Phileas to the congregation where he was bishop, before he received the sentence of death, being yet in bands; and in the same he exhorteth his brethren constantly to persist after his death in the truth of Christ professed.[2]

A holy martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

Sabellicus, in his seventh Ennead, and eighth book, saith that that christened man, who tore and pulled down the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being flayed alive,[3] and afterwards washed in salt and vinegar, was then slain with this cruel kind of torment. Platina writeth, that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.[4]

The swords blunt, and the hangmen wearied with slaughter.

But, as all their torments were for their horribleness marvellous and notable, and therewithal so studiously devised, and no less grievous and sharp; so, notwithstanding, therewith were these martyrs neither dismayed nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened; so merrily and joyfully sustained they whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius saith, that he himself beheld and saw the huge and

(1) Exodus xxii. 20; xx. 3.—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 10.
(3) "Pelle nudatus." Sabell. et Plat.—Ed.
(4) Sabellic. Ennead. vii. lib. 8. See suprà, p. 226.—Ed.

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great persecution that was done in Thebaid; insomuch that the very swords of the hangmen and persecutors being blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselves for weariness sat down to rest them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet, all this notwithstanding, the murdered Christians showed their marvellous readiness, willingness, and divine fortitude, which they were indued with; with stout courage, joy, and smiling, receiving the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sung even unto the last gasp hymns and psalms to God. So did also the martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas above-mentioned. "The holy martyrs," saith he, "keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, sustained whatsoever affliction and devised punishments they had to lay upon them, and that not only at one time but also the second time, and bore not only all the menaces of the cruel soldiers, wherewith they threatened them in words, but also whatsoever in deed and work they could devise to their destruction; and that with most manly stomachs, excluding all fear by the perfection of their unspeakable love towards Christ; whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed." And Sulpitius saith, in the second book of his Sacred History, that then the Christians, with more greedy desire, pressed and sought for martyrdom, than now they do desire bishoprics.

The marvellous constancy of the martyrs of God in persecution, and at the time of death.

Martyrdom more desired in the old time than bishoprics be now!

Although some there were also, as I have said, that with fear and threatenings, and by their own infirmities, were overcome and went back,[1] among whom Socrates nameth Meletius,[2] whom Athanasius, in his second Apology, calleth the bishop of Lycopolis, a city in Little Egypt; whom Peter the bishop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed unto the Gentiles' gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus, the bishop of Rome, I will speak afterwards; for he, being persuaded by others, and especially by the emperor Diocle-sian himself, did sacrifice; whereupon he was excommunicated. But afterwards he, repenting the same, was again received into the congregation, and made martyr, as Platina and the compiler of the Book of the General Councils affirm. The number of the martyrs increased daily; sometimes ten, sometimes twenty were slain at once; some whiles thirty, and oftentimes threescore; and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death.[3] Also Damasus, Bede, Orosius, Honorius, and others do witness, that there were slain in this persecution by the name of martyrs, within the space of thirty days, seventeen thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the metal mines and quarries with like cruelty.

Christians that denied in this persecution.

Meletius revolteth from the faith.

Marcellinus revolteth, cometh again to the faith, and is martyred.

A hundred martyrs in one day.

Seventeen thousand martyrs in one month.

Three hundred slain.

Mauritius, with six thousand six hundred and sixty six martyrs.

At Alexandria, with Peter the bishop, of whom I have made mention before, were slain with axes three hundred and above, as Sabellicus declareth; Gereon[4] was beheaded at Cologne, with three hundred of his fellows, as saith Henry of Herford; Maurice, the captain of

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 3.—Ed. (2) Socrates, lib. i. cap. 6. Ed.
(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 9.—Ed.
(4) "At Cologne the walls of St. Gereon are to be seen full of the bones of the martyred Roman legion." Christian Observer, 1840, p. 29. And yet, notwithstanding the use which is made of cathedrals on the continent, in upholding superstition, and making money thereby, we have writers in protestant publications in England rejoicing that the cathedral at Cologne is being now completed according to the original design, apparently just because it is a *cathedral!*—a place too where, we presume, the three kings (so called) are still exhibited!—Ed.

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the christian legion,[1] with his fellows, six thousand six hundred and sixty-six. Victor, in the city of Troy, now called Xanthus, was slain, with his fellows, three hundred and threescore, as saith Otho of Frisingen.[2] Regino reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

Victor slain.

And forsomuch as mention here hath been made of Maurice and Victor, the particular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado, and other story-writers, as ensueth.

The history of Maurice, captain of the Theban soldiers.

Maurice came out of Syria into France,[3] being captain of the band of the Theban soldiers, to the number of six thousand six hundred and threescore, being sent for of Maximian, to go against the rebellious Bagaudæ; but rather, as it should seem, by the reason of the tyrant, who thought he might better in these quarters use his tyranny upon the Christians, than in the east part. These Thebans, with Maurice the captain,[4] after they had entered into Rome, were there, of Marcellinus the blessed bishop, confirmed in the faith, promising by oath, that they would rather be slain of their enemies, than forsake that faith which they had received; who followed the emperor's host through the Alps even into France. At that time the Cæsareans were encamped not far from the town called Octodurum,[5] where Maximian offered sacrifice to his devils, and called all the soldiers, both of the east and west, to the same, strictly charging them by the altars of his gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bagaudæ, and persecute the christian enemies of the emperor's gods; which his commandment was showed to the Thebans' host, who were also encamped about the river Rhone, and in a place that was named Agaunum:[6] but to Octodurum they would in no wise come, for that every man did certainly appoint and persuade with themselves, rather in that place to die, than either to sacrifice to the gods, or bear armour against the Christians; which thing indeed very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their oath before taken to Maximian, when he sent for them.[7] Wherewith the tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, whereto strivingly and with great rejoicing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and

Every tenth man in the legion slain.

(1) "Rem quod attinet, Mauritio, Exuperio, Candido, Victori martyrii quidem laudem non invidemus, cum cruentis edictis Diocletiani compluribus de militum grege lucem ereptam fuisse non ignoremus. Quod vero tota legio et Christianis constiterit et Martyribus, ut ex 6666 militibus nullus pusillanimus fuerit, omnesque intrepide sanguinem pro Christo fuderint, vix habet fidem. Multos Maximiani Diocletianique in exercitu Christianos militasse scimus, at variis in legionibus dispersos, non vero in unâ legione collocatos. Neque probabilem adhuc causam invenimus, cur sex mille sexcentique Christiani uni eidemque legioni includerentur. Dubitationem adjuvat, quod de tanto numero ne vel unus quidem a certamine sese segregarit." See "Basnagii, Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 301, § 6, who then adduces a variety of other objections from the omission of any mention of this slaughter by former and older historians, the anachronisms of the story, etc.; tom. ii.—Ed.

(2) Lib. iii. cap. 45. A few lines from the Acta quoted by Baronius will explain, and in a measure rectify, this strange statement of Otho's: "Hæc dum agerentur, cohors illa, quæ beatum Victorem comitabatur, ad locum cui destinata est properans, pervenit ad oppidum Francorum, quod ex majorum suorum ædibus Trojam nuncupabant." Baronii "Annales Eccles." an. 297, § 21.—Ed.

(3) As there is no necessity for Foxe (according to the silly notion of some erudite scribblers) to *make* martyrs, it may be here remarked that this account of the martyrs of the Theban legion has excited much controversy. See "Moshemii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Commentarii" (Helmstadii, 1753), pp. 566—570; or, translated by Vidal (Lond. 1835), vol. iii. pp. 190—195. —Ed.

(4) The supposed body of this captain was made an object of devotion, it appears, at Turin, so late as the beginning of the 18th century. "Dici vix potest quantus cultus fabulosis hisce Sanctis Augustæ Taurinorum hodienum tribuatur, tum a plebe, tum ab Aula magistratuque, eo imprimis tempore, ex quo Car. Emanuel I. Sabaudiæ Dux, cadaver Mauritii, qui legioni Thebææ præfuisse creditur, Augustam Taurinorum perferri curavit. Conf. *Act. Erudit. Lips.* 1706, p. 308." Deylingii "Observatt. Sacr. pars prima," Lipsiæ, 1735, p. 146.

(5) Martigny in the Valais.—Ed. (6) S. Mauritz in Switzerland. Hoffman's Lex.—Ed.

(7) See Tillemont, iv. 2. p. 834.—Ed

great force of faith, Maurice himself was a great encourager, who, by and by, with a most grave oration, exhorted and animated his soldiers both to fortitude and constancy; which, being again called of the emperor, answered in this wise, saying: *The Tenth Persecution.* A. D. 303 to 313.

O emperor, we are your soldiers, but yet also, to speak freely, the servants of God. We owe to thee service of war, to him innocency: of thee we receive for our travail, wages; of him the beginning of life. In this we may in no wise obey thee, O emperor, to deny God who is our author and Lord, and not ours only, but your author and Lord likewise, will ye, nill ye. If we be not enforced to do that whereby we shall offend him, doubtless, as we have hitherto, so we will yet obey you: but otherwise we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands against any real enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of the innocent, that we may not do. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies: but to spoil and murder the godly and our fellow-citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance that we took arms in hand for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We have fought always for justice' sake, for piety, and for the welfare of the innocent. These have been always the rewards of our perils and travail. We have fought in the quarrel of faith, which in no wise we can keep to you, if we do not show the same to our God. We first sware allegiance to our God, then afterward to the king: and can you trust us in regard of the second, if we break the first? By us you would plague the Christians, to do which feat you must henceforth command others. We are here ready to confess God the Father, the author of all things, and we believe in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellows, the partakers of our labours and travails, to be put to the sword, and we are sprinkled with their blood: of which our most holy comrades and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have given thanks, and have rejoiced, for that they have been counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreme necessity of death hath not moved us in rebellion against your majesty, neither yet hath desperation, which is wont in danger to be so daring, armed us against you, O emperor. Behold here we have weapons, and yet resist not, for that we had rather to be killed, than kill; and guiltless die, than guilty live. Whatsoever more ye will command, appoint and enjoin us; we are here ready to suffer, yea, both fire and sword, and whatsoever other torments. We confess ourselves to be Christians, and Christians we cannot persecute.[1] *The oration of the soldiers to the emperor.*

With which their answer, the king being altogether incensed and moved, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left, to be in like case murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the christian soldiers would in no wise condescend unto his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both footmen and also horsemen, and charged them to kill them all, who with all force set upon them: they, making no resistance, but throwing down their armour, yielded their lives to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies. *Maurice and his company martyred.*

Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any soldier; but being an old soldier, was dismissed for his age. At which time he, coming suddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoils of the holy martyrs, was bidden to sit down with them; who, first asking the cause of that their so great rejoicing, and understanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then, being demanded of them whether haply he were a Christian or no, openly confessed and denied not but that he was a Christian, and ever would be. And thereupon *The constant boldness of Victor, in refusing to eat with the cruel persecutors.*

(1) From Ado's Martyrology, Sep. 22.—Ed.

The Tenth Persecution. they, rushing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour

A. D. 303 to 313. Bede, in his history, writeth that this persecution, being begun under Dioclesian, endured unto the seventh year of Constantine: and Eusebius saith, that it lasted until its tenth year.[1] It was not yet one year from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the Christians rather to increase than to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that ever they could show, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at the last, of their own accord, to put any more Christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of metals, not so much for the use of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and release of the cruelty of those princes, who said that it was not meet that the cities should be defiled with the blood of their citizens, and to make the emperor's highness to be distained with the name of cruelty, but to show his princely beneficence and liberality to all men.[2]

The number of the Christians increased.

Dioclesian and Maximian, tired with persecution gave up their kingdom.

When Dioclesian and Maximian had reigned together emperors one and twenty years (Nicephorus saith, two and twenty years), at length Dioclesian put himself from his imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona; Maximian at Milan; and led both of them a private life, in the three hundred and ninth year after Christ.[3] This strange and marvellous alteration gave occasion (and so it came to pass) that within short space after, there were in the Roman commonwealth many emperors at one time.

A. D. 305.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Dioclesian, being made emperor, took to him Maximian. Also how these two, governing as emperors together, chose out two other Cæsars under them, to wit, Galerius Maximian, and Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. Thus then Dioclesian, reigning with Maximian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious persecution against the Christians, whose reign after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrant's mouth, that within two years after, he caused both him and Maximian (for what cause he knoweth) to give over their imperial function, and so remain not as emperors any more, but as private persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the imperial dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximian,[4] which two divided the whole monarchy between them: so that Galerius should govern the east countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius, as a modest prince, only contented with the imperial title, refused Italy and Africa, contenting himself only with France, Spain, and Britain. Wherefore Galerius Maximian chose to him Maximin and Severus, as Cæsars. Likewise Constantius took Constantine

Dioclesian and Maximian abdicate.

Galerius and Constantius, emperors.

Maximian and Severus, and Constantine, Cæsars.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 16.—Ed. (2) Ib. cap. 17.—Ed.

(3) This event, according to later chronologers, should be dated 305; under which year, however, Marianus Scotus had already placed it. See more in the Appendix.—Ed.

(4) "Errore Græcis auctt. familiari *Maximinus* loco *Maximiani* scribitur. See more in Pagi, ad an. 304, p. 379, tom. iii. edit. Lucæ, 1738.—Ed.

his son, Cæsar under him. In the mean time, while Galerius with his two Cæsars were in Asia, the Roman soldiers set up for their emperor Maxentius, the son of Maximian who had before deposed himself. Against whom Galerius the emperor of the East sent his son Severus, which Severus in the same voyage was slain of Maxentius, in whose place then Galerius took Licinius. And these were the emperors and Cæsars, who, succeeding after Dioclesian and Maximian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximian before began, during near the space of seven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord 313; save only that Constantius, with his son Constantine, was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the Christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Chlorus for his paleness, was the son of Eutropius, a Roman of great nobility (he came of the line of Æneas, as Lætus affirmeth), and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man (as is before said) had not the desire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britain, and Spain, refusing the other kingdoms for the troublesome and difficult government of the same. Otherwise, he was a prince (as Eutropius maketh description of him) very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good unto those that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure for himself when he made his friends rich, even so it is said that Constantius would oftentimes say, that it were better that his subjects had the public wealth, than he to have it hoarded in his own treasure-house. Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, insomuch that he used to eat and drink in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation); and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. In consequence of which virtues ensued great peace and tranquillity in all his provinces. To these virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament,[1] that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the word of God, as Eusebius affirmeth.[2] By which word being guided, he neither levied any wars contrary to piety and christian religion, neither aided he any others that did the same, neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious injuries. And when in the other jurisdictions of the empire the churches were molested with persecution, as Sozomen declareth,[3] he only gave license unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, besides others, doth show that he was a sincere follower of the christian religion.[4] Those which bare the chief offices amongst the Gentiles drave out of the emperors' courts all the godly Christians: whereupon this ensued, that the emperors themselves, at the last, were destitute of help, when those were driven away who, dwelling in their courts and living a godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the prosperous estate and health both of the empire and the emperors. Constantius, therefore, minding at a cer-

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Maxentius, emperor.

Licinius, Cæsar. A.D. 313.

The commendation of Constantius.

O happy Constantius!

Constantius gracious to the Christians.

(1) Foxe has followed the Magdeburg Centuriators, apparently (Cent. iv. c. 3, col. 23, edit. 1624); but the original is rather vague in its phraseology.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(3) Sozomen, lib, i. cap. 6.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. i. cap. 15, 16. Sozomen, lib. i. cap. 6.—Ed.

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tain time to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and servants in the same, feigning himself to choose out such as would do sacrifice to devils, and that those only should dwell there and keep their offices; and that those who would refuse to do the same, should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies: the emperor marked who were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, others openly and boldly refused to do the same; then the emperor sharply rebuked those who were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court, who were such traitors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended those who refused to do sacrifice, and confessed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they should be the trusty counsellors and defenders both of his person and kingdom; saying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to have them in more estimation than the substance he had in his treasury. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first book of the life of Constantine, and also Sozomen in his first book and sixth chapter.

Constantius proveth who were true Christians in his court, and who were not.

False Christians discerned from true.

Galerius an enemy to the Christians.

With this Constantius was joined (as hath been afore said) Galerius Maximian, a very civil man, as Eutropius affirmeth, and a passing good soldier; furthermore, a favourer of wise and learned men, of quiet disposition, not rigorous except in his drunkenness, whereof he would soon after repent him, as Victor writeth; but whether he meaneth Maximian the father, or Maximin his son, it is uncertain. But Eusebius far otherwise describeth the conditions of him, in his eighth book and fourteenth chapter. For he saith he was of a tyrannical disposition, the fearfullest man that might be, and curious in all magical superstition; insomuch that without the divinations and answers of devils, he durst do nothing at all, and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to enchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner of the citizens, liberal to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenness most like a madman, a ribald and adulterer, who came to no city but he ravished virgins and defiled men's wives.

His wickedness described.

To conclude, he was so great an idolater, that he built up temples in every city, and repaired those that were fallen into decay, and appointed priests thereto, and chose out the most worthy of his political magistrates to be the chief-priests, and devised that they should execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pomp.[1] But unto christian piety and religion, he was most hostile, and in the eastern churches exercised cruel persecution, and used as executioners of the same, Peucetius Quintian, Culcian, Theotecnus, and others.[2]

A terrible plague sent by God to him.

Notwithstanding, he was at length revoked from his cruelty by the just judgment and punishment of God. For he was suddenly vexed with a fatal disease most filthy and desperate, which disease to describe

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14.—Ed.
(2) Id. lib. ix. cap. 11. These were ministers of Maximin, not of Maximian.—Ed

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was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For about the middle of the privy members of his body there happened unto him a sudden abscess to form, and afterwards in the fundament a spongy ulcer or fistula; both of which consumed and ate into his entrails, out of the which came forth an innumerable multitude of worms, with such a pestiferous stink, that no man could abide him; and so much more, for that all the grossness of his body, by abundance of meat before he fell sick, was turned also into fat; which fat now putrefied and stinking, was so uglisome and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the physicians who had him in cure, not able to abide the intolerable stink, some of them were commanded to be slain; others, because they could not heal him, being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death.[1] At length, being put in remembrance that this disease was sent of God, he began to forethink the wickedness that he had done against the saints of God; and so coming again to himself, first confesseth to God all his offences; then, calling them unto him who were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecution of the Christians: requiring moreover that they should set up his imperial proclamations, for the restoring and re-edifying of their temples, and that they should obtain of the Christians in their assemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make), that they would devoutly pray to their God for the emperor. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the imperial proclamations in every city were set up, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the Christians were before decreed, the copy whereof ensueth:

Galerius killeth his physicians

His countermand in behalf of the Christians.

Amongst the other plans which we had conceived for the public profit and convenience, it was early our wish to reform all things according to the ancient laws and the national principles of the Romans; especially to devise means whereby the Christians, who have relinquished the opinions and usages of their parents, might be brought back to a right mind. For such a degree of arrogance and folly has (by some fancy) possessed them, that they will not follow the sanctions of their ancestors, which 'tis likely they also had before received from their parents; but they make laws for themselves, and observe them, just according to their own individual fancy and arbitrement, assembling large multitudes of people in divers places. Therefore, when we had published such an edict as should oblige them to return to the rites and ordinances of their ancestors; many of them were exposed to imminent dangers, and many, having been actually troubled, finally underwent death in various forms. But when many persisted in this madness, and we perceived they did neither exhibit a due worship to the celestial gods, nor yet to the God of the Christians; having respect to our humanity and that continued usage by which we have been accustomed to exercise pardon towards all sorts of men—we have thought good most readily to extend our indulgence in this matter also; so that the Christians should again be tolerated, and that they should have license to rebuild the houses wherein they used to assemble themselves, and that they may not in future be forced to do any thing contrary to their principles. In another rescript we will signify to our judges what it shall behove them to observe. Wherefore, in gratitude for this our indulgence, they ought to supplicate their God both for our welfare and that of the commonwealth, as well as their own; that so, both public affairs may everywhere be kept in a wholesome state, and they themselves may live securely in their own dwellings.[2]

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 16.—Ed. (2) Ib. cap. 17. The above is a new translation.—Ed

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But one of the Cæsars, whose name was Maximin, was not well pleased, when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the provinces where he had to do. Yet he, being qualified by this example, and feeling that it was not becoming for him to repugn the pleasure of those princes who had the chief authority, viz. Constantine and Galerius, set forth of himself no edict touching the same; but commanded his officers by an unwritten order, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians: of which commandment of the inferior Maximin, each of them gave intelligence unto their fellows by their letters. But Sabinus, who then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignity, to the governor of every province wrote by his letter the emperor's pleasure, in this wise:

Sabinus publisheth the decree in favour of the Christians.

> The majesty of our most sacred lords the emperors, with most earnest and devout care, long since determined to render the minds of all men conformable to a holy and correct way of living; so that they who seemed to have embraced usages different from those of the Romans should exhibit the due worship to the immortal gods. But the obstinate and most intractable perverseness of some persons was arrived at such a pass, that neither could the justice of the imperial edict prevail with them to recede from their own resolutions, nor the punishment annexed strike any terror into them. Since, therefore, it happened on this account, that many precipitated themselves into danger, the sacred majesty of our lords the most puissant emperors, considering (according to their innate generosity and piety) that it was far from the intention of their sacred majesties to involve people in so great a danger for such a cause as this, charged my excellency to write to your wisdom, that if evidence should be brought against any of the Christians of his following that way of worship observed by his sect, you should set him free from all danger and molestation, and that you should deem none worthy to be punished on this pretext; since it has evidently appeared in all this time, that they can by no means be persuaded to desist from their perverse stubbornness. Your prudence therefore is enjoined to write to the curators,[1] to the magistrates, and to the presidents of the villages belonging to every city, that they may understand, that for the future they are not to pay any attention to that edict.[2]

Persecution ceaseth for a time.

The governors therefore of the provinces, supposing this to be the determinate pleasure (and not feigned) of Maximin, did first advertise thereof the rustical and pagan multitude: after that, they released and set at liberty all such prisoners as were condemned to the metal-mines and to perpetual imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (wherein indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would please Maximin. This, therefore, seemed to them as unlooked for as light to travellers in a dark night. They gather themselves together in every city, they call their synods and councils, and much marvel at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extol the only and true God of the Christians. The Christians receive again all their former liberties; and such as fell away before in the time of persecution, repent themselves, and after penance done, they returned again to the congregation. Now the Christians rejoiced in every city, praising God with hymns and psalms.[3] This was a marvellous-sudden alteration of the church, from a most unhappy state into a better. But scarce suffered Maximin the tyrant the same state of affairs six months unviolated to continue; for whatsoever seemed to make for the subversion of

The infidels acknowledge the God of the Christians.

One alteration upon another.

(1) Λογισταὶ, receivers-general.—Ed.
(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 1. A new translation.—Ed.
(3) Ibid.

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the same peace (yet scarcely hatched), that only did he meditate. And first of all he took from the Christians all liberty and leave for them to assemble and congregate in churchyards, on some pretext or other. After that he sent certain miscreants unto the Antiochians, to solicit them against the Christians, and to provoke them to ask of him, as a great favour, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabit in their country: and amongst them was one Theotecnus, a most wicked miscreant, and an enchanter, and a most deadly enemy against the Christians. He first made the way whereby the Christians were put out of credit and accused to the emperor; to which base end, he also erected a certain idol of Jupiter to be worshipped of the enchanters and conjurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies, full of deceiveable witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same idol to give this sound out of his mouth, that is: "Jupiter commandeth the Christians to be banished out of the city and suburbs of the same, as enemies unto him." And the same sentence did the rest of the governors of the provinces publish against the Christians; and thus, at length, persecution began to kindle against them. Maximin also appointed priests in every city to offer sacrifice unto idols, and high-priests over these; and inveigled all those that were in great offices under him, that they should do all in their power against the Christians, and that they should with new-devised stratagems against them (as that would please him) put as many to death as by any means they might.[1] They also did counterfeit certain "Acts" of Pilate and our Saviour Christ, full of blasphemy, and sent the same into all the dominion of Maximin; by their letters commanding, that the same should be published and set up in every city and suburbs of the same, and that they should be delivered to the schoolmasters, to cause their scholars to learn the same by rote.[2]

The devilish practice of Theotechnus.

The vain practices of the heathen against Christ and his religion.

After that, one named "præfectus castrorum"[3] (whom the Romans call "Dux") at Damascus, in Phœnicia, allured certain light women, taken out of the market-place, by threats of torture, that they should openly say in writing, that they were once Christians, and that they knew what wicked and lascivious acts the Christians were wont to practise amongst themselves upon the Sundays; and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the slander of the Christians. The captain showeth unto the emperor their words, as though it had been so indeed; and the emperor by and by commanded the same to be published throughout every city. Furthermore, they did hang in the midst of every city (which was never done before) the emperor's edicts against the Christians, graven in tables of brass. And the children in the schools, with great noise and clapping of hands, did all the day resound "Jesus and Pilate," and the contumelious blasphemies contained in those counterfeit "Acts," after a most despiteful manner.[4] And this is the copy of the edict, which Maximin caused to be fastened to the pillars, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ:

A devised accusation against the Christians by harlots.

Maximin's countermand made in brass.

(1) See Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 3, 4.—Ed. (2) Id. lib. i. cap. 9; lib. ix. cap. 4.—Ed.
(3) Στρατοπεδάρχης, Euseb. "the lieutenant." The chief magistrates in the emperor's provinces exercised both the civil and military functions (see Adam's Rom. Ant.), and bore military titles. The "magistrates" at Alexandria, mentioned suprà, p. 210, also 240, are called Στρατήγοι in the Greek, and answered to our "sheriffs." (See Valesius's notes on that passage.) It is evident, however, that the chief magistrate of the province, or "lieutenant," is here meant. See infrà, p. 256, note 1. —Ed. (4) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 5, 7.—Ed.

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The human mind, weak and yet presumptuous as it is,—having shaken off and dispersed every cloud and mist of error which heretofore invested the senses of men (not so much wicked as wretched) involved in the fatal night of ignorance—has now at length discerned, that all things are undoubtedly ordered and settled by the gracious providence of the immortal gods. You cannot conceive how grateful, delightful, and acceptable a thing it was to us, when you gave such a proof of your pious disposition towards the gods; though before this, no person was ignorant what reverence and religious worship you showed towards the immortal gods; to whom you are well known, not by a faith of bare and empty words, but by a course of astonishing and glorious actions; upon which account your city may deservedly be styled—"The seat and mansion of the immortal gods."[1] For it is evident by many instances that she flourisheth through the presence of the celestial deities in her. For lo! your city—as soon as it perceived that the followers of that accursed vanity began to creep again, and [revive] like a smouldering fire, which, when the embers are stirred up, bursteth out afresh in a very great blaze—neglecting every thing that was for its own particular benefit, and overlooking former supplications made to us in its own behalf—immediately, without the least delay, had recourse to our piety as to the metropolis of all religion, petitioning for some remedy and assistance. 'Tis evident that the gods have instilled into your minds this wholesome resolution, on account of your faithful perseverance in your religion. Yea, the most high and mighty Jupiter (who presides over your most famous city, and preserveth your country gods, your wives and children, your families and houses, from all manner of evil) hath breathed into your minds this salutary resolution; plainly demonstrating thereby what an excellent, noble, and salutary thing it is, with due reverence to adore the immortal gods and to approach their sacred ceremonies. For what man can there be found so foolish and so void of all reason, as not to perceive, that it is through the gracious care of the gods that it cometh to pass—that the earth denies not the seeds committed to it, frustrating the hopes of the husbandmen with vain expectations; and that the aspect of impious war is not immovably fixed on the earth; and that men's bodies are not perpetually pining to death through a corrupt and disordered state of the air; and that the sea, tossed with the blowing of furious winds, doth not swell and overflow; and that sudden blasts, breaking forth unexpectedly, do not raise a destructive hurricane: and lastly, that the earth (the nurse and mother of all things), shaken by a horrid trembling, doth not heave from its own inmost caverns; or that the mountains which lie upon it are not engulfed in the opening chasms. All these calamities—yea, far more horrible than these—have often occurred, as every one knoweth. And all these evils lay upon *us*, because of the pernicious error and empty folly of those wicked men, at the precise time when it abounded in their souls, and (as I may say) burdened the whole earth with shame and confusion. [And after the interposition of some words he continues] But now—let men cast their eyes over the corn fields, flourishing in the wide champaign and waving with ears; and upon the meadows blooming with flowers and grass after seasonable showers; let them consider the state of the air how temperate and calm it is again become. In future let all men rejoice, for that by your piety, by your sacrifices, and religious worship, the fury of that most powerful and stern god Mars is appeased; and for this reason let them securely solace themselves in the quiet enjoyment of a most serene peace.[2] And, as many as have wholly abandoned that blind error, and from their wanderings have returned to a right and sound temper of mind—let them specially rejoice as they would do, had they been delivered from an unforeseen tempest or a dangerous disease; assured, that for the remainder of their lives they will reap sweet enjoyment. But if any shall wilfully persist in their execrable folly, let them be banished and driven far from your city and neighbourhood, according to your request; that by this means your city, being (in consequence of your commendable anxiety in this affair) freed from all pollution and impiety, may (agreeably to

The copy of the recountermand made against the Christians.

Wicked blasphemy.

The works of the living God falsely imputed to dead stocks and idols.

Horrible blasphemy.

(1) "Crediderunt veteres certis diebus deos in quasdam urbes ipsis acceptas commeare, easque ἐπιδημίας θεῶν appellabant. Sic apud Delios et Milesios adventus Apollinis colebatur, apud Argivos Dianæ, ut scribit Menander Rhetor in cap. de hymnis ἀποπεμπτικοῖς" Vales. not. in Euseb. ix. 7, ubi plura. Something of this kind seems to be meant by Callimachus; (*hym. in Apol.* 9) Ωπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαείνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός.—Ed.

(2) The like argument of weather and corn, and plenty, made the unfaithful Jews, and also makes now our faithless Papists.

its natural inclination) attend with due devotion upon the sacrifices of the immortal gods. And that you may know how acceptable your petition on this subject was to us, and how predisposed our soul is to gracious acts of its own voluntary motion, and without any memorializing or solicitation; we permit your devotion to ask whatever magnificent gift you may desire to have presented to you, in recompense of this your godly disposition. Now, therefore, make it your business to ask and receive some great boon; for you shall obtain it without any delay. And this, once being granted to your city, shall be a testimony throughout all ages of your most fervent piety towards the immortal gods; and shall also be an evidence to your children and descendants, that for this excellent course of life you received due rewards from our gracious goodness.[1]

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Thus came it to pass that at length the persecution was as great as ever it was, and the magistrates of every province were very disdainful against the Christians, condemning some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three Christians at Emisa in Phœnicia; among whom was Sylvanus the bishop of Emisa, a very old man, having been forty years in that function. Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, being brought to Nicomedia, after he had exhibited to the emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the Christians, was cast into prison, and afterward put to death. At Alexandria, Peter, the most worthy bishop of that church, was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died.[2] In Amasæa [a city of Cappadocia], Bringas, the lieutenant of Maximin, had at that time the executing of that persecution.[3] Quirinus, the bishop of Siscia in Croatia, having a millstone tied about his neck, was thrown headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floated above the water; and, having spoken to the lookers-on, that they should not be dismayed with that his punishment, prayed fervently that he might be, and was with much ado, drowned.[4] At Rome died Marcellinus the bishop, as saith Platina; also Timothy the presbyter, with many other bishops and priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sundry places everywhere were martyred, whose names[5] the book, intituled "Fasciculus temporum," declareth;[6] as, Victorian, Symphorian, Castorius with his wife, Castulus; Cæsarius; Mennas; Nobilis; Peter, Dorotheus, and Gorgonius; and other innumerable martyrs; Erasmus; Boniface; Juliana; Cosmas and Damian; Basilian, with seven others; Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia; Vitalis, and Agricola; Ascla[7] and Philemon; Irenæus; Januarius, Festus, and Desiderius; Gregory, a presbyter of Spoleto; Agape, Chionia, and Irene; Theodora, and two hundred threescore and ten other martyrs; Florian; Primus and Felician; Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia; Alban; Rogatian and Donatian; Pancras; Catharina;[8] Margareta; Lucia the Virgin; Agnes; Christopher;[9] Simplicius, Faustin, and Beatrix; Pantaleon; George; Justus; Leocadia; Antonia, and other more (to an infinite number), suffered martyrdom in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the book of life; also Felix; Victor with his parents; Lucia the widow, and Geminian;

The persecution of Maximin the younger.

Ex Fasciculo temporum.

Cosmas, Damian, Dorothea, with other martyrs.

Two hundred threescore and ten martyrs.

(1) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 7, whence the above translation is made.—Ed.
(2) Ibid. cap. 6, 7.—Ed. (3) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 44.—Ed.
(4) See Mart. Rom., by Baronius, p. 267, edit. 1589.—Ed. (5) Chron. Euseb.—Ed.
(6) The following list is somewhat corrected. It is taken from various chronicles, "Fasciculi temporum," (Cent. Magd.) See suprà, p. 183, note 6.—Ed.
(7) See Baron. an. 310, § 24.—Ed.
(8) Spanheim has examined her history, which must rank, apparently, amongst the fabulous: 'Hist. Christ. sæc." 4, col. 819.—Ed. (9) See Appendix.—Ed.

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with threescore and nineteen others; Sabinus; Anastasia and Chrysogon; Felix and Adauctus; Adrian, Natalia, Eugenia.[1] Agnes also, when she was but thirteen years old, was martyred. Eusebius rehearseth these kinds of torments and punishments; that is to say, fire, wild beasts, the sword, crucifixion, drowning in the depths of the sea, the cutting and burning of the members, the thrusting out of the eyes, maiming of the whole body, hunger, the mines, imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the magistrates could devise. All which notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind; for they, being enticed to the filthy use of their bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves.[2] Neither yet could the Christians live safely in the wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments; insomuch that this latter persecution under Maximin (a tyrant rather than a prince) was more grievous than was the former, cruel as that was.[3]

Geminian with threescore and nineteen martyrs.

Several kinds of torments.

And forsomuch as ye have heard the cruel edict of Maximin proclaimed against the Christians, graven in brass, which he thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion; now mark again the great handywork of God, which immediately fell upon the same, checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, proving all to be false and contrary, that in the brazen proclamation was contained. For whereas the aforesaid edict boasted so much of the prosperity and plenty of all things in the same time of this persecution of the Christians, suddenly befel such unseasonable drought, with famine and pestilence among the people, besides also the wars with the Armenians, that all was found untrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which famine and pestilence the people were greatly consumed, insomuch that one measure of wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Attic drachms;[4] by reason whereof innumerable died in the cities, but many more in the country and villages, so that most part of the husbandmen and countrymen died up with the famine and pestilence. Divers there were which bringing out their best treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others, selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreme poverty and beggary. Certain, eating grass, and feeding on other unwholesome herbs, were fain to relieve themselves with such food as did hurt and poison their bodies. Also a number of women of good family in the cities, being brought to extreme misery and penury, were constrained to come forth, and fall to begging in the market-place. Some others, pined and withered like ghosts, without breath, reeling and staggering this way and that, from inability to stand fell down in the middle of the streets, and lying at full length with their faces downward, craved for some little morsel of bread to be given them; and being at the last gasp, ready to give up the ghost, and not able to utter any other words, still dolefully they cried

The work of God against the aforesaid edict.

The proud and blasphemous proclamation of the emperor proved false.

A terrible hunger among the heathen persecutors described.

(1) Tillemont's Mémoires, tom. v. pt. i. p. 253.—Ed.
(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14, and "De Laudibus Const." cap. 7.—Ed
(3) See Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 6.—Ed.
(4) Eusebius, lib. ix. cap. 8. The medimnus, or measure, contained six modii, or a little more than six pecks. Four Attic drachms were equal to about half-a-crown.—Ed.

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out, that they were hungry. Of the richer sort, divers there were who, being weary with the number of beggars and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves, as those who begged. By reason whereof, the market-places, streets, lanes, and alleys, were full of dead and naked bodies, which lay cast out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that saw them; whereof many were eaten of dogs: for which cause they that survived fell to the killing of dogs, lest they, running mad, should fall upon them and kill them.

Pestilence among the persecutors.

In like manner the pestilence, scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no less consume them; especially those who through having plenty of victuals had escaped famine. Wherefore the rich governors of provinces, and presidents, and innumerable magistrates, being the more apt to receive the infection by reason of their plenty, were quickly dispatched and turned up their heels. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning; neither was there any thing else seen but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence, in short time brake up and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from the same house in one funeral. These were the rewards of the vain brags of Maximin and his edicts, which he did publish in all towns and cities against us.

The charity of the Christians to their enemies.

At which time it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the Christians were to all men in this their miserable extremity. For they only, in all this time of distress, showed compassion upon them, travailing every day, some in tending the sick, and some in burying the dead, who otherwise of their own sort were forsaken. Others of the Christians, calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of famine, distributed bread unto them;[1] whereby they ministered occasion to all men to glorify the God of the Christians, and to confess them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reason hereof, the great God and defender of the Christians, who before had showed his anger and indignation against all men for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his providence; so that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, who easily perceived God himself to be a perpetual Director of our affairs; who many times chasteneth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction again showeth himself merciful and favourable to those who with trust call upon him.[2]

The wisdom and policy of man overthrown in his own turn. "Qui comprehendit sapientes in astutia."

By the narration of these things heretofore premised, taken out of the History of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so it is wonderful to mark and note, how those counsels and rages of the Gentiles achieved against Christ and his Christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselves; and whereby they thought most to confound the church and religion of Christ, the same turned most to their own confusion, and to the profit and praise of the

(1) "Let your light so shine among men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 8; whence a few expressions in the text have been changed.—Ed.

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Christians; God, of his marvellous wisdom, so ordering and disposing the end of things. For whereas the brazen edict of the emperor promised temperate weather, God sent drought; whereas it promised plenty, God immediately sent upon them famine and penury; whereas it promised health, God struck them even upon the same with grievous pestilence, and with other more calamities, in such sort that the most relief they had was chiefly by the Christians; to the great praise of them, and to the honour of our God.

The promise of Christ verified. The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church builded upon the faith of Christ.

Thus most plainly and evidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his church, affirming and assuring us, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church builded upon his faith:[1] as sufficiently may appear by these ten persecutions above specified and described; wherein as no man can deny but that Satan and his malignant world have essayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the church of Jesus, so must all men needs grant, who read these stories, that when Satan and the gates of hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against this mount of Sion, nor ever shall. For else what was here to be thought,—where so many emperors and tyrants together, Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Severus, Maxentius, Licinius, with their captains and officers, were let loose, like so many lions, upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of Christianity; and especially also when laws were set up in brass against the Christians, as a thing perpetually to stand;—what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the name and religion of Christians? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the story followeth.

I showed before how Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was set up at Rome by the prætorian soldiers to be emperor. Whereunto the senate, although they were not consenting, yet for fear they were not resisting. Maximian his father, who had before deprived himself with Dioclesian, hearing of this, took heart again to him, to resume his dignity, and so laboured to persuade Dioclesian also to do the same: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his son's hands. But when the soldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he flieth to Constantine in France, under pretence to complain of Maxentius his son, but in very deed to kill Constantine. Notwithstanding, that conspiracy being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximian, whom Constantine had married, so was Constantine through the grace of God preserved, and Maximian retired back: in the which his flight, by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximian.

The death and end of Maximian.

Wickedness of Maxentius described.

Now let us return to Maxentius again, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero; for he slew the most part of his noblemen, and took from them their goods. And sometimes in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his soldiers, as Eusebius declareth.[2] Also he left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womanly chastity; who

(1) Matt. xvi. 18.
(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 33—36.—Ed.

used to send the honest wives, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonesty unto their husbands (being worthy senators), after that he had ravished them. He abstained from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable lust of deflowering of women. Lætus declareth that he being that time far in love with a noble and chaste gentlewoman of Rome, sent unto her such courtiers of his as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation than any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the common weal. These first fell upon her husband and murdered him within his own house:[1] then when they could by no means, neither with fear of the tyrant, or with threatening of death, pull her away from him, at length she, being a Christian, desired leave of them to go into her chamber, and after her prayers she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her chamber under this pretence, she killed herself. But the courtiers, when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they, being displeased therewith, brake open the doors, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they, and declared this matter to the emperor; who was so far past shame, that, instead of repentance, he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

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A shameful act of incontinency.

He was also much addicted to the art magical, which to execute he was more fit than for the imperial dignity. Also sometimes he would rip women with child; sometimes he would search the bowels of new-born infants. Often he would invocate devils in a secret manner, and by the answers of them he sought to repel the wars which he knew Constantine and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the better perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his reign he feigned himself to be a favourer of the Christians; in which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting the Christians. And he himself in the mean season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to show himself an open persecutor of them: at which time, as Zonaras writeth, he most cruelly raged against the Christians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries. Which things he in no less wise did, than Maximin, as Eusebius[2] seemeth to affirm. And Platina declareth, in the life of Marcellinus the bishop [of Rome], that he banished a certain noble woman of Rome, because she gave her goods to the church.

A monster in the likelihood of an emperor.

A lively pattern of an hypocrite.

Thus, by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of this Maxentius the citizens and senators of Rome being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters unto Constantine, with much suit and most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their country and city of Rome; who, hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to restrain his corrupt doings and great cruelty. But when no letters nor exhortations would prevail, at length pitying the woful case of

The Romans send to Constantine for succour.

(1) Lætus expressly states, that the husband, for fear of being put to death, consented that his wife should be carried off. Eusebius makes the same statement, and also that he was prefect of Rome at the time. (Hist. lib. viii. cap. 14. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 34.) Ruffinus says her name was Sophronia.—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14.—Ed.

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the Romans, he gathered together his power and army in Britain and France, therewith to repress the violent rage of that tyrant: thus Constantine, sufficiently appointed with strength of men, but especially with strength of God, entered his journey coming towards Italy, which was about the last year of the persecution. Maxentius, understanding of the coming of Constantine, and trusting more to his devilish art of magic than to the good-will of his subjects, which he little deserved, durst not show himself out of the city, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy garrisons laid wait for him by the way in sundry straits, as he should come; with whom Constantine had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them to flight.[1] Notwithstanding, Constantine yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto Rome) for the magical charms and sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus, sent by Galerius against him, as hath been declared, which made also Constantine the more afraid. Wherefore, being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming (who used to rip open women great with child, and to take his devilish charms by the entrails of the new-born infants, with such other like feats of devilishness which he practised), these things (I say) Constantine doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the city, and casting up his eyes many times to heaven, in the south part, about the going down of the sun,[2] he saw a great brightness in heaven, appearing in the similitude of a cross, with certain stars of equal bigness, giving this inscription like Latin letters, "In hoc vince," that is, "In this overcome."[3] This miraculous vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus in the first book of his "De Vitâ Constantini" doth witness moreover, that he had heard the said Constantine himself oftentimes report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in heaven, and also his soldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonied, and consulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold, in the night season in his sleep, Christ appeared to him with the sign of the same cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his wars before him, and so should he have the victory.[4]

Maxentius feared for his magic and sorcery.

A miracle of a cross appearing to Constantine inheaven.

This vision reported and testified by Constantine himself to be true.

An admonition concerning the material cross

Wherein is to be noted, good reader, that this sign of the cross, and these letters added withal "In hoc vince," was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the cross, as though the cross itself had any such power or strength in it, to obtain victory; but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an admonition to him to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of Him who was crucified upon the cross, for the salvation of him and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of his name,

(1) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 26, 37.—Ed.

(2) Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινόνσης (Euseb. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 28): literally, "About the meridian hours of the sun, when the day was now declining." Valesius supposes the event to have happened about three o'clock in the afternoon; and Lactantius ("De Morte Persec." cap. 44) states it to have been October 27th, the anniversary of Maxentius's accession, which took place six years before, October 27th, A.D. 306. See Pagii Crit. in Baron. Ann. ad A.D. 306 et A.D. 312.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. "de Vitâ Constant." lib. i. cap. 28; Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 29; Eutrop. lib. xi.; Sozom. lib. i. cap. 3; Socrat. lib. i. cap. 2; Urspergensis Chronic.; Paul. Diacon. lib. II.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 28, 29.—Ed.

as afterward it came to pass. This by the way. Now to the matter. *The Tenth Persecution.*

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The next day following after this night's vision, Constantine caused a cross after the same figuration to be made of gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his standard; and so with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from heaven, he speedeth himself toward his enemy.[1] Against whom Maxentius, being constrained perforce to issue out of the city, sendeth all his power to join with him in the field beyond the river Tiber; where Maxentius, craftily breaking down the bridge called "Pons Milvius," caused another deceitful bridge to be made of boats and wherries, being joined together and covered over with boards and planks, in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But herein came to pass, that which in the seventh Psalm is written, "He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made; his mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate:" which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified; for after the two hosts did meet, he, being not able to sustain the force of Constantine fighting under the cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigence, that, in retiring back upon the same bridge which he did lay for Constantine (for haste, thinking to get the city), he was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottom of the flood; and there with the weight of his armour he, and a great part of his beaten men, was drowned: representing unto us the like example of Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly seemeth to bear a prophetical figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Israel were in long thraldom and persecution in Egypt under tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharaoh their last persecutor; so was this Maxentius the last persecutor in the Roman monarchy of the Christians; whom this Constantine, fighting under the cross of Christ, did vanquish, and set the Christians at liberty; who before had been persecuted now three hundred years in Rome, as hath been hitherto in this history declared. Wherefore as the Israelites with their Moses, at the drowning of their Pharaoh, sang gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast down the horse and horsemen into the sea,[2] so no less rejoicing and exceeding gladness was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his people, and vanquishing his enemies and persecutors.[3]

Constantine with his army approacheth Rome.

Maxentius taken in his own trap.

Beaten in the field.

Drowned by his own bridge.

Pharaoh a figure of Maxentius, the last persecutor in Rome.

Pharaoh and Maxentius compared.

The figure of the Old Testament verified in the New.

The glorious and victorious host of Christ.

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten, yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any victory so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to mankind as this was; which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some persecution was yet stirring in the East countries by Maximin and Licinius, as shall be declared; yet in Rome, and in all the West parts, no martyr died after this heavenly victory gotten. And also in the East parts, the said Constantine, with the said cross borne before him, consequently upon the same, so vanquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the church, that for the space of a just thousand

(1) Euseb. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 30.—Ed.
(2) Exod. xv.
(3) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. 38.—Ed.

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years after that, we read of no set persecution against the Christians, unto the time of John Wickliff; when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of Christ, as in further process of this history (Christ granting) shall appear. So happy, so glorious (as I said), was this victory of Constantine, surnamed the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the city of Rome, where he with the cross was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together; having, moreover, in the market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the cross, with this inscription: "With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our city from the yoke of the tyrant."[1]

By this heavenly victory of Constantine, and by the death of Maxentius, no little tranquillity came unto the church of Christ: although, notwithstanding, in the East churches the storm of this tenth persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some tail thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three years. But of this we mind to speak (Christ willing) hereafter. In the mean season, to return again to the West parts here in Europe, where Constantine then had most to do, great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together[2] (to the time of John Wickliff and the Waldenses, as is before touched), by the means of the godly beginning of good Constantine; who, with his fellow Licinius, being now established in their dominion, eftsoons set forth their general proclamation or edict, not constraining therein any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoin with them, whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly allowed, of the Romans and all wise men. The copy of the edict or constitution here ensueth.

The Copy of the Imperial Constitution[3] of Constantine and Licinius, for the Establishing of the Free Worshipping of God after the Christian Religion.[4]

The copy of the imperial constitution of Constantine and Licinius.

Having long since perceived, that liberty in religion ought not to be withheld, but that every one who hath a mind and will of his own on the subject should have the privilege of acting therein according to his own predilection, we have given orders, that all men, the Christians in particular, should be permitted to retain the creed of their respective religious persuasions. But soon after the decree, granting the said permission, was published, with the names of many different sects clearly specified therein, it so happened (accidentally perhaps) that some of the parties alluded to drew back from their previous profession. When, therefore, by good fortune, we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had come to Milan, and had taken into consideration all matters which bore on the prosperity and comfort of the community; among other matters which promised to be in many ways important to all, or rather first and

(1) "Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio, civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi." Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 39, 40.—Ed.

(2) Note well these thousand years, and then read the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, "Satan was bound up for a thousand years," etc.

(3) This constitution, with the exception of the opening clause, is found in the original Latin, in Lactantius, "De Mort. Persecut." cap. 48, which was first published by Baluze, in his "Miscellanea," tom. ii. Paris, 1679. Its publication is there stated to have taken place "die Iduum Junii arum Const. atque Licin. ter consulibus," *i. e.* June 13, A.D. 313.

(4) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5. The following is a new translation.—Ed.

foremost of all, we resolved to settle those which involved the reverence and worship of the Deity; that is, that we would grant both to the Christians and all others a free choice to follow whatever religion they please; that so, the Deity, or Heavenly Being (whatever it is), may be propitious both to ourselves and all our subjects. This, then, on sound and conscientious deliberation, we decided to be our will and pleasure—that no individual whatever should be denied the privilege of choosing and following the religious profession of the Christians; and that every one should have a right of devoting his mind to that religion which he thinks most agreeable to himself; that so God may in all things manifest his wonted care and kindness towards us. It was expedient that we should signify to you this our will and pleasure, in order that those names of sects which were inserted in our former rescript to your excellency concerning the Christians, might be taken clean out, and every thing cancelled which appeared ungracious and at variance with our accustomed mildness; and also that every one of those disposed to adhere to the religion of the Christians may now freely and constantly profess the same without any molestation. These things, I repeat, we resolved fully to intimate to your prudence, in order that you may be aware that we have thus granted to the Christians a free and absolute liberty of exercising their religion. And this liberty (as your excellency observes) is absolutely granted by us not only to *them*, but *all others* also who wish for it have the privilege allowed them of following their own religious profession. And it is evidently conducive to the quietness of this our time, that every one should have this privilege of choosing and exercising whatever religion he pleases; and we have ordered it so, that we might not seem in the least to disparage any mode of religious worship whatever. We also further decree in favour of the Christians, that those places of theirs wherein they used formerly to convene, and concerning which, in the former rescript sent to your excellency, a different plan was laid down, that in case it should appear that any persons have purchased any of them, either from our exchequer or from any one else, they shall restore the same to the said Christians without fee or demand of the price paid for them, and without impediment or evasion: and that, if any persons have received any of them by way of donation, they should forthwith restore them to the Christians in like manner. And if either those who have bought such places, or those who have received them by donation, desire any compensation from our goodness, let them go to the chief justice of the province, and they shall be provided for by our bounty. And it shall be your duty to take care that all such places be restored to the society of Christians without delay. And whereas the said Christians are known to have possessed not only those places wherein they used to convene, but others also, not belonging to any individual among them, but the property of the society—all these places (in conformity with the law just announced) you shall order to be restored without any demur whatever to the said Christians, that is, to each society and assembly of them respectively; the rule made in the other case being here also observed, viz. that those who shall restore the said places without demanding the price which they had paid for them (as aforesaid), may expect to be indemnified by our gracious liberality. Now, in relation to all these matters, you are to exert yourself vigorously, for the sake of the society of Christians aforesaid, that our mandate be executed as promptly as possible, by which means you will at the same time be providing for the general peace of the community. And thus (as we said before) the divine favour, which we have already in many cases experienced, will be secured to continue with us for ever. Finally, to the end that the definitive determination of these our gracious enactments may come to all men's knowledge, it is expedient that this rescript of ours be put up to public view, and made known to all persons; so that nobody may be ignorant of these our gracious enactments.

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By these histories I doubt not, good reader, but thou dost right well consider and behold with thyself the marvellous working of God's mighty power; to see so many emperors at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose names before we have recited, as Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximin, Severus, Licinius; who, having the subjection

The consideration of God's work in defending his Christians.

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of the whole world under their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices to extirpate the name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein, if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented which was not attempted? If laws, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but engraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet, notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord,[1] note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his church doth stand. First, of the taking away of Maximian you have heard; also of the death of Severus; of the drowning, moreover, of Maxentius, enough hath been said. What a terrible plague was upon Galerius, consuming his privy members with worms, hath been also described. How Dioclesian the quondam emperor, being at Salona,[2] hearing of the proceedings of Constantine and of this edict, either for sorrow died, or, as some say, did poison himself. Only Maximin now in the East parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no less expressed the same with mortal persecution; to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight whereof, although he was somewhat appalled and defeated of his purpose, yet forsomuch as he saw himself too weak to resist the authority of Constantine and Licinius the superior princes, he dissembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himself had tendered the quiet of the Christians, directing down a certain decree in the behalf of the Christians, wherein he pretendeth to write to Sabinus aforementioned, first repeating unto him the former decree of Dioclesian and Maximian in few words, with the commandment therein contained, touching the persecution against the Christians. After that, he reciteth the decree which he himself made against them, when he came first to the imperial dignity in the East part joined with Constantine. Then the countermand of another decree of his again, for the rescuing of the Christians, with such feigned and pretensed causes, as are in the same to be seen. After that, he declareth how he, coming to Nicomedia, at the suit and supplication of the citizens (which he also feigned, as may appear before), he applying to their suit, revoked that his former edict, and granted them that no Christian should dwell within their city or territories. Upon which Sabinus also had given forth his letters, rehearsing withal the general recountermand sent forth by him, for the persecution again of the Christians. Last of all now he sendeth down again another surrecountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safety of the Christians, and tranquillity of them, commanding Sabinus to publish the same; which edict of his is at large set forth of Eusebius.[3] But in this surrecountermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he, making wars, and fighting a battle with Licinius, wherein he lost the victory, coming home again, took great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that

Kings and princes have risen against the Lord, and against his Christ.

No counsel standeth against God.

The destruction of the cruel emperors.

The effect of the decree which Maximin made against his will, for fear of Constantine and Licinius, in the behalf of the Christians.

The surrecountermand of Maximin dissembled.

(1) Psalm ii.
(2) A town in Dalmatia, Dioclesian's birth-place, near the modern Spalatro.—Ed.
(3) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9.—Ed.

time he had great regard unto, and honoured: upon whose answers he trusting, and depending upon their enchantments, began his war against Licinius. But after that he perceived himself to be deceived by them, as by wicked enchanters and deceivers, and such as had betrayed his safety and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preservation of them, with franchise and liberty; the copy whereof ensueth:[1]

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The unfeigned repentance and final decree of Maximin for the Christians.

Imperator Cæsar, Caius Valerius Maximinus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus: We take for granted that no man is ignorant, but that every one, adverting to what is continually passing, knows and is satisfied, that we constantly consult the welfare of our provincial subjects, and that we desire to pursue that line of policy towards them, which may best secure the interests of each, and contribute to their common good and profit—such as may at once suit the public interest, and be agreeable to the taste of every one in particular. Accordingly, when it came to our knowledge some time back, that upon occasion of the edict issued by their most sacred majesties, Diocletian and Maximian, our parents, prohibiting the assemblies of the Christians, many persons were troubled and spoiled by the officials, and that among our own subjects (for whose benefit it is our study to provide in the best way possible) the matter was proceeding to a serious length, their substance being in a fair way to be utterly wasted; we issued letters to the governors of each province last year, enacting—that if any person were desirous of following that sect, or adhering to the prescripts of that religion, he might without impediment persist in his resolution, and should not be hindered or prohibited by any man; and that they should be free to do just what pleased every one best, without any fear or mistrust. But it could not escape our knowledge, that, even now, some of the judges have misapprehended our orders, and have caused our subjects to stand in doubt respecting our decrees, and to be less ready in attaching themselves to that mode of worship which they prefer. To the intent, therefore, that all suspicion, ambiguity, and fear, may be for the future removed, we determined on publishing this present edict; whereby it must be plain to all men, that they who desire to follow *that* sect and religion, are allowed by this our gracious indulgence to apply themselves to that religion which they have usually followed, in such a manner as seems agreeable and proper to each. We also permit them to rebuild their oratories. Moreover, that this our indulgence may appear the larger and more comprehensive, we have thought proper further to enact, that, if any houses or estates, formerly belonging to the Christians, in consequence of the edict of our parents aforesaid, devolved to the right of the exchequer, or were seized by any city, or were sold, or were presented to any one as a gratuity, we have ordered that they be all restored to their original owners the Christians; so that in this particular, also, our piety and providence may be felt and acknowledged by all men.[2]

A large grant of Maximin to the Christians.

Maximin, then, being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease in the guts, sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adversity to confess the true God whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the favour of those Christians whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never so stern and stout, at length to stoop, and maugre their hearts to confess him, as this Maximin here did; who, not long after, by the vehemency of his disease ended his life; whereby no more tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his persecutions stirred up in the East parts against the saints of God, now remaineth in order of story to prosecute.

A.D. 319.

God maketh his enemies to confess him.

The end and death of Maximin.

(1) The following is a new translation.—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 10.—Ed.

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This Licinius, being a Dacian born, and first made Cæsar by Galerius (as is above specified), was afterwards joined with Constantine in government of the empire, and in setting forth the edicts which before we have described: although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all histories described, to be a man passing all others in desire of insatiable riches, given to lechery, hasty, stubborn, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poison, and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the laws. He thought no vice worse became a prince than learning, because he himself was unlearned.[1]

The persecution of the church under Licinius.

Licinius an enemy to learning.

There was between him and Constantine in the beginning great familiarity, and such agreement, that Constantine gave unto him his sister Constantia in matrimony, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other religion than Constantine was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Constantine, in the behalf of the Christians, as we have showed.[2] And such was Licinius in the beginning; but after arming himself with tyranny, [he] began to conspire against the person of Constantine, of whom he had received so great benefits; neither favourable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his oaths, his blood, nor promises. But, when he considered that in his conspiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he saw Constantine was preserved and safely defended of God, and partly being puffed up with the victory against Maximin, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said, he would become an enemy to the Christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantine. Therefore first by little and little, and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them his court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his kingdom. Then he commanded that all those should be deprived who were knights of the honourable order,[3] unless they would do sacrifice to devils. The same persecution afterward stretched he from his court, into all his provinces, and withal most wicked laws he devised and set forth: First, that for no cause the bishops should in any matter communicate together; neither that any one of them should go into the church of his neighbour; or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and utility of the church: After, that the men and women should not come in company together to pray; nor that the women should come into those places where they used to preach and read the word of God; neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the bishops, but should choose out such women amongst them as should instruct them: The third (most cruel and wickedest of all) was, that none should help and succour those that were cast into prison, nor should bestow any alms or charity upon them, though they should die for hunger; and they who showed any compassion upon those that were condemned to death, should be as greatly punished as they

Licinius an apostate.

The fountain of his apostasy.

Knights of the order deprived for not doing sacrifice.

A strict charge against the relieving of the imprisoned Christians.

(1) Eutropius, Lætus, Egnatius; Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.
(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9.—Ed.
(3) Τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν στρατιώτας ἐκκρινέσθαι καὶ ἀποβαλλέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώματος, Euseb. "yeomen of the guard." Euseb. lib. x. cap. 8, and "De Vit. Const." lib. i. cap. 54.—Ed.

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to whom they showed the same should be.[1] These were the constitutions of Licinius, most horrible, and which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

After this he used violence against the bishops, but yet not openly, for fear of Constantine, but privily and by conspiracy; by which means he slew those that were the worthiest men amongst the doctors and prelates. And about Amasæa and other cities of Pontus, he rased the churches even with the ground: others he shut up, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray and worship God; and therefore, as we said before, his conscience accusing him, all this he did, for that he suspected they prayed for Constantine, and not at all for him. And from this place in the east parts to the Lybians, which bordered upon the Egyptians, the Christians durst not assemble and come together, for the displeasure of Licinius, which he had conceived against them.[2]

Secret persecution for fear of Constantine.

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were under him, thinking by this means to please him, slew and made out of the way many bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and heinous offenders; and such rigorousness used they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small pieces in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the sea to feed the fishes.[3] What shall we speak of the exiles and confiscations of good and virtuous men? for he took by violence every man's substance, and cared not by what means he came by the same; but threatened them with death, unless they would forego the same. He banished those who had committed no evil at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, he gave their daughters that were unmarried, to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered. And Licinius himself, although that by reason of his years his body was spent, yet shamefully did he try to vitiate many women, men's wives and maids.[4] Which cruel outrages of his caused many godly men of their own accord to forsake their houses; and it was also seen, that the woods, fields, desert places, and mountains, were fain to be the habitations and resting-places of the poor and miserable Christians.[5] Of those worthy men and famous martyrs who in this persecution found the way to heaven, Nicephorus first speaketh of Theodore, a captain [dwelling at Heraclea in Pontus], who first being hanged upon the cross, had bodkins thrust into his secret parts, and, after that, his head stricken off; also of another Theodore, martyred at Amasæa, surnamed "Tyro,"[6] being a young soldier; also of a third, who was crucified at Perga; Basileus also, the bishop of Amasæa; Nicholas, the bishop of Myra; Gregory, of Armenia the greater;[7] after that, Paul of Neocæsarea, who, by the impious commandment of Licinius, had both his hands disabled with a searing iron. Besides these, in the city of Sebaste [in Armenia the less] forty worthy men, christian soldiers, in the vehement cold time of winter were sowsed and

The violent wrongs of Licinius.

The Christians flee into the wilderness.

Hot persecution renewed.

Forty men and their wives martyrs.

(1) Euseb. ibidem, and "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. [cap. 51, 53, 54.—Ed.]
(2) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 8. "De Vit. Const." lib. ii. cap. 1, 2. Sozomen. lib. i. cap. 7.—Ed.
(3) Ibidem.—Ed.
(4) Euseb. "De Vitâ Constantini," lib. i. cap. 55.
(5) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 8. (6) See Baron. on the Mart. Rom. Nov. 9.—Ed.
(7) He was called "the Apostle of Armenia," and "the Enlightener."—Ed.

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drowned in a horse-pond, when Lysias and Agricolaus, lieutenants under Licinius[1] in the East parts (of whom we spoke before), were yet alive, and were in great estimation for inventing of new and strange torments against the Christians. The wives of those forty good men were carried to Heraclea, a city in Thrace, and there, with a certain deacon whose name was Amon, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly endured) slain with the sword. These things writeth Nicephorus.[2] Also Sozomen[3] alludeth to some of the same martyrs. And Basil, in a certain oration, seemeth to intreat of their history, saving that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And surely Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to have overrun all the Christians; to which thing neither counsel, nor good will, nor yet opportunity perchance wanted, unless God had brought Constantine into those parts where he governed; where, in the wars which he himself began (knowing right well that Constantine had intelligence of his conspiracy and treason), joining battle with him, he was overcome.

The wicked purpose of Licinius, had he not been prevented by God.

Licinius overcome in battle by Constantine.

Divers battles between them were fought, the first fought in Hungary, where Licinius was overthrown; then he fled into Macedonia, and, repairing his army, was again discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, he lastly, at Nicomedia yielded himself to Constantine, and was commanded to live a private life at Thessalonica, where at length he was slain by the soldiers.

Thus have ye heard the end and conclusion of all the seven tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God; the chief captain and incentor of which persecution was first Dioclesian,[4] who died at Salona, as some say, by his own poison, in the year of our Lord 313. The next was Maximian, who (as is said) was hanged of Constantine at Marseilles, about the year of our Lord 310.[5] Then died Galerius, plagued with a horrible disease sent of God. Severus was slain by Maximian, father of Maxentius the wicked tyrant, who was overcome and vanquished of Constantine, in the year of our Lord 312. Maximin the sixth tyrant not long after, being overcome by Licinius, died about the year of our Lord 313. Lastly, how this Licinius was overcome by Constantine and slain, in the year of our Lord 324, is before declared. Only Constantius, the father of Constantine, being a good and a godly emperor, died in the third year of the persecution, in the year of our Lord 306, and was buried at York. After whom succeeded (after his godly father) Constantine, as a second Moses sent and set up of God, to deliver his people out of this so miserable captivity into liberty most joyful.

The end and death of the tyrants which were the authors of this tenth persecution.

(1) Τῶν ἐκείνου ὑπασπιστῶν, Niceph. Foxe renders the word "sheriff;" but Nicephorus calls Lysias (suprà, p. 229) ὁ τῆῳ ἕω ἡγεμὼν, "governor or lieutenant in the East;" and represents Agricolaus as executing the same functions as Lysias in a different city; and here he designates them by the same term. See suprà, p. 241, note (3).—Ed.

(2) Niceph. lib. xvii. cap. 44; lib. viii. cap. 14.—Ed. (3) Lib. ix. cap. 2.—Ed.

(4) See Appendix.

(5) "Eliso et fracto superbissimo gutture, vitam detestabilem turpi et ignominiosa morte finivit; (Lact. de morte Persecut. cap. 30) idque Massiliæ, ut Eusebius in Chronico, Victor in Epitome, et Orosius in Historia docent." Pagii crit. in Baron. an. 307. § 10.—Ed.

A BRIEF STORY OF THE MOST NOTABLE MARTYRS THAT SUFFERED IN THIS TENTH PERSECUTION.

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Now remaineth after the end of these persecutors thus described, to gather up the names and stories of certain particular martyrs, which now are to be set forth, worthy of special memory for their singular constancy and fortitude, showed in their sufferings and cruel torments. The names of all those that suffered in this aforesaid tenth persecution, being in number infinite, in virtue most excellent, it is impossible here to comprehend: but the most notable, and in most approved authors expressed, we thought here to insert, for the more edification of other Christians, who may and ought to look upon their examples, first beginning with Alban, the first martyr that ever in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

Alban martyr.

At what time Dioclesian and Maximian the pagan emperors had directed out their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians; Alban, being then an infidel, received into his house a certain clerk, flying from the persecutors' hands, whom when Alban beheld continually, both day and night, to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life; whereupon, by little and little, he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian. And when the aforenamed clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in Alban's house, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the soldiers to make more diligent inquisition of the matter; who, as soon as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, he by and by putting on the apparel wherewith his guest and master was apparelled (that is, a garment at that time used, named Caracalla), offered himself in the stead of the other to the soldiers; who, binding him, brought him forthwith to the judge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought unto the judge, they found the same judge at the altars offering sacrifice unto devils, who, as soon as he saw Alban, was straightways in a great rage, for that he would presume of his own voluntary will to offer himself to peril, and give himself a prisoner to the soldiers, for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured; and commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worshipped, saying: "For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a rebel, than deliver him to the officers, that (as a contemner of our gods) he might suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemy; look, what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping." But blessed Alban, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the menaces of the prince; but being armed with the spiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the judge, "Of what stock or kindred art thou come?" Alban answered, "What is that to you, of what stock I came? If you desire to hear the verity of my religion, I do ye to wit, that I am a Christian, and

Fruit of hospitality to be noted.

Alban first converted, and by what occasion.

Alban offereth himself to death for another.

The words of the judge to Alban

Constancy and zeal of Alban.

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apply myself altogether to that calling." Then said the judge, "I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay." Then said he, "My parents named me Alban, and I worship the true and living God, who created all the world." Then said the judge, fraught with fury, "If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of prolonged life, do sacrifice (and that out of hand) to the mighty gods." Alban replieth, "These sacrifices which ye offer unto devils, can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants; but rather shall they, whosoever they be, that offer sacrifice to these idols, receive for their meed everlasting pains of hell-fire." The judge, when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes, against which he had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay rather joyfully, for the Lord's sake. Then when the judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be seduced from the worship of christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

His confession.

His suffering and martyrdom.

Superfluous miracles in his story written by Bede omitted.

The rest that followeth of this story in the narration of Bede, as of drying up the river, as Alban went to the place of his execution; then, of making a well-spring in the top of the hill; and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him; with such other prodigious miracles mentioned in his story, because they seem more legend-like than truth-like, also because I see no great profit nor necessity in the relation thereof, I leave them to the free judgment of the reader, to think of them as cause shall move him.

The legend of St. Alban disproved.

The like estimation I have of the long story, wherein is written at large a fabulous discourse of all the doings and miracles of St. Alban, taken out of the library of St. Alban's, compiled (as therein is said) by a certain pagan, who, as he saith, afterward went to Rome, there to be baptized. But, because in the beginning or prologue of the said book, containing the story of Alban and of his bitter punishments, the writer maketh mention of the ruinous walls of the town of Verolamium (which walls were then falling down for age, at the writing of the said book, as he saith), thereby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the martyrdom of Alban, either by a Briton, or by an Englishman. If he were a Briton, how then did the Latin translator take it out of the English tongue, as in the prologue he himself doth testify? If he were an Englishman, how then did he go up to Rome for baptism, being a pagan, when he might have been baptized among the christian Britons more near at home?

But among all other evidences and declarations sufficient to disprove this legendary story of St. Alban, nothing maketh more against it, than the very story itself: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy martyr to speak unto the people after it was smitten off from the body; also where he bringeth in the angels going up and coming down in a pillar of fire, and singing all the night long; item, in the river which he saith St. Alban made dry, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottom were found alive; with other such-like monkish miracles and gross fables, wherewith these abbey-monks

were wont in times past to deceive the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their own advantage. Notwithstanding, this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithful martyr of God, who was the first that I did ever find, in this realm, to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Christ. And worthy, no doubt, of condign commendation, especially of us here in this land; whose christian faith in the Lord, and charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish, moreover, that the stories both of him, and of all other christian martyrs, might have been delivered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these abbey-like additions of monkish-miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such saints to the most, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receive most advantage.

The Tenth Persecution.

A. D. 303 to 313

St. Alban the first martyr in this realm of England.

The stories of the saints corrupted with lies.

As touching the name of the clerk[1] mentioned in this story, whom Alban received into his house, I find it in the English stories to be Amphibalus, although the Latin authors name him not; who, the same time flying into Wales, was also fetched from thence again to the same town of Verolamium, otherwise called Verlancaster, where he was martyred; having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawn out; then, thrust in with swords and daggers; and at last, was stoned to death, as the aforesaid legend declareth.

Amphibalus martyred.

The martyrdom of Amphibalus.

Moreover, the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the aforesaid city of Verlancaster, whose names were Aaron and Julius; beside others, whereof a great number the same time, no doubt, did suffer, although our chronicles of their names do make no rehearsal.

The time of martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, seemeth to be about the second or third year of this tenth persecution, under the tyranny of Dioclesian, and Maximian Herculius, bearing then the rule in England, about the year of our Lord 301, before the coming of Constantius to his government. Where, by the way, is to be noted, that this realm of Britain being so christened before, yet never was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian: in which persecution our stories and Polychronicon do record, that all Christianity almost in the whole island was destroyed, the churches subverted, all books of the Scripture burnt, many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain; among whom the first and chief ringleader (as hath been said) was Alban. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britain.

Aaron, Julius, martyrs.

Persecution in this realm of Britain.

Now from England to return again unto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemently rage; we will add hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that

(1) Foxe had good ground for doubting this portion of St. Alban's history. "Hieronymus (epist 128, ad Fab.) et Eucherius (Instruct. lib. 2. c. 10) *Ephod* indumentum Sacerdotale ita describentes, ut *in modum caracallæ* fuisse dicant, *sed sine cucullo*, caracallas fuisse pænulas cucullatas satis indicant: indeque diminutivum Καρακάλλιον in Glossario Græco-latino, Cyrillo ascripto, *Cucullo* exponitur. Sed *amphibali* vocabulum (quod huic ipsi vestimento magis quam illius possessori convenire, suo loco sumus ostensuri) ex Britannicâ Galfridi Monemuthensis historiâ (lib. v. c. 5) acceptum esse, ne ipsi quidem monachi dissimulant." (Usher, *Britt. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 78, edit. Lond. 1687) "*Amphibalum* vestis externæ genus esse quoddam, qua clerici et monachi olim utebantur, ex Sulpicio Severo in vita Martini et Remigio Remensi episcopo in Testamento suo et Adamnano in vita Columbæ manifeste deprehenditur. Ut ex minus intellecto Gildæ loco, et *Amphibali* martyris nomen a Galfrido primum effictum, et Wintoniensi ecclesiæ deinde affictum fuisse, aliqua fortasse hinc commoveri possit suspicio." Id. ib. p. 281. See also Fuller's Church History, century 4, § 6.—Ed.

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suffered in this persecution (which were impossible), but of certain most principal, whose singular constancy in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in later histories; beginning first with Romanus, the notable and admirable soldier and true servant of Christ, whose history set forth in Prudentius, doth thus proceed; so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with dry cheeks to hear it.

The lamentable story of Romanus martyr.

Pitiless Galerius with his grand prefect Asclepiades violently invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The Christians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus hastily ran,[1] declaring that the wolves were at hand which would devour the christian flock; "But fear not," said he, "neither let this imminent peril disturb you, my brethren." Brought was it to pass, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their christian profession. Word was brought unto the prefect, that the band of armed soldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus so mightily did encourage them, that they stuck not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. "Seek out that rebel," quoth the prefect, "and bring him to me, that he may answer for the whole sect." Apprehended he was, and, bound as a sheep appointed to the slaughter-house, was presented to the emperor, who, with wrathful countenance beholding him, said: "What! art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the gods I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the pains whereunto thou hast encouraged the hearts of thy fellows." Romanus answered, "Thy sentence, O prefect, I joyfully embrace; I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruel means as thou mayest invent: and whereas thy soldiers were repelled from the christian congregation, that so happened, because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of devils, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer." Then Asclepiades, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themselves more pitiful in heart than the prefect, said, "Not so, sir, this man is of noble parentage; unlawful it is to put a nobleman to so unnoble a death." "Scourge him then with whips," quoth the prefect, "with knaps of lead at the ends." Instead of tears, sighs and groans, Romanus sung psalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility's sake. "Not the blood of my progenitors," said he, "but christian profession maketh me noble." Then, with great power of spirit, he inveighed against the prefect, laughing to scorn the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them; affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created heaven and earth, before whose judicial seat all nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the martyr were as oil to the fire of the prefect's fury. The more the martyr spake, the madder was he, insomuch that he commanded the martyr's sides to be lanced with knives, until the bones appeared white again. "Sorry am I, O prefect," quoth the martyr, "not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others."[2]

The exhortation of Romanus to the Christians.

The christian boldness of Romanus.

The noble patience of Romanus in his suffering.

The preaching of Romanus to the prefect.

The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jesus Christ his well-beloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expressing therewith the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronunciation at leastwise might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eyelids torn with their nails, his cheeks scotched with knives; the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh;

(1) In the portions quoted from Prudentius in this narrative, Foxe has often altered the descriptive form into the direct. It is also much abridged.—Ed.

(2) Prudentius, v. 460.—Ed.

finally, his seemly face was wholly defaced. The meek martyr said, "I thank thee, O prefect, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look; how many wounds I have, so many mouths I have lauding and praising God."[1] The prefect astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threateneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying, "Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterday's God; the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity." *The Tenth Persecution.* A. D. 303 to 313.

Here again Romanus, taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of his human nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said, "Give me a child, O prefect, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say." His request was granted. A little boy[2] was called out of the multitude, and set before him. "Tell me, my babe," quoth the martyr, "whether thou think it reason that we should worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we worship many gods?" Unto whom the babe answered, "That certainly (whatsoever it be) which men affirm to be God, must needs be one; and that which pertains to that one, is unique: and inasmuch as Christ is unique, of necessity Christ must be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe." The prefect hereat clean amazed, said, "Thou young villain and traitor, where, and of whom learnedst thou this lesson?" "Of my mother," quoth the child, "with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ." The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The prefect commanded the child to be hoisted up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act, could not temper themselves from tears: the joyful and glad mother alone stood by with dry cheeks. Yea she rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water: she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank of, forgetting their mothers' milk and paps; she willed him to remember little Isaac, who, beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon, he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender neck to the dint of his father's sword. Whilst this counsel was in giving, the butcherly tormentor plucked the skin from the crown of his head, hair and all. The mother cried, "Suffer, my child! anon thou shalt pass to Him that will adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." The mother counselleth, the child is counselled; the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The prefect perceiving the child invincible, and himself vanquished, committeth the silly soul, the blessed babe, the child uncherished, to the stinking prison, commanding the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

The confession of a child against idolatry.

A child martyred for the testimony of Christ.

A godly mother of a godly child.

An example of virtuous education.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received again upon his old sores; when the lofty conqueror thus addressed the tormentors, taunting them as sluggards:

Where is (quoth the martyr), where is your might?
What! are ye not able one body to spill?
Scant may it, so weak is it, stand upright:
And yet in spite of you shall it live still?

The vulture with talon, the dog with his tooth,
Could sooner, ye dastards, this corpse rend and tear;
Like them though ye hunger, and raven in sooth,
Yet idly my life to dispatch ye forbear.[3]

Then, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. "Is it painful to thee," saith he, "to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow in rebellion, shall be consumed into ashes." Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he looked back, saying, "I appeal from this thy tyranny, O judge unjust! unto the righteous throne of Christ, that upright Judge; not because I fear thy cruel torments and merciless handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody." Now, when they were

The cruel words of the tyrant.

The christian child beheaded for confessing of Christ.

(1) Prudentius, v. 562.—Ed. (2) Ib. v. 663.—Ed. (3) See Prudentius, v. 810.

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come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for she had taken it up in her arms; and she, only kissing it, delivered the babe. "Farewell," she said, "my sweet child; and when thou hast entered the kingdom of Christ, there in thy blest estate remember thy mother, and from being her son become her patron."[1] And as the hangman applied his sword to the babe's neck, she sang on this manner:

Nature overcome of religion.

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord, we yield to thee:
To whom the death of this thy saint,
We know most dear to be.[2]

The fire quenched with rain.

The innocent's head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was cast, who said, that he should not burn: wherewith a great storm arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The prefect gave in commandment that his tongue should be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots, and cut off: nevertheless he spake, saying, "He that speaketh of Christ, never wanted a tongue: think not that the voice that uttereth Christ, hath need of the tongue to be the minister." The prefect at this, half out of his wits, bare in hand that the hangman deceived the sight of the people by some subtle sleight and crafty conveyance. "Not so," quoth the hangman; "if you suspect my deed, open his mouth, and diligently search the roots of his tongue." The prefect at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled; where his sorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be restored again, with his soul, into a better life, where no tyrant shall have any power.[3]

Romanus speaketh after his tongue was out.

Romanus, after long torments, strangled in prison.

The Story of Gordius, a Centurion.

Gordius was a citizen of Cæsarea, a worthy soldier, and captain of a hundred men. He, in the time of extreme persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert some time a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn feast of Mars was celebrated in the city of Cæsarea, and much people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games, he left the desert, and got him up into the chief place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the apostle: "Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me, have I openly appeared." By which words he let it to be understood, that of his own accord he came unto those games to surrender himself. At this noise, the multitude, little regarding the sights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be Gordius, and the crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the sheriff, who sat thereabout, and ordered the games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was: "I am come," saith he, "to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the christian religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and salvation; and when I understood how ye surpassed other men in cruelty, I took this as a fit time to accomplish my desire." The sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revengeth all his displeasure upon poor Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, wheel, gibbet, and whatsoever torments else might be devised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, "that it should be to him a hindrance and damage, if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Christ's cause." The sheriff, being more offended with his boldness, commanded him to feel as many kind of torments as there

Gordius, of his own accord, uttereth himself to be a Christian.

Is brought to examination.

His confession.

(1) Prudentius, v. 833. See infrà, p. 270, note 1.—Ed.

(2) These verses are rather an inadequate representation of vv. 839, 840; which are themselves a version of Psalm cxvi. 14—16.

"Pretiosa sancti mors sub aspectu Dei,
Tuus ille servus, proles ancillæ tuæ."

(3) Prudentius, in Hymnis [10] de Coronis Martyrum. [Euseb. de Mart. Pal. cap. 2.—Ed.]

were. With all which, Gordius, notwithstanding, could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto heaven, singeth this saying out of the Psalms: "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me:" and also this saying, "I will fear no evil, because thou, Lord, art with me."

After this, he against himself provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the sheriff saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleness and enticing words, to turn the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will deny Christ; as to make him a captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he should desire. But in vain (as the proverb is) pipeth the minstrel to him that hath no ears to hear, for he, deriding the foolish madness of the magistrate in supposing that it lay in him to confer any earthly good, which was worthy to compare with having a place in heaven. The magistrate, with these words thoroughly angered and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation; whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the city to be burnt. There run out of the city great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution; some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, persuading him to take a better way, and save himself, and that with weeping tears. To whom Gordius answered, "Weep not, I pray you, for me, but rather for the enemies of God, who always make war against the Christians; weep, I say, for them who prepare for us a fire, purchasing hell-fire for themselves in the day of vengeance; and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my settled mind. Truly," saith he, "I am already for the name of Christ to suffer and endure a thousand deaths, if need were." Some others came unto him, who persuaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his conscience to himself. "My tongue," saith he, which by the goodness of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation." Many more such-like words he spake; but especially uttering to them such matter, whereby he might persuade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave himself to be burnt.[1]

His bold constancy and courageous spirit.

Gordius tempted with fair promises and good gifts.

Condemned to be burnt.

His answer to his friends.

A subtle kind of dissuaders.

None ought to deny Christ with his mouth, and confess him with his heart.

Not much unlike to the story of Gordius, is the story also of Mennas, an Egyptian, who, being likewise a soldier by his profession, in this persecution of Dioclesian forsook all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the Scriptures.

Mennas, martyr.

At length returning again to the city of Cotyæum, there, in the open theatre, as the people were occupied upon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian, and upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the president; of whom he, being demanded of his faith, made this answer: "Convenient it is that I should," saith he, "confess God, in whom is light and no darkness, forsomuch as Paul doth teach that with heart we believe to righteousness, with mouth confession is given to salvation." After this the innocent martyr was most painfully pinched and cruciate with sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible, having these words in his mouth, being in the midst of his torments: "There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the kingdom of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in balance, able to be conferred with the price of one soul:" and said, "Who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish?" And moreover," saith he, "I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body, and have no power to kill the soul; but to fear him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soul in hell-fire." To make the story short, after manifold torments borne of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced (which was to be beheaded), Mennas being then had to the place of execution, said, "I give thee thanks, my

Confession of Mennas.

His words in his torments.

All the world is not to be weighed with one soul saved.

His prayer at his death.

(1) Ex Basil. in Sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem, [whence a few expressions are corrected.—Ed.]

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Lord God, who hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remain constant in thy pure faith unto this my latter end." And so this blessed soldier, fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head, and won his soul.[1]

In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I do omit.

The story of forty martyrs.

Basil, in a certain sermon about the forty martyrs, rehearseth this story, not unworthy to be noted:

There came [saith he], into a certain place [of which place he maketh no mention], the emperor's marshal or officer, with the edict which the emperor had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death. And first they did privily suborn certain who should detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the sword, the gibbet, the wheel, and the whips were brought forth; at the terrible sight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for fear did fly; some did stand in doubt what to do. Certain were so terrified at the beholding of these engines and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of martyrdom; but, vanquished at length by the intolerable pain of their torments, made shipwreck of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, forty there were at that time, invincible and noble soldiers of Christ, who, after the marshal had showed the emperor's edict, and required of all men obedience to the same, freely and boldly of their own accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared to him their names. The marshal, somewhat amazed at this their boldness of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life, for a cruel and untimely death: after that he promiseth them money and honourable offices in the emperor's name. But they, little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignity, nor money, but only the celestial kingdom of Christ; saying further, that they were ready for the faith and love they had in God, to endure the affliction of the wheel, the cross, and the fire. The rude marshal being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment. He spied out before the walls of the city a certain great pond, which lay full upon the cold northern wind, for it was in the winter-time, wherein he caused them to be put all that night; but they, being merry, and *comforting* one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their clothes, "We put off," said they, "now not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence; we give thee thanks, O Lord, that with this our apparel we may also put off, by thy grace, the sinful man; for by means of the serpent, we once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ, we now put him off." When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place, where they felt most vehement cold; insomuch that all the parts of their bodies were stark and stiff therewith. As soon as it was day, they, yet having breath, were brought unto the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so near dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pity, said unto his mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her own hands taking up her son, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellows (crooked for cold), did lie ready to be burnt, and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey he had taken in hand with his companions.[2]

Torments brought out to terrify the Christians.

Courageous boldness and christian confession of these martyrs.

Martyrdom and death for Christ, preferred before life and riches of this world.

The martyrs in a pond all a winter's night.

Taken out of the pond and cast into the fire.

A good mother caring more for the soul than for the body of her son.

A like story of forty martyrs, who were married men, we read of in Nicephorus and Sozomen,[3] who were killed likewise in a lake or

(1) Simeon Metaphrast. [apud Surium] tom. v. (2) Ex Basil. in Serm. de 40 Martyribus.—Ed.
(3) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 44. Sozom. lib. ix. cap. 2.—Ed.

pond at Sebaste, a town of Armenia, under Licinius, if the story be not the same with this.[1] *The Tenth Persecution.* A.D. 303 to 313.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of Cyrus.

This Cyrus was a physician born in Alexandria, who, flying into Egypt, in the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian, led a solitary life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles; unto whose company after a certain time did one John, born in the city of Edessa, beyond the river Euphrates, join himself, leaving the soldier's life which before that time he had exercised. But, whilst as yet the same persecution raged in a city in Egypt, called Canope, there were cast into prison for the confession of their faith, a certain godly christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theoctista, Theodota, and Eudoxia, with whom Cyrus was well acquainted; at whose infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, he came and visited them for their better confirmation; at which time Syrianus was chief captain and lieutenant of Egypt,[2] of whose wickedness and cruelty, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his Apologies, and in his epistle to those that lead a solitary life. This Cyrus, therefore, and John, being accused and apprehended of the heathen men, as the persons by whose persuasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contumeliously despised the gods and the emperor's religion, and could by no means be brought to do sacrifice, were, after the publication of their constant confession, put to death by the sword: Athanasia also, and her three daughters, being condemned to death.[3]

Another story of forty martyred in a cold pond at Sebastia.

Athanasia, with her three daughters.

The loving care of one Christian toward another.

Cyrus, to do others good, lost his life.

Sebastian, being born in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis, was a Christian, and was lieutenant-general of the van-ward[4] of Dioclesian the emperor, who also encouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He, being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his own soldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a jakes or sink. Ambrose maketh mention of this Sebastian the martyr, in his Commentary upon Psalm cxviii.; and Simeon Metaphrastes, amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian, numbereth also these following: Nicostratus, with Zoe his wife; Tranquillinus, with Martia his wife; Traglinus, Claudius, Castor, Tibertius, Castulus, Marcus, and Marcellianus, with others.

The story of Sebastian, martyr.

A worthy example of a captain to be followed.

Basil, in another sermon, also maketh mention of one Barlaam, being a noble and famous martyr, who abode all the torments of the executioners even to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him, and laid him upon the altar, where they did use to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had yet some strength; thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning incense upon the altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed; for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same endured as though it had been red-hot embers, when Barlaam recited out of the Psalms this saying: "Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight."

What desire the heathen had by some means to allure the Christians to offer sacrifice.

(1) See suprà, p. 255.—Ed. (2) Tillemont, tom. v. part 3, p. 158.—Ed.
(3) This history writeth Simeon Metaphrastes.
(4) "Primæ cohortis," by which seems meant the "Prætoria cohors," or life-guards.—Ed.

The Tenth Persecution.

To this narration of Basil, touching the martyrdom of Barlaam, we will annex consequently another story of Ambrose.[1]

A.D. 303 to 313.

He, making a certain exhortation to certain virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdoms of Agricola and Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution under Diocletian and Maximian (as they affirm) at Bologna. This Vitalis was servant to Agricola, who both together, between themselves, had made a compact to give their lives with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon Vitalis, being sent before his master to offer himself to martyrdom, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all means, to cause him to deny Christ: which when he would in no case do, but stoutly persisted in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So Vitalis, in the midst of the agony and painful torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himself to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon Agricola his master, whose virtuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his suffering therefore was the longer deferred. But Agricola, not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking, moreover, the adversaries to quicker speed, at length was fastened unto the cross, and so finished his martyrdom which he so long desired.

Agricola, with his servant Vitalis, martyred.

Vitalis first martyred.

Agricola, desirous of martyrdom, died on the cross.

The cruel martyrdom of Vincentius.

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of Vincentius, whose history here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, of Saragossa, and a Levite[2] most godly and virtuous, who at this time suffered martyrdom at Valentia,[3] under Dacian the president, as we may gather by Prudentius in his fourth and fifth hymns.[4] Bergomensis, in his "Supplement," reciteth these words concerning his martyrdom, out of a certain sermon of St. Augustine.

The torments exercised upon him.

Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitless sight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies), but certainly a great sight and marvellous, and there with singular pleasure received it, when the painful passion of victorious Vincentius was read unto us. Is there any so heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immovable martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtlety of that serpent, against the tyranny of Dacian, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacian caused the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joints of his body to be distended and racked out, until they cracked again. This being done in most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly (that his dolours and griefs might be augmented), they miserably vexed his flesh with iron combs, sharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild martyr's flesh, the tormentors themselves, also, were vilely scourged at the president's commandment. And lest his passion, through want of pains, might seem imperfect, or else too easy, they laid his body, being all out of joint, on a grate of iron; and when they had opened it with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all, into a vile dungeon was this mighty martyr drawn, the floor whereof, first, was thick spread with the sharpest shells that might be gotten; his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort. But the Lord his God was with him; the Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with joy and gladness. "Hast thou prepared a terrible rack, O cruel tyrant, O devouring lion! for the martyr's bed? the Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joints all asunder? His bones, his joints, his hairs, are all

The comfort of the Lord upon his saints.

(1) Ambros. in Exhortatione ad Virgines.
(2) So says Prudentius, who perhaps uses it poeticè for "deacon," as Ado terms him.—Ed.
(3) See Baronius's and Ado's Martyrologies, Jan. 22d. Another Vincentius, a Levite, is commemorated in the Martyrologies, June 9th, as having suffered at Agen in France.—Ed.
(4) Prud. "De Coronis," Hymn iv. *v.* 97, 99. v. *v.* 30, 40.—Ed.

numbered. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal wounds? The Lord shall pour abundantly into all his sores of his oil of gladness. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp fleshhooks, thine hot searing-irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shells, thy pinching stocks, shall turn to this patient martyr to the best. All together shall work contrary to thine expectation; great plenty of joy shall he reap into the barn of his soul, out of this mighty harvest of pains that thou hast brought him into. Yea, thou shalt prove him *Vincentius* indeed; that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madness by his meekness, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched."[1]

The Tenth Persecution. A. D. 303 to 313.

The confession and martyrdom of Philoromus.

In this catalogue or company of such holy martyrs as suffered in this aforesaid tenth persecution, many more, and almost innumerable, there be expressed in authors beside them whom we have hitherto comprehended; as Philoromus, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who, being persuaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his wife, to consider his children and family, did not only reject the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and torments of the judge, to keep the confession of Christ inviolate unto the death and losing of his head:[2] of whom Eusebius beareth witness, that he was there present himself.

Torments and constancy of Procopius.

Of like estate and dignity was also Procopius in Palestine, who, after his conversion, brake his images of silver and gold, and distributed the same to the poor; and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of goring and stabbing in, of firing, at length had his head also smitten off, as witnesseth Nicephorus.[3]

Sundry torments of George.

To this may be joined also George, a young man of Cappadocia, who, stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the emperors, was apprehended and cast into prison; then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords; after that, his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at last with a sword he had his head cut off.[4]

Divers martyrs.

With these aforenamed, add also Sergius and Bacchus; Pantaleon, a physician in Nicomedia;[5] Theodorus, of the city of Amasæa, in Pontus;[6] Faustus, a martyr of Egypt;[7] Gereon, with three hundred and eighteen fellow-martyrs, who suffered about Cologne;[8] Hermogenes, the president of Athens, who, being converted by the constancy of one Mennas and Eugraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, Samonas, Gurias, and Abibus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphrastes; Jerome also, with certain of his confessors, under Maximin, mentioned in Metaphrastes; Indes and Domnas,[9] who suffered with many other martyrs above mentioned at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphrastes. Evelasius and Maximin, the emperor's officers, whom Fausta the virgin in her torments converted. Also Thyrsus, Leucius, Callinicus;[10] Apollonius, Philemon, Asclas; Leonidas; with Arrian, president of Thebais. Cyprian likewise, a citizen of Antioch, who, after he had continued a long time a filthy magician or sorcerer, at length was converted and made a

(1) Ex August. in Sermone [in Append. tom. v. col. 315].—Ed.
(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 9; Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 9. (3) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 15.
(4) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 15. (5) Bergom. Supplem. lib. viii. (6) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 93.
(7) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 5. (8) Petr. De Natal. lib. ix. cap. 49.
(9) It is doubtful whether there were ever such martyrs. See Basnagii Annal. ad an. 293, § 2.—Ed.
(10) This name is spelt sometimes "Gallenicus;" but see Baronius's Note on Jan. 28. "Mart. Rom." p. 53, Antverp. 1589.—Ed.

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deacon, then a priest, and at last the bishop of Antioch, of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This Cyprian, with Justina a virgin, suffered among the martyrs.[1] Item, Glycerius at Nicomedia; Felix a presbyter, Fortunatus and Achilleus deacons, in the city of Valence; Arthemius at Rome; Cyriacus deacon to Marcellus bishop of Rome; Carpophorus priest at Spoleto, with Abundius a deacon. Item, Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus,[2] who suffered with Marcellinus bishop of Rome;[3] Cucuphas, in the city of Barcelona; Felix, a bishop,[4] with Adauctus[5] and Januarius his priests, Fortunatus and Septimus his readers, who suffered in the city of Venosa in Apulia,[6] under Dioclesian.[7]

The lamentable history of Cassianus, martyr.

It were too long a travail or trouble to recite all and singular names of them particularly, whom this persecution of Dioclesian did consume; the number of whom being almost infinite, is not to be collected or expressed. One story yet remaineth not to be forgotten of Cassianus, whose pitiful story being described of Prudentius we have here inserted, rendering metre for metre as followeth.[8]

Verses on Cassianus.

Through Forum as (in Italy)
I passed once to Rome,
Into a church by chance came I,
And stood fast by a tomb;

Which church sometime a place had been,
Where causes great in law [giv'n,
Were scanned and tried and judgment
To keep brute men in awe.

This place Sylla Cornelius
First built; he rais'd the frame,
And call'd the same Forum, and thus
That city took the name.[9]

In musings deep as here I stood,
Casting mine eye aside,
A figure in full piteous mood
Pourtrayed by chance I spied;

Marked with a thousand wounds full
All mangled rent and torn; [bad,
The skin appeared as though it had
Been jagged and prickt with thorn.

A school of pictured boys did band
About that loathsome sight,
That with their sharpened gads in hand
His members thus had dight.

These gads were but their pens, where-
Their tablets written were, [with
And such as scholars often, sith,
Unto the schools do bear.

"Whom thou seest here thus pictured sit,
And firmly dost behold,
No fable is, I do thee wit,"
(The verger question'd told,[10]

That walk'd thereby) "but doth declare
The history of one,
Which, written, would good record bear
What faith was long agone.

A skilful schoolmaster this was,
That here sometime did teach;
The bishop once of Brixen was,[11]
And Christ full plain did preach.

He knew well how to comprehend
Long talk in a few lines,
And it at length how to amend
By order and by times.

His sharp precepts and his stern looks
His beardless boys did fear;
When hate in heart, yet, for their books
Full deadly they did bear.

(1) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 120—122. See suprà, p. 205, note (1).—Ed.
(2) Tillemont, tom. v. pt. 1; Mart. Rom. a Baronio, April 26.—Ed.
(3) Sabel. Ennead, vii. lib. 8.
(4) It is difficult to say over what place he presided, but certainly not in Apulia. See Tillemont, "Mémoires Eccles." tom. v. pt. ii. p. 360, edit. in 12mo, 1707. His episcopate seems to have been Thibara, or Tizzaca, in Africa: see note in Baron. Martyrol. Oct. 24th.—Ed.
(5) This name is sometimes read, Audactus, and Audax.—Ed.
(6) A different place, Aquileia, is assigned as the place of these martyrdoms by Baronius (ad an. 303, § 123), and the same may be remarked of many preceding.—Ed.
(7) Bergom. lib. viii. [p. 176, Ed. Brixiæ, 1485.—Ed.]
(8) Ex Aurel. Prudent. lib. "De Coron." [hymn 9. This story has been translated rather paraphrastically: there is nothing in the original answering to the second stanza.—Ed.]
(9) Forum Cornelii, hodiè, *Imola*.—Ed.
(10) "Ædituus consultus, ait," is the original.—Ed.
(11) There is nothing in the original answering to this. Londin. Valpy, tom. i. p. 298.—Ed.

The child that learns, I do ye weet,
Terms aye his tutor cruel;
No discipline in youth seems sweet;
Count this a common rule.

Behold the raging time now here,
Oppressing so the faith,
Doth persecute God's children dear,
And all that Christ bewraith.

This trusty teacher of the swarm
Profest the living God;
The chief good thing they count their harm,
Perhaps he shakes his rod.[1]

'What rebel," asked the president,
"Is he I hear so loud?"
'Unto our youth an instrument,"
They say, and low they bowed.

"Go, bring the caitiff forth," he bids,
"And make no long delay;
Let him be set the boys amidst."
They do as he doth say.

"Let him be given unto them all,
And let them have their will,
To do to him what spite they shall,
So that they will him kill.

Even as they list let them him fray,
And him deride so long,
Till weariness provokes their play,
No longer to prolong.

Let them, I say then, uncontrolled
Both prick and scotch his skin;
To bathe their hands let them be bold
In the hot blood of him."

The scholars hereat make great game,
It pleaseth them full well; [flame,
That they may kill and quench the
They thought to them a hell.

They bind his hands behind his back,
And naked they him strip;
In bodkin-wise at him they nack,
They laugh to see him skip.

The private hate that each one hath
In heart, it now appears;
They pour it forth in gawdy wrath,
They wreak them of their tears.

Some cast great stones, some others break
Their tablets on his face;
"Lo! here thy Latin and thy Greek!"
(Oh barren boys of grace!)

The blood runs down his cheeks, and doth
Imbrue the boxen leams,
Where notes by them were made (though loth),
And well proponed themes.

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Some whet and sharp their pencils' points,
Which served to write withal;
Some others gage his flesh and joints,
As with a pointed nall.

Sometime they prick, sometime they rent,[2]
This worthy martyr's flesh;
And thus by turns they do torment
This confessor afresh.

Now all with one consent on him
Their bloody hands they lay;
To see the blood from limb to limb
Drop down, they make a play.

More painful was the pricking pang
Of children oft and thick,
Than of the bigger boys that stang,
And near the heart did stick.

For by the feeble strokes of th' one,
Death was denied his will,
Of smart that made him woe-begone,
He had the better skill.

The deeper strokes the great ones gave,
And nearer touched the quick,
The welcomer he thought the same,
Whom longing death made sick.

"God make you strong," he saith,
"I pray,
God give you might at will;
And what you want in years, I say,
Let cruelty fulfil.

But whilst the hangman breatheth still
And me with you doth match,
That weakly work (yet want no will)
My life for to dispatch,

My griefs wax great."—"What groan'st thou now?"
Said some of them again,
"In school, advised well art thou,
Whom there thou put'st to pain.

Behold (we pray) and now make good
As many thousand stripes,
As when with weeping eyes we stood
In danger of thy gripes.

Art thou now angry at thy band,
Who always criedst, 'write, write;'
And never wouldst that our right hand
Should rest in quiet plight?

We had forgot our playing times,
Which thou wert stingy of:
We now but prick and point our lines."
And thus they grin and scoff:

"Correct, good sir! our viewed verse,
If aught amiss there be:
Now use thy power, and them rehearse
That have not minded thee."

(1) The same remark applies to this and the preceding line; from line 70 to 76, and 96 and 97.—Ed.
(2) There is an allusion here in the original (not sufficiently retained perhaps in the translation) to the shape of the stylus, or ancient pen, one end of which was sharp, the other flattened, to smooth the wax if needful. See Adam's Roman Antiquities, by Boyd, p. 440.—Ed.

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Cassian, martyr.

Christ, pitying this groaning man,
With torments torn and tired,
Commands his heart to break even then;
Who—yielded and expired.

[This tale the picture tells (saith he)
Which doth thine eyes allure—
The agonies and victory
Of Cassian, martyr pure.

Say, stranger, doth some strong desire
Thy panting soul possess,
Or some fond hope thy bosom fire,
Or some deep grief distress?

Here make thy suit: the martyr saint,
In humble faith address, [plaint,
Each suppliant hears, whate'er his
And grants each pure request.

I could not but consent: I weep:
His tomb I do embrace:
His altar in devotion deep
I kiss with glowing face.

The secret thoughts I then rehearse
Which fill'd my lab'ring breast,
Whisper my fears of sad reverse,
My longings to be blest.

Of home and all its dear delights,
Mid dangers left behind,
Of all that now my steps invites
To Rome, I tell my mind.

The martyr hears, and smiles success:
At home in safety found,
I there the name of Cassian bless,
And Cassian's fame resound.[1]]

No less admirable than wonderful was the constancy also of women and maidens, who, in the same persecution, gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the testimony of Christ, with no less boldness of spirit than did the men themselves above specified, to whom how much inferior they were of bodily strength, so much more worthy of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here we mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our stories and chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we have taken out of the aforesaid Prudentius, as followeth:[2]

Eulalia, martyr.

The chaste and continent behaviour of Eulalia.

In the west part of Spain is a city great and populous, named Merida, wherein dwelt, and was brought up, a virgin, born of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia; which Merida, although for the situation thereof, it was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof by the martyrdom, blood, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin, Eulalia. Twelve years of age was she, and not much above, when she,[3] not delighting in precious balms, or costly ornaments and jewels, but forsaking and despising all these and such-like pompous allurements, showed herself most busy in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance and heavenly patronage; which Eulalia, as she was modest and discreet in behaviour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also witty and sharp in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution broke out against God's children in the household of faith, and when the Christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to devils or dead gods, then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle; and, being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a courageous captain) to give a charge upon this so great and disordered a battle. And so she, silly woman, her innocent heart panting with the divine inspiration, challengeth the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of this damsel, so ready to die for Christ's cause, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her, and kept her close at their house in the country,

Giveth the onset, denying to sacrifice to devils.

Is kept secret by her parents.

(1) It may be proper here to add a remark from Rivet. "Poetis in more positum est, quid versus potius, quam pietas postulat, sæpe considerare, et elegantias poeticas multo magis, quam accuratam Scripturarum disciplinam consectari. Id cum ad *Prudentii* nonnulla dicta respondisset Campiano doctiss. Whittakerus, [ad rat. Campiani respons. x.] *quid?* ait Duræus, *quia Poeta fuit, se esse Christianum oblitus est?* Id quærat a suo Bellarmino, qui lib. ii. de Purgat. cap. 18, respondens ad argumentum, quo ex Prudentio objiciebatur. *esse sub Styge ferias spiritibus nocentibus*, 'nihil' (inquit) 'aliud dico, nisi more poetico lusisse Prudentium.'" Tract. de Patrum Autori. cap. 11, § 3, prefixed to his Criticus Sacer. This remark may be extended to the practice of praying to the departed saints, of which there are, as it will be perceived, some traces both in this hymn and the hymn upon Romanus (v. 833, suprà, p. 262). Cellarius pointed out these and other deviations from sound doctrine, in his edition of Prudentius (Halæ Sax. 1703); and various similar passages are collected by Chemnitz (Exam. Conc. Trid. pars 3, loc. 4, de Invoc. Sanct. § 57). See also Forbesii Instruct. Historico-Theol. lib. vii. c. 5, § 11. Some portions of these verses, particularly the closing stanzas, are not precisely as Foxe gave them, but are made to accord with the original.—Ed

(2) Ex Aurel. Prudentio, lib. "De Coronis." [Hymn. 3.]

(3) Foxe's text has been corrected here.—Ed.

being a great way out of the city. She yet misliking that quiet life, and also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haste leaving the common way, openeth the hedge-gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) passed through the thorny and briery places, accompanied yet with spiritual guard. And although dark and dreadful was the silent night, yet had she with her the Lord of light. And as the children of Israel, coming out of Egypt, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night, so had this godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when she, flying and forsaking the place where all filthy idolatry abounded, and hastening her heavenly journey, was not oppressed with the dreadful darkness of the night. But yet she travelled many miles in this her speedy journey, before the day appeared.

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In the morning betime, with a bold courage she goeth unto the tribunal or judgment-seat; and in the midst of them all, with a loud voice crying out, said, "I pray you, what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without advisement, to destroy and kill men's souls, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks, and cause them to deny God, the universal Father. Would you know, O you unfortunate! what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an enemy to your devilish sacrifices. I spurn your idols under my feet; I confess God omnipotent, with my heart and mouth. Isis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximian himself, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of men's hands; the other but a castaway, because he worshippeth the same work. Therefore, frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be set by. Maximian is a lord of substance, and yet he himself falleth down before a stone, and voweth the honour of his dignity unto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppress so tyrannically more worthy stomachs and courages than himself? He must needs be a good guide and an upright judge, who feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing on the bodies of godly men, doth rend and tear their bowels; and, what is more, hath his delight in destroying and subverting the faith. Go to, therefore, thou hangman! burn, cut, and mangle thou, these earthly members. It is an easy matter to break a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst do."

Reproveth the heathen judge.

The godly confession of Eulalia.

The prætor then, or judge, with these words of hers set in a great rage, saith, "Hangman! take her and pull her out by the hair of her head, and torment her to the uttermost. Let her feel the power of our country's gods, and let her know what the imperial government of a prince is. But yet, O thou sturdy girl! fain would I have thee (if it were possible), before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedness. Behold, what pleasures thou mayest enjoy by the honourable house thou camest of; thy fallen house and progeny follow thee to death with lamentable tears, and the nobility of thy kindred in much concern make doleful lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thyself, so young a flower, and so near the honourable marriage and great dowry which thou mayest enjoy? Doth not the glistering and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine ancestors prick thee? Who is it that this thy rashness and wickedness grieve not? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beasts shalt thou be pulled in pieces; or else thou, being cast into the fiery flames, shalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee, I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou shalt be delivered from all these punishments."

Allured with fair persuasions.

To this Eulalia made no answer, but being in a great fury, she spitteth in the tyrant's face; she throweth down the idols, and spurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incense prepared to the censers. Then, without further delay, the hangmen with both their strengths took her, and rent her slender breast, and with hooks or claws scotched her sides to the hard bones; she all this while counting the gashes, and saying, "O Lord! behold thou art inscribed upon me! how pleasant it is to note those piercings, which mark thy triumphs, O Christ! even the purple blood itself proclaims thy sacred name." This sang she with a bold stomach, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad

The Tenth Persecution. and merry, abandoning from her mind all heaviness and grief, when, as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with fresh blood bathed her white and fair skin.

A. D. 303 to 313. Then proceed they to the last and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned on every side with flaming torches, her tormented breasts and sides: her hair hanging about her shoulders in two parts divided (wherewith her shamefaced chastity and virginity were covered) reaching down to the ground. But when the cracking flame flieth about her face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head, then she, desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame. And so rested she in peace.

The end and martyrdom of Eulalia.

The said Prudentius and Ado, also Equilinus, add moreover, writing of a white dove issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body; also of her body covered miraculously with snow, with other things more, whereof let every reader use his own judgment.[1]

As ye have heard now the christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthy of praise and commendation, so no less commendation is worthy to be given to blessed Agnes, that constant damsel and martyr of God, who, as she was in Rome of honourable parents begotten, so lieth she there as honourably entombed and buried. Which Agnes for her unspotted and undefiled virginity deserved no less praise and commendation, than for her willing death and martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long discourse (more, in my judgment, than necessary), reciting divers and sundry strange miracles by her done in the process of her history; which, partly for tediousness, partly for the doubtfulness of the author (some father them upon Ambrose), and partly for the strangeness and incredibility thereof, I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of her, as followeth:

Agnes, martyr.

Strange and unnecessary miracles omitted.

She was [saith he] young, and not marriageable, when first she, being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the emperor, and refused to embrace the worship of idols and to deny and forsake the holy faith. Although first proved by divers and sundry policies to induce her to the same (as now with the flattering and enticing words of the judge, now with the threatenings of the storming executioner), she stood notwithstanding stedfast in all courageous strength, and willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer whatsoever it should be, yea, though it were death itself. Then said the cruel tyrant, "If to suffer pain and torment be so easy a matter, and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worthy, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded, I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore, this is determined, that forasmuch as thou, Agnes the virgin, inveighest against both Minerva and her virginity, thou shalt make obeisance to the altar of Minerva, and ask forgiveness of her for thy arrogancy; else thou shalt be sent and abandoned to the common stews or brothel-houses, whither the youth in shoals will flock and run together, and crave that they may have thee for their ludibrious prey." Then saith Agnes, "Christ is not forgetful of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastity, neither will he leave them so destitute of help. He is always at hand, and ready to fight for such as are shamefaced and chaste virgins; neither suffereth he his gifts of holy chastity to be polluted. Thou shalt," saith she, "bathe thy sword in my blood, if thou wilt, but thou shalt not defile my body with filthy lust, for any thing thou canst do." She had no sooner spoken these words, but he com-

Agnes constant in the confession of her faith.

Agnes threatened to the brothel-house.

Her hold upon the help of Christ.

(1) Ex Pruden. etc.

manded that she should be set naked at the corner of some street (which place, at that time, such as were strumpets, commonly used); the greater part of the multitude both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameless a sight, went their ways, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with uncircumcised eyes beholding the damsel, and that in such opprobrious wise, behold! a flame of fire, like unto a flash of lightning, falleth upon him, and striketh his eyes; whereupon he, falling unto the ground for dead, sprawleth in the kennel-dirt; whose companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin, for this her miraculous delivery from the danger and shame of that place, singeth praises to God and Christ.

The Tenth Persecution. A. D. 303 to 313.

The incontinent eyes of a young man, beholding Agnes, stricken out.

There be [saith Prudentius] that report, how that she, being desired to pray unto Christ for the party that a little before was stricken with fire from heaven for his incontinency, was restored by her prayer both unto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes, after that she had climbed this her first greese[1] and step unto the heavenly palace, forthwith began to climb another: for fury engendering now the mortal wrath of her bloody enemy, wringing his hands, he crieth out, saying, "I am undone! O thou executioner, draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee!" And when Agnes saw a sturdy and cruel fellow to behold, stand near to her with a naked sword in his hand, "I am now gladder," saith she, "and rejoice that such a one as thou, being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy soldier, art come, than that one more feeble, weak, and faint, should come; or else any other young man, sweetly embalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might destroy me with the loss of my chastity. This, even this, is he, I now confess, that I do love. I will make haste to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus, I being married unto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkness of this world, being raised even unto the skies. O eternal Governor! vouchsafe to open the gates of heaven, once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive, O Christ, my soul that seeketh thee." Thus speaking, and kneeling upon her knees, she prayeth, looking up unto Christ above in heaven, that so her neck might be the readier for the sword, now hanging over the same. The executioner then with his bloody hand accomplisheth her hope, and at one stroke cutteth off her head; and by such short and swift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.[2]

The young man restored to his health by her prayer.

Agnes desirous of martyrdom.

The prayer of Agnes.

Agnes beheaded.

All things be not true and probable that be written of saints' lives.

I have oftentimes before complained, that the stories of saints have been powdered and sauced with divers untrue additions, and fabulous inventions of men, who, either of a superstitious devotion, or of a subtle practice, have so mangled their stories and lives, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and uncorrupt, as in the usual portasses wont to be read for daily service, is manifest and evident to be seen; wherein few legends there be able to abide the touch of history, if they were truly tried. This I write upon the occasion specially of good Katharine, whom now I have in hand; in whom although I nothing doubt but in her life was great holiness, in her knowledge excellency, in her death constancy, yet, that all things be true that be storied of her, neither do I affirm, neither am I bound so to think; so many strange fictions of her be feigned diversely of divers writers, whereof some seem incredible, some also impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus,[3] writing of her conversion, declareth, how that Katharine sleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his mother Mary appeared unto her; and when Mary had offered her unto Christ to be his wife, he first refused her for her blackness. The next time, she being baptized, Mary appear-

The history of Katharine, martyr.

(1) "Greese," a stair or step.—Ed.
(2) Ex Pruden. Lib. de Coronis, [hymn 14.]
(3) Petrus de Natalibus, lib. x.

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ing again, offered her to marry with Christ; who then, being liked, was espoused to him and married, having a golden ring the same time put on her finger in her sleep, etc.[1] Bergomensis writeth thus, that because she in the sight of the people openly resisted the emperor Maxentius to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore she was commanded and committed upon the same to prison: which seemeth hitherto not much to digress from truth. It followeth, moreover, that the same night an angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto the martyrdom, for that she was a maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with her for whose honour she did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wisdom which her enemies should not withstand: with many other things more, which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning the fifty philosophers, whom she in disputation convicted, and converted unto our religion, and who died martyrs for the same. Item, of the converting of Porphyry, kinsman to Maxentius, and Faustina, the emperor's wife. At length (saith the story), after she had proved the rack and the four sharp-cutting wheels, having at last her head cut off with the sword, so she finished her martyrdom, about the year of our Lord 310, as Antoninus affirmeth.[2] Simeon Metaphrastes, writing of her, discourseth the same more at large, to whom they may resort, who covet more therein to be satisfied.

Katharine resisteth the emperor openly to his face.

Katharine committed to prison, and comforted by an angel.

The torments and end of Katharine.

The history of Julitta, martyr.

Among the works of Basil a certain oration is extant concerning Julitta the martyr, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who came to her martyrdom (as he witnesseth) by this occasion:

A certain avaricious and greedy person of great authority (and, as it may appear, the emperor's deputy, or other like officer), who abused the decrees and laws of the emperor against the Christians, to his own lucre and gain, violently took from this Julitta all her goods, lands, chattels, and servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the judges: a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman, and the spoiling extortioner, stood forth together: the woman lamentably declareth her cause; the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When she had proved that of good right the goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her, the wicked and bloodthirsty wretch, preferring vile worldly substance before the precious substance of a christian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that she was an outlaw, in not having observed the emperor's gods since her christian faith had been abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon incense and fire were prepared for her to worship the gods, which unless she would do, neither the emperor's protection, nor laws, nor judgment, nor life, should she enjoy in that commonweal. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, she said, "Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, than to speak one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield thee thanks most hearty, O my God! for this gift of grace, that I can contemn and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming christian profession above all treasures." Henceforth, when any question was demanded, her answer was: "I am the servant of Jesus Christ." Her kindred and acquaintance, flocking to her, advertised her to change her mind: but that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their idolatry. Forthwith the judge, with the sharp sword of sentence, not only cutteth off all her goods and possessions, but judgeth her also to the fire most cruelly. The joyful martyr embraceth the sentence as a thing most sweet and delectable. She addresseth herself to the flames, in countenance, gesture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her

Julitta violently spoiled of her goods.

Had once abjured.

A christian voice of a true martyr.

Julitta stands to the confession of her faith.

Julitta condemned to the fire.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Anton. tit. viii. capit. I § 38.—Ed.

sententiously she spake: "Stick not, O sisters, to labour and travail after true piety and godliness. Cease to accuse the fragility of feminine nature. What! are not we created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after God's image and similitude are we made as lively as they. Not flesh only did God use in the creation of the woman, in sign and token of her infirmity and weakness, but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and living God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all infidelity renounced; patient in adversity, all worldly ease refused. Wax weary, my dear sisters, of your lives led in darkness, and be in love with my Christ, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, who is the true light of the world. Persuade yourselves, or rather the Spirit of the living God persuade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worshippers of idols and devils shall be tormented perpetually; the servants of the high God shall be crowned eternally." With these words she embraced the fire, and sweetly slept in the Lord.[1]

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Her words and exhortation to women about her

There have been, moreover, beside these above recited, divers godly women and faithful martyrs, as Barbara a noble woman in Tuscany, who, after miserable prisonment, sharp cords, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also Fausta the virgin, who suffered under Maximian; by whom Euilasius a ruler of the emperor's palace, and Maximin the president, were both converted, and also suffered martyrdom, as witnesseth Metaphrastes. Item, Juliana, a virgin of singular beauty in Nicomedia, who, after divers agonies, suffered likewise under Maximin. Item, Anysia a maid of Thessalonica, who under the said Maximin suffered.[2] Justina, who suffered with Cyprian bishop of Antioch;[3] not to omit also Tecla,[4] although most writers do record that she suffered under Nero. Platina[5] maketh also mention of Lucia and Agatha. All which holy maids and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdom, in this tenth and last persecution of Dioclesian.

Martyrs.

During the time of which persecution, these bishops of Rome succeeded one after another; Caius, who succeeded awhile after Sixtus[6] before-mentioned; Marcellinus; Marcellus (of whom Eusebius in his story maketh no mention); Eusebius; and then Miltiades: all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First, Marcellinus, after the martyrdom of Caius, was ordained bishop. He, being brought by Dioclesian to the idols, first yielded to their idolatry, and was seen to sacrifice. Wherefore, being excommunicated by the Christians, he fell into such repentance, that he returned again to Dioclesian, where he, standing to his former confession, and publicly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recovered the crown of martyrdom, suffering with Claudius, Quirinus, and Antoninus.[7]

Five bishops of Rome martyrs.

Marcellinus denieth and repenteth.

Marcellus likewise was urged of Maxentius to renounce his bishopric and religion, and to sacrifice with them to idols; which when he constantly refused, he was beaten with cudgels, and so expelled the city. Then he, entering into the house of Lucina a widow, assembled there the congregation; which when it came to the ears of Maxentius the tyrant, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable,[8] and made Marcel-

(1) Ex Basil. in Ser. (2) Metaph. ibid.
(3) See suprà, p. 205, note (1). According to Dowling's "Notitia Scriptorum SS. Patrum. Oxon. 1839," p. 217, the works of Cyprian of Antioch are included in Francis Oberthürs "SS. Patrum Latinorum opera omnia, Wirceburgi 1780—91;" but see Basnage, an. 248, § 7.—Ed.
(4) Euseb. de Mart. Pal. cap. 3.—Ed.
(5) Platin. in Vitâ Caii; [but Agatha suffered under *Decius:* see Mart. Rom. Feb. 5.—Ed.]
(6) St. Dionysius, St. Felix, and St. Eutychian, intervened.—Ed.
(7) Ex lib. Concilior. et Platina.
(8) This story is taken from the "Pontificale" of Damasus, and is, in Basnage's opinion (Annales, ad an. 308, § 5,) fabulous. His main objection is that the episcopate of *Marcellus* is thus made to occupy *five* years, whereas he sat but one year, seven months, and twenty days.—Ed.

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lus the keeper of the beasts; who with the stink thereof and miserable handling was put to death. Eusebius sat bishop of Rome, as Eusebius saith,[1] seven months; Marianus Scotus saith eight months, Damasus affirmeth six years. Sabellicus allegeth certain authors that say, that he was slain by Maximian; but correcteth that himself, affirming that Maximian died before him.

Authors dissent.

Miltiades or Melchiades, by the testimony of Platina and others that follow him, sat three years and seven months, and suffered under Maximian. But that seemeth not to be true,[2] as Sabellicus doth rightly note,[3] affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time; forsomuch as the said Galerius Maximian reigned but two years, and died before Miltiades. Also Eusebius manifestly expresseth the example of a letter of Constantine[4] written to this Miltiades bishop of Rome, plainly convicting that to be false, which Platina affirmeth.

A place of Platina confuted.

The order and proceeding against the bishop of Rome.

An objection of the papists answered.

In the book collected of General Councils, among the decretal epistles, there is a long tractation about the judgment and condemnation of Marcellinus; whereof the masters and patrons of popery in these our days take great hold to prove the supremacy of the pope to be above all general councils, and that he ought not to be subject to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written, "Nemo unquam judicavit pontificem, nec præsul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam,[5] etc.: although this sentence of Miltiades seemeth apparently to be patched in rather by some Hildebrand than by Miltiades, both for that it hangeth with little order of sense upon that which goeth before; and again, because that "prima sedes," here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the see of Rome before the council of Nice, where the order and placing of bishops was first established. But to let this sentence pass, yet notwithstanding, the circumstance and proceeding of this judgment, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the bishops of this council of Sinuessa[6] did not condemn Marcellinus, for the words of the council be plain: "They subscribed therefore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the city."[7] Moreover by the said council were brought in the seventy-two witnesses against Marcellinus.[8] In the said council, the verdict of the same witnesses was

The bishop of Rome is cited up and appeareth before the council.

(1) Euseb. in Chron. "Mira confusio" (remarks Pagi) "ut animadvertit Constantius, p. 318, in veteribus libris, in designando quando, et quamdiu sederit S. *Eusebius*." A *brief* session seems most probable; if the reader wishes for more information upon the question, he may consult "Pagii Crit. in Baron." an. 311, p. 493, edit. Lucæ, 1748. "Errore immani," says Basnage (ad an. 310, § 6). Six months, he considers, are as much as can be allowed to the episcopate of Eusebius.—Ed.

(2) Foxe is correct about the chronology: "Qui tamen in antiquis ecclesiasticis monumentis reperitur titulo *Martyris* consignatus, more majorum, quod qui persecutionis tempore perpessus pro Christi fide tormenta, licet superstes in fide quieverit, martyr appellari ejusmodi consueverit." Baron. Annal. an. 313, § 47. Constantine's letter is in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. x. cap. 5.—Ed.

(3) Ex Sabel. Enead. vii. lib. 8.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. x. 5.

(5) For this and the subsequent quotation, see Labbe's Collection of the Councils, tom. i. col. 943.—Ed.

(6) The Romanists seem puzzled whether to reject or to advocate the existence of such a council. see Howel's "Synopsis Canonum Eccles. Latinæ," (Lond. 1710) pp. 34—36, and "Concil. Generall. Studio Labbei," tom. i. col. 944; Dupin's "History of Eccles. Writers," vol. ii. p. 241. The seat of the supposed council is now called Sezza. "Hoc *Concilium* videtur supposititium esse; nam licet convocatum dicatur anno 303, ejus tamen nec meminit *Eusebius*, nec *Ruffinus*, nec *Hieronymus*, nec *Socrates*, nec *Theodoretus*, nec *Sozomenus*, nec *Eutropius*, nec *Damasus*, nec *Beda*, nec quisquam alius sæculo tertio, 4 aut 5, aut 6, aut septimo. Nicolaus *Papa* primus ejus nominis, qui vixit circa 860, primus extitit qui illius meminit." Censura quorundam Scriptorum auct. R. Coco; p. 441, edit. Helmst. 1683.—Ed.

(7) "Subscripserunt igitur in ejus damnationem et damnaverunt eum extra civitatem."

(8) About eighty-five names of witnesses are given in Labbé, tom. i. col. 939; but in col. 940, "seventy-two" is mentioned as the number. The number is also expressed in a peculiar manner

demanded, and also received. Furthermore Quirinus, one of the bishops there, openly protested, that he would not depart the council, before the naughtiness of the bishop was revealed. What doth all this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there, and did appear before the judgment-seat of the council, and there stood subject to their sentence and authority, by the which he was expelled out of the city? As for the words of the council, whereupon our papists stand so much, "Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius judicio condemnaberis," etc. Item, "Tuo ore judica causam tuam," etc.: these words import not here the authority of the Roman bishop to be above the council, neither do they declare what the council could not do, but what they would and wished rather to be done; that is, that he should rather acknowledge his crime before God and them with a voluntary yielding of his heart, than that the confession of such a heinous fact should be extorted from him through their condemnation; for that they saw to be expedient for his soul's health, otherwise their condemnation should serve him to small purpose. And so it came to pass; for he, being urged of them to condemn himself, so did, prostrating himself and weeping before them; whereupon immediately they proceeded to the sentence against him,[1] condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the city. Now, whether by this may be gathered that the bishops of Rome ought not to be cited, accused, and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent reader judge simply.

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The bishop of Rome condemned by the council.

As touching the decretal epistles, which be intituled under the names of these aforesaid bishops, whoso well adviseth them, and with judgment will examine the style, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the constitutions in them contained (little serving to any purpose, and nothing serving for those troublesome days then present), may easily discern them, either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times; especially seeing all the constitutions in them, for the most part, tend to the setting up and to exalt the see of Rome above all other bishops and churches, and to reduce all causes and appeals to the said see of Rome. So the epistle of Caius, beginning with the commendation of the authority of his see, endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all provinces whatsoever emerging, to be referred to the see apostolical. Moreover the greatest part of the said epistle from this place,[2] "Quicunque illi sunt, ita obcæcati," etc. to the end of this period, "Quoniam sicut ait Beatus Apostolus, magnum est pietatis," etc., is contained in the epistle of Leo, unto Leo the emperor: and so rightly agreeth in all points with the style of Leo, that evident it is the same to be borrowed out of Leo, and to be patched into the epistle of Caius out of Leo.

The decretal epistles and constitutions of these bishops examined.

The epistle of Caius.

as "Occidua Libra testium," *i.e.* a western pound, which Baronius (Eccl. Ann. A.D. 302), says, contained 72 solidi, and represented the number 72: he also adds that the best copies mention seventy-two names. Foxe erroneously says "forty-two."—Ed.

(1) "Falsum esse de *thurificatione* Marcellini rumorem, docet antiquum Damasi Chronicum. Lapsus Marcellini ante Augustum mensem an. 303, contigisse dicitur, utpote Episcopatu moti x. Kal. Sept. Diocletiano VIII. et Maximiano VII. Coss. Atqui teste Chronico Pontificatum Marcellinus etiamnum retinebat, anno 304, *Diocletiano* IX. et *Maxim.* VIII. *Coss.* Denique Sinuessanum Concilium, quod lapsui Marcellini fundamento est, omnino subditum est." Basnagii Annal. ad an. 296, § 5.—Ed.

(2) Blondel agrees with Foxe as to the patching up of this epistle: "Centonem ex Innocentii, Leonis et Vigilii Epistolis, et Impp. rescriptis consutum jam docui." Epist. Decretal. examen (Genevæ, 1635) p. 384; in Labbé's Concill. General. tom. i. col. 926.—Ed.

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Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus, to get more authority with the reader, is admixed with a great part of Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, word for word. And how is it likely that Marcellinus, which died in the twentieth year of Dioclesian, could write of consubstantiality of the Divine Persons, when that controversy and term of consubstantiality was not heard of in the church before the Nicene council, which was twenty-three years after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bewray themselves, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more than only the reading of the same. Such a glorious style of ambition therein doth appear, as it is easy to be understood not to proceed either from such an humble martyr, or to savour any thing of the misery of such a time. His words of his first epistle written unto the brethren of Antioch, and alleged in the pope's decrees by Gratian, are these:[1]

The epistle of Marcellinus.

The epistles decretal of Marcellus.

"We desire you, brethren, that you do not teach nor think any other thing but what ye have received of the blessed apostle St. Peter, and of the other apostles and fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed; wherefore you must not forsake your own Father, and follow others. For he is the Head of the whole church, to whom the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;" whose seat was first with you in Antioch, which afterward, by the commandment of the Lord, was translated from thence to Rome; of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the governor.[2] From the ordering of which church of Rome neither ought you to deviate, seeing to the same church all manner of causes ecclesiastical, being of any importance, (God's grace so disposing) are commanded to be referred; by the same authority to be ordered regularly, from whence they took their first beginning," etc. And followeth consequently upon the same, "And if your church of Antioch, which was once the first, yielded precedence unto the see of Rome, there is no other church else that is not subject to our dominion. To whom all bishops who please or find it necessary (according to the decrees of the apostles and of their successors), ought to fly, as to their head, and must appeal to the same, so as there to have their redress and protection, from whence they took their first instruction and consecration," etc.[3]

The church of Rome sueth to the church of Antioch to yield unto her.

Whether this be likely matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus, that blessed martyr, in those so dreadful days, I say no more, but only desire thee, gentle reader, to judge.

The second epistle of Marcellus to Maxentius.

In his second epistle, moreover, the said Marcellus writing to Maxentius, the bloody tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his cruelty, sharply admonishing him how and what to do: to learn and seek the true religion of God, to maintain his church, to honour and reverence the priests of God; and especially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would cease from persecution, etc. All this is possible, and likely to be true. But now mark, good reader, what blanch stuff here followeth withal: as where he, alleging the statutes and sanctions of his predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no bishop nor minister ought to be persecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their possessions and places again restored by the law, before they were bound by the law to answer to the accusations laid in against them; and so after that, in convenient time, to be called to a council; the which council notwithstanding, without the authority of the holy see, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it

The epistle blanched stuff.

(1) [Decret. pars 2. causa] 24 quæst. 1. [§ 15]. "Rogamus vos fratres."—Ed.

(2) In what chapter or leaf of all the Bible doth the Lord command the see of Peter to be translated from Antioch to Rome?

(3) The above translation has been revised from the copy in Labbé, Conc. Gen. tom. i. col. 948.—Ed.

remain in his power to assemble certain bishops together. Neither can he regularly condemn any bishop, appealing to this his apostolical see, before the sentence definitive do proceed from the aforesaid see, etc. And it followeth after: "And therefore," saith he, "let no bishop, of what crime soever he be attached, come to his accusation, or be heard, but in his own ordinary synod at his convenient time: the regular and apostolical authority being joined withal." Moreover in the said epistle, writing unto Maxentius, he decreeth that no laymen, nor any suspected bishop, ought to accuse prelates of the church: "So that if they be either laymen, or men of evil conversation, or proved manifest enemies, or incensed with any hatred, their accusations against any bishops ought not to stand:" with other such matters more, concerning the disposition of judicial courts; which matter, if pope Gregory VII. had written unto Henry IV. emperor, or if pope Alexander III. had written to the emperor Frederic I., it might have stood with some reason and opportunity of time. But now for Marcellus to write these decrees[1] in such persecution of the church, to Maxentius the heathen and most cruel emperor, how unlikely it is to be true, and how it served then to purpose, the reader may soon discern. And yet these be the epistles and constitutions decretal, whereby (under the pretensed title of the fathers) all churches of late time, and all ecclesiastical causes, have been and yet are, in this realm of England to this day governed, directed, and disposed.

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The church of England governed by the pope's canon law without sufficient ground of antiquity.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other epistles that follow of Eusebius and Miltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no prelate or bishop ought to come to his answer (or "Ad litem contestatam," as the words of their writing do term it) before they be orderly and fully restored again to their possessions. Who moreover in the said their epistles still harp upon this key of the Scripture, "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam." Declaring, moreover, that this privilege of judging all men, and to be judged of no man, but only to be left to the judgment of the Lord, was given to this aforesaid holy see of Rome from time of the apostles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy key-keeper: so that although the election of the apostles was equal, yet this was chiefly granted to St. Peter, to have pre-eminence above the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, "That always all greater causes, as be the matters of bishops, and such other cares of weighty importance, should be brought to the see of St. Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles,"[2] etc. These be the words of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly be smelled of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these writings and letters upon these ancient holy martyrs.[3]

The epistles decretal of Eusebius and Miltiades.

This I cannot but marvel at in the third epistle of Eusebius, the bishop of Rome, that whereas Marcellinus, his late predecessor before, in his own time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same justly to be expulsed the city by the council of

A place of the third epistle decretal of Eusebius found untrue.

(1) This letter is dated "xvi. Kal. Feb. Maxentio et Maximo V. C. Coss." Quæ vel una subscriptio impostoris fraudes detegit, cum in Fastis horum par Consulum nusquam appareat gentium. Annus 309, qui Marcello supremus fuit, Coss. habuit Maxentium Augustum et Romulum." Basnagii "Annales Politico-Eccles." an. 308, § 6.—Ed.

(2) "Quod semper majores causæ, sicut sunt Episcoporum, et potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad unam beati principis apostolorum Petri sedem confluerent."

(3) Ex Epist. Decretal. Melchiades. [Apud Blondel Examen Epist. Decret. (Genevæ 1635), 427.—Ed.

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three hundred bishops, yet notwithstanding the aforesaid Eusebius, in his third epistle,[1] alleging that place of "Tu es Petrus," bringeth in for a proof of the same, and saith, "Quia in sede apostolicâ extra maculam semper est catholica servata religio," etc.; that is, "For in the apostolical see always the catholic religion hath been preserved without any spot or blemish." But howsoever the forgers of these decretal epistles have forgotten themselves, most certain it is, that these holy bishops, unto whom they were and are ascribed, lived perfect good men, and died blessed martyrs. Of whom this Miltiades was the last among all the bishops of Rome here in the west church of Europe, that ever was in danger of persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

Miltiades, the last bishop of Rome, in danger of persecution.

The end of these persecutions in all the west churches.

And thus have ye heard the stories and names of such blessed saints, as suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth year of Dioclesian to the seventh[2] and last year of Maxentius, described; with the deaths also and plagues upon those tormentors and cruel tyrants, which were the captains of the same persecution. And here cometh in (blessed be Christ!) the end of these persecutions here in these west churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantine did chiefly extend. Yet, notwithstanding, in Asia all persecution as yet ceased not for the space of four years, as above is mentioned, by the means of wicked Licinius, under whom divers there were holy and constant martyrs, that suffered grievous torments; as Hermylus a deacon, and Stratonicus, a keeper of the prison,[3] both which after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the Danube.[4] Also Theodorus the captain,[5] who being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, and because he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poor, therefore was fastened to the cross, and after being pierced with sharp pricks or bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Add to these also Milles,[6] who being first a soldier, was afterward made bishop of a certain city in Persia; where he, seeing himself could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the city and departed; which city, shortly after, by Sapor,[7] king of Persia, was destroyed.

The persecution under Licinius. Hermylus, Stratonicus, martyrs. Theodorus, captain, martyr.

Milles, martyr.

Persecution in Persia.

In the same country of Persia, about this time [A.D. 343] suffered under Sapor the king (as recordeth Simeon Metasphrastes) divers valiant and constant martyrs, as Acindynus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus,[8] also Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, royal cities of Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred and twenty-eight. Of this Simeon thus writeth Sozomen:[9]

128 martyrs.

The story of Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

The idolatrous magicians and the Jews in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, accused Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to Sapor the king, of being friendly to the Roman emperor, and of bewraying to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Sapor

(1) Page 417 in Blondel's Examen.—Ed. (2) See sup. p. 248, note (2).—Ed.
(3) This martyrdom is placed by Baronius under the fifth year of Aurelian, anno 275, § 11.—Ed.
(4) Metaphrast. (5) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 44; or Baron. anno 316, § 47. See suprà, p. 255.—Ed.
(6) Or Milesius; see Mart. Rom. a Baron. Ap. 22; and Sozom. H. E. lib. ii. cap. 14.
(7) The kings of Persia were commonly called by the name of Sapor.
(8) Upon these names, which Metaphrastes has inserted suitably enough in *his* lists, Tillemont remarks, "Les noms de ces martyrs sont tous Grecs, et non pas Persans," tom. vii. pt. 1, p. 153. —Ed.
(9) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10.—Ed.

being moved, took great displeasure against the Christians, oppressing them with taxes and tributes unto their utter impoverishing, killing all their priests with the sword: after that he called for Simeon the archbishop, who there, before the king, declared himself a worthy and valiant captain of Christ's church. For when Sapor had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shrank for any fear, nor showed any great humble suit of submission for any pardon: whereat the king, partly marvelling, partly offended, asked "Why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do?" Simeon to this answered, "For that," saith he, "before this time I was not brought unto you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order and custom of the realm of me required: but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine." When Simeon thus had answered, the king, persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship the sun with him after his manner (promising to him many great gifts, if he would so do), or, if he would not, threateneth to him and to all the other Christians within his land destruction. But Simeon, neither allured with his promises nor terrified with his threatenings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so as neither he could be induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, till the king's pleasure was further known.

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Worthy answer of Simeon unto the king.

The constancy of Simeon.

It befel in the way as he was going to the prison, there was sitting at the king's gate a certain eunuch, an old tutor or schoolmaster of the king's, named Usthazanes, who had been once a Christian, and afterward, falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatry. This Usthazanes, sitting at the door of the king's palace, and seeing Simeon passing by, led to the prison, rose up, and reverenced the bishop. Simeon, again, with sharp words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, who being once a Christian, would so cowardly revolt from his profession, and return again to the heathenish idolatry. At the hearing of these words the eunuch forthwith bursting out into tears, laying away his courtly apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a black and mourning weed, sitteth before the court gates, weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himself: "Woe is me! with what hope, with what face shall I look hereafter for my God, who have denied my God, when this Simeon, my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?"

The fall of Usthazanes.

The fruit of ecclesiastical discipline and chastisement.

The repentance of Usthazanes.

These words being brought to the ears of the king (as such tale-carriers never lack in princes' courts), procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Sapor the king sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speak him fair, asking him, "What cause he had so to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his house which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking?" Whereunto Usthazanes answering again, said, "That there was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire stood. Yea would God," said he, "O king, any other grief or calamity in the world, whatsoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do most justly mourn and sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since, and that I see this sun, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to worship; for which cause double-wise I am worthy of death: first, for that I have denied Christ; secondly, because I did dissemble with you." And incontinent upon these words, swearing by him that made both heaven and earth, he affirmed most certainly, that although he had played the fool before, he would never be so mad again, as instead of the Creator and Maker of all things, to worship the creatures which he had made and created. Sapor the king, being astonied at the so sudden alteration of this man, and more enraged than ever at the Christians, whom he supposed to have wrought this change in him by means of enchantments, doubting whether to intreat him with gentleness or with rigour, at length, in this mood, commanded the said Usthazanes, his old ancient servant, and first tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, he desired of the executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message unto the king, which was this (sent in by one of the king's most trusty

Answer of Usthazanes to the king.

Usthazanes, the king's tutor, condemned to be beheaded.

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eunuchs), desiring him, that for all the old and faithful service he had done to his father, and to him, he would now requite him with this one office again, to cause to be cried openly by a public crier in these words following: "That Usthazanes was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the king or the realm, but only for that he was a Christian, and would not, at the king's pleasure, deny his God." And so, according unto his request, it was performed and granted. For this cause did Usthazanes so much desire the cause of his death to be published, because that as his shrinking back from Christ was a great occasion to many Christians to do the like, so now the same, hearing that Usthazanes died for no other cause but only for the religion of Christ, should learn likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they profess. And thus this blessed eunuch did consummate his martyrdom. Of the which his said martyrdom Simeon (being in prison) hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks; who, on the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and constantly refusing to condescend unto the king's request, to worship him or the sun, was likewise by the commandment of the king beheaded, with a great number more which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of a hundred and more; all which were put to death before Simeon, he standing by, and exhorting them with comfortable words, admonishing them to stand firm and stedfast in the Lord; preaching, and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true piety; and proving by the Scriptures that so to die, was true life indeed; and that it was death indeed, to deny or betray God for fear of punishment. And added further, "There is no man alive, but needs once must die; forsomuch as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end. But those things which after this life follow hereafter, are eternal; which neither shall come to all men after one sort; for the time shall come when all men in a moment shall render an account of their lives, and receive according to their doings in this present life immortal recompence: such as have here done well, life and glory; such as have done contrary, perpetual punishment. As touching our well doing, there is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and virtuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, than if a man here lose his life for his Lord God." With these words of comfortable exhortation the holy martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed Simeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church, Abedechalaas and Ananias, who also with him were partakers of the same martyrdom.[1]

The message of Usthazanes to the king.

The cause openly cried, why Usthazanes was beheaded.

His end and martyrdom.

The martyrdom of Simeon, archbishop.

The exhortation of Simeon to the martyrs at their death, when he also himself should suffer.

Abedecalaas, and Ananias.

The story of Pusices, martyr.

Free speech and boldness of Pusices.

His cruel martyrdom.

The daughter of Pusices, martyr.

At the suffering of those above mentioned, it happened that Pusices, one of the king's officers and overseer of his artificers, was there present; who, seeing Ananias, being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble as he was preparing to suffer, "O father," said he, "a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the light of Christ." Upon these words thus spoken, Pusices immediately was apprehended and brought unto the king; who there confessing himself constantly to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the king in this cause of Christ's faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdom; for in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and plucked out his tongue out of his mouth; and so he was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of Pusices, a godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

A cruel edict of Sapor against the Christians.

The next year following, upon the same day when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lord's passion (which we call Good Friday before Easter), as witnesseth the said Sozomen, Sapor the king directed out a cruel and sharp edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them whosoever confessed themselves to be

(1) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 11.—Ed.

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Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in city and in town; some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, lest they should seem, by their silence, to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians that could be found without pity were slain, and divers also of the king's own court and household; amongst whom was also Azades, a eunuch, one whom the king did entirely love and favour; which Azades after that the king understood to be put to death, being greatly moved with the sorrow thereof, he commanded after that no Christians should be slain, but them only who were the doctors and teachers of christian religion.[1]

Innumerable martyrs in Persia.

Azades.

Provision of God to save the Christians.

In the same time it happened that the queen fell into a certain disease; upon the occasion whereof the cruel Jews, with the wicked magicians, falsely and maliciously accused Tarbula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with a sister also and a maid of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the queen, for the revenging of the death of Simeon. This accusation being received and believed, innocent Tarbula, and the two others, were condemned, and with a saw cut in sunder by the middle; whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her sickness. This Tarbula was a maid of a right comely beauty and very amiable, to whom one of the magicians cast great love, much desiring and labouring, by gifts and rewards sent into the prison, to win her to his pleasure; promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be delivered and set at liberty. But she, utterly refusing to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did choose rather to die, than to betray either the religion of her mind or the virginity of her body.

Tarbula and her sister sawn in sunder.

Example of maidenly chastity in Tarbula.

Now, forsomuch as the king had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only such as were the teachers and leaders of the flock, the magicians and arch-magicians left no diligence untried to set forward the matter; whereby great affliction and persecution was among the bishops and teachers of the church, who in all places went to slaughter, especially in the country of the Adiabeni;[2] for that part of Persia, above all other, was most christian:[3] where Acepsimas the bishop, with a great number of his flock and clergy, were apprehended and taken; upon the apprehension of whom, the magicians, to satisfy the king's commandment, dismissed all the rest, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only Acepsimas the bishop they retained, with whom one Jacob, a priest of his church, was also joined; not of any compulsion, but only as himself so desired and obtained of those magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the same bonds, to serve the aged bishop, and to relieve (so much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been sore scourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and urged him to worship the sun: which thing, because he would not do, they cast him into prison again, where this Jacob was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise Aithalas

Persecution against the bishops and teachers of the church in Persia.

Acepsimas, a bishop, martyr.

Jacob, a priest, martyr, an example of true christian charity and singular piety.

Three Persian deacons, martyrs.

(1) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 12.—Ed.
(2) Adiabeni was the same as Mesopotamia, and preserves its name in the modern Diarbek.—Ed.
(3) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 13.—Ed.

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and Jacob,[1] priests, also Azadanes and Abdiesus, deacons, were imprisoned and miserably scourged, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus. After this the arch-magician,[2] espying his time, complaineth unto the king of them, having authority and commission given him (unless they would worship the sun) to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received of the king the arch-magician doth declare to them in prison. But they answered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments: where Acepsimas, strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, died; the other, being no less rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marvellously alive, and, because they would in no case turn from their constant sentence, were turned again into prison. Of whom Aithalas, in the time of his whipping, was so drawn and racked with pulling, that both his arms being loosed out of the joints hanged down from his body, which he so carried about, without use of any hand to feed himself, but as he was fed of others.[3]

The end and martyrdom of Acepsimas, bishop.

Aithalas racked.

Miserable, and almost innumerable, were the slaughters under the reign of this Sapor, of priests, deacons, monks, holy virgins, and other ecclesiastical persons, such as did then cleave to the doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same: the names of the bishops taken in the persecution, besides the other multitude, are recited in Sozomen,[4] and in Nicephorus,[5] in this order following; Barbasymes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abdiesus, Johannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sapor, Isaac, and Dausas,[6] a prisoner of war from Zabda; with Mareabdas, a chorepiscopus, and the rest of his clergy under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty persons, who had also been taken prisoners of the Persians. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelness of their torments, how and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any history to discharge. Neither are the Persians themselves (as Sozomen recordeth[7]) able to recite them. In sum, the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name, cometh to the sum of sixteen thousand men and women.

250 other martyrs.

The number of martyrs that suffered in Persia were 16,000.

The rumour and noise of this so miserable affliction of the Christians in the kingdom of Persia, coming to the ears of Constantine the emperor, put him in great heaviness, studying and revolving with himself, how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It so befel the same time, that certain ambassadors were then at Rome from Sapor king of Persia; to whom Constantine did easily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands: thinking thereby to obtain the more friendship at the king's hands, that at his request he would be good to the Christians; to whom he writeth his epistle in their behalf, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus: "Divinam fidem servans, veritatis lucem sortior. Veritatis luce doctus, divinam fidem cognosco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res

Constantine, the emperor, writeth to the king of Persia in the behalf of the afflicted Christians.

(1) He is called Joseph by Nicephorus.—Ed.
(2) This archi-magus and magi (as Xenophon saith) was an order of religion among the Persians, which had the greatest stroke in the land next to the king.
(3) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 13. Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 37.—Ed.
(4) Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 13.—Ed. (5) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 37.—Ed.
(6) Tillemont, tom. vii. pt. 1, p. 156.—Ed. (7) Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 14.—Ed.

agendas confirmat, sanctissimam religionem cognitam reddo, et hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis Sancti Dei habere confiteor," etc. The contents whereof, briefly do tend to this effect: *The Tenth Persecution.* A. D. 303 to 313.

He declareth unto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request he would show some quiet and rest to the Christians in whose religion there was nothing which he could justly blame: forsomuch as in their sacrifices they use to kill nothing, nor to shed blood, but only to offer up unbloody sacrifices; to make their prayers unto God, who delighteth not in blood-shedding, but only in the soul that loveth virtue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing unto true piety; and therefore such men as do lead and learn him so to believe and to worship God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he assureth him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would embrace the godly piety and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof, alludeth to the stories of Gallien and Valerian, who, so long as they were favourers of the Christians, did prosper and flourish: but, as soon as they moved any persecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other emperors before them, that all went backward with them; as specially might appear by Valerian, who, after he had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was eftsoons overcome of the Persians, the revenging hand of God falling upon him; where he led ever a miserable life, in wretched captivity. Further also, for the more evidence of the same, he referreth to the examples of those emperors and tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battles, and triumph over great tyrants; whereby he hath so enlarged the dominion of the Roman monarchy, from the West ocean unto the uttermost parts well-near of all the East. To the doing whereof, he neither called to him the help of any charmer, or divination of soothsayer, nor used the killing of any sacrifice, but only the following of the cross; and prayer made to Almighty God, without any bloody sacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame, etc. *The copy and effect of the epistle of Constantine to Sapor.*

And in the end of the epistle he addeth these words:

"What joy," saith he, "is it to my heart, to hear the kingdom also of the Persians to flourish and abound in this sort of men; the Christians, I mean. And I wish that both you with them, and they with you, in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together, as your hearts would desire. For so shall you have God, who is the Author and Creator of all this universal world, to be merciful and gracious to you. These men, therefore, I commend to your kingly honour; and, for the piety for which you are renowned, I commit the same unto you; embrace them according to your humanity and benignity; and in so doing you will confer an immense benefit through your faith, both on yourself and on me."[1]

This epistle wrote Constantine[2] to king Sapor; such care had this godly prince for them that believed in Christ, not only in his own monarchy, but also in all places of the world. Neither is it to be doubted, but this intercession of the emperor did something mitigate the heat of the Persian's persecution, although thereof we read no certain thing in our histories. *The general care of godly Constantine for all Christians in all places.*

Of other troubles and persecutions we read, which happened afterward in the said country of Persia, under Isdegerdes the king, and his son and successor Vororanes; but these followed long after, about the time of the emperor Theodosius the younger;[3] at which time suffered Abdas a bishop,[4] and Hormisdas a great nobleman's son, *Other persecutions in Persia.* *The story of Hormisdas, martyr.*

(1) Theodoret, lib. i. cap. 25. Euseb. de Vitâ Constantini, lib. iv. cap. 9—13.—Ed.
(2) See the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. 4, col. 47, edit. 1624. Foxe gives the "contents" and "effect," not a translation, of Constantine's epistle to Sapor. The part marked with inverted commas is, however, a translation of its conclusion.—Ed.
(3) Isdegerdes I. reigned A.D. 399—420, his son Vororanes IV. A.D. 420—440. Theodosius the Younger was emperor A.D. 408—450. L'Art de Vérifier des Dates.—Ed.
(4) Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 158.—Ed.

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and of great reputation among the Persians; whom when the king understood to be a Christian, and to deny to turn from his religion, he condemned him to keep his army-camels, naked. In process of time, the king looking out of his chamber window, and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the sun, commanded him to have a shirt put on, and to be brought before him; whom then the king asked, if he would deny Christ. Hormisdas hearing this, tore off his shirt from his body and cast it from him, saying, "If ye think that I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift again," etc. And so was upon that expelled the country.[1]

The constancy of Suenes.

Another there was that same time, named Suenes, which had under him a thousand servants. The king, taking displeasure with him for that he would not alter from his religion and godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his servants, and him the king made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him in marriage with his master's wife, brought also Suenes under his subjection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of Suenes: but "his house was builded upon the rock."[2]

The story of Benjamin, deacon and martyr.

Of Benjamin the deacon thus writeth the said Theodoret, in his fifth book, that after two years of his imprisonment, at the request of the Roman ambassador he was delivered; who a year afterward, having meanwhile contrary to the king's commandment preached and taught the gospel of Christ, was most miserably excarnificate, having twenty sharp pricks of reeds thrust under his nails: but when he did laugh at that, then in his privy member he had a sharp reed thrust in with horrible pain. After that, a certain long stalk ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him; with the horribleness of the pain whereof, the valiant and invincible soldier of the Lord gave over his life.[3] And thus much concerning the martyrs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, but came (as it is said) long after the days of Constantine, about the year of our Lord 425.

His torment and martyrdom.

Martyrs under Julian the apostate.

Likewise under Julian the wicked apostate,[4] certain there were which constantly suffered martyrdom by the heathen idolaters: as Æmilian who was burned in Thrace, and Domitius who was slain in his cave. Theodore also, for singing of a psalm at the removing of the body of Babylas (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciated from morning almost to noon, that hardly he escaped with life; who, being asked afterward of his friends, how he could abide so sharp torments, said, "That at the first beginning he felt some pain, but afterward there stood by him a young man, who, as he was sweating, wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water ofttimes: wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more than before."[5] Artemius also, the captain of the Egyptian soldiers, the same time lost his head for his religion indeed; although other causes were pretended against him.[6] Add unto these, moreover, Eusebius, Nestabus, and Zeno, brothers, with Nestor their cousin, who for their Christianity were dragged

The story of Theodore, martyr.

A miracle to be noted.

Artemius, martyr.

Eusebius, and three others, martyrs.

(1) Ex Theodor. lib. v. cap. 39.—Ed. (2) Ibidem.—Ed.
(3) Ibidem.—Ed. (4) He was emperor A.D. 361—363.—Ed.
(5) Ruff. 5, cap. 26. Theod. lib. iii. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. v. cap. 10, 20.—Ed.
(6) Theod. lib. iii. cap. 18. Niceph lib. x. cap. 11.—Ed.

through the streets, and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza.[1] Among them of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, some were slain, some were banished, by Julian, for pulling down the temple of Fortune: Eupsychius, a nobleman of that country, died also with them a martyr.[2] But especially the cruelty of the inhabitants of Heliopolis, on mount Lebanon, and of Arethusa, a city of Syria, exceeded against the christian virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned; after that they shaved them; lastly they ripped them up, and, covering them with swill and draffe wont to be given to their hogs, so caused their bowels and flesh to be devoured of the hungry swine. This rage and fury of the wicked Arethusians Sozomen supposeth to come of this, because that Constantine before had broken them from their country-manner of setting forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whosoever lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus at Heliopolis, restraining the people there from their filthiness and vile whoredom.[3]

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The christian virgins of Arethusa.

The people mad to be plucked from their old customs, though they be never so wicked.

Of the lamentable story or rather tragedy of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa,[4] writeth the said Sozomen; and also Theodoret, in his third book and seventh chapter, in these words as followeth:

The tragedy (saith he) of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, doth require the eloquence of Æschylus and Sophocles, to set forth and beautify his great afflictions as the matter deserveth. This man, in the time of Constantine, pulled down a certain temple dedicated to idols, and instead thereof built up a church where the Christians might congregate. The Arethusians afterward, on learning the little good-will that Julian bare to the Christians, soon began openly to discover their spite against Marcus. At the first, according as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared himself to fly: but when he learnt that there were certain of his kinsmen or friends apprehended in his stead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himself to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at his virtuous conversation, being a man so adorned both with doctrine and manners, first stripped him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a while after, they cast him into a foul filthy sink, and from thence being brought, they caused boys to thrust him in with sharpened sticks made for the nonce, to provoke his pain the more. Lastly, they put him in a basket, and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the sun, as meat for wasps and bees to feed upon. And all this extremity they showed unto him, for that they would enforce him to do one of these things; that is, either to build up again the temple which he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as should pay for the building of the same. But even as he purposed with himself to suffer and abide their grievous torments, so refused he to do that they demanded of him. At length they, taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, promised to forgive him the one half, so that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he, hanging in the basket, wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boys and children, and all-to bebitten with wasps and bees, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himself to be exalted and set on high. At length, they demanding of him but a small sum of money, he answered thus: "It would be as great wickedness to confer one half penny in a case of impiety, as if I should bestow my all." Thus they, being not able to prevail against him, let him down, and were so completely altered from their former purpose, that they received instruction in true religion at his mouth.

The story of Marcus Arethusius.

His true conscience.

Great cruelty showed.

Covetousness the cause of cruelty.

A notable saying.

Although the tractation of these aforesaid stories and persecutions of Persia, above premised, do stray somewhat out of the order and

(1) Sozom. lib. v. cap. 9.—Ed.
(2) Ibid. cap. 11.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. cap. 10.—Ed.
(4) Tillemont, vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 640.—Ed.
(5) See Theod. (loc. citat.), whence a few expressions are changed.—Ed.

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course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome; yet because in this present history we are in hand with the holy martyrs and saints of Christ, forsomuch as these also gave such a faithful testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought therefore not to pass them over without some testimony in this our catalogue of holy martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the primitive church.

The wicked in this world do most flourish and prevail.

It may, peradventure, be marvelled of some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions above specified, why God Almighty, director of all things, would suffer his own people and faithful servants, believing in his own and only-begotten Son Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many years together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appear. To the which admiration I have nothing to answer, but to say with the words of Jerome, "Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes," etc. We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prevail against the body: forsomuch as in the beginning of the world, we see Abel the just to be killed of wicked Cain; and afterward Jacob being thrust out, Esau to reign in his father's house. In like case the Egyptians with brick and tile afflicted the sons of Israel; yea, and the Lord himself, was he not crucified of the Jews, Barabbas the thief being let go?[1]

Persecution cometh by no chance.

Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to wrack, the wicked flourishing and prevailing.[1] Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sins here in this life, or how else soever; yet this is to us, and may be to all men a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God's people in this world did not come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old law, by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured these persecutions of the Christians. So by the words of Christ's own mouth in the gospel he did forewarn his church of these troubles to come. Again, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall upon his servants, before that he had premonished them sufficiently by special revelation in the Apocalypse of John his servant; in the which Apocalypse he declared unto his church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them, and where and by whom they should come; but also in plain number, if the words of the prophecy be well understood, assigneth the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For, as there is no doubt but by the beast with seven heads bearing the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of saints, is signified the city of Rome; so, in my judgment, the power of making[2] forty-two months (in the thirteenth of the Apocalypse) is to be expounded [by] taking every month for a sabbath of years, that is, reckoning a month for seven years, so that forty and two such sabbaths of years being gathered together, make up the years just, between the time of Christ's death to the last year of the persecution of Maxentius;[3]

Is prefigured and forewarned of God.

The church forewarned of Christ by special revelation in the Apocalypse.

The beast in the Apocalypse expounded.

Two and forty months expounded.

(1) Hieron. in Habac. cap. i.

(2) Ποιῆσαι μ. τ. καὶ ὁ. *i.e.* "continuing." Rev. xiii. 5. See Acts xviii. 23; James iv. 13. Gr. See also infrà, p. 291, note (2).—Ed.

(3) Our author should rather have said Licinius, as infrà, pp. 291, 292.—Ed.

when Constantine, fighting under the banner of Christ, overcame him, and made an end of all persecution within the monarchy of Rome. The number of which years by plain computation come to two hundred ninety and four; to the which two hundred ninety and four years if ye add the other six years,[1] under the persecution of Licinius in Asia, then it filleth up full the three hundred years. And so long continued the persecution of Christ's people, under the heathen tyrants and emperors of the monarchy of Rome, according to the number of the forty and two months which the beast had power to make,[2] specified in the thirteenth of the Apocalypse. For the better explication whereof, because the matter (being of no small importance) greatly appertaineth to the public utility of the church; and lest any should misdoubt me herein, to follow any private interpretation of mine own; I thought good to communicate to the reader that which hath been imparted unto me, in the opening of these mystical numbers in the aforesaid Book of Revelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

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The persecuting time of the primitive church under the beast, lasted 300 years.

As I was in hand with these histories, and therein considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intolerable torments of the blessed saints, so cruelly racked, rent, torn, and plucked in pieces with all kind of tortures, pains and punishments that could be devised, more bitter than any death itself, I could not without great sorrow and passion of mind, behold their sorrowful afflictions, or write of their bloody passions. Wherein much like it happened to me as it did to Titus Livius; who, writing of the wars of Carthage, was so moved in the writing thereof, "Ac si in parte aliquâ laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset." The further I proceeded in the story, and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my grief with them and for them increased; not only pitying their woful case, but almost reasoning with God, thinking thus like a fool with myself:—Why should God of his goodness suffer his children and servants so vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly providence (as must needs be granted), why did the wicked so rage and flourish, and the godly go so to wrack? If their sins deserved punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death above all other so sharp and bitter? At least why should the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to endure so long time against his poor church, showing unto them no certain determined end of their tribulations, whereby they, knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more consolation might endure out the same? The Israelites in the captivity of Babylon had seventy years limited unto them; and under Pharaoh they were promised a deliverance out; also under the Syrian tyrants threescore and two weeks were abridged unto them. Only in these persecutions I could find no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliverance. Whereupon, much marvelling with myself, I searched the Book of Revelation, to see whether any thing there might be found; wherein, although I well perceived the beast there described to signify the empire of Rome, which had power to overcome the saints, yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions

(1) Our author assigns a less period, sup. pp. 250, 279. See also last note.—Ed.
(2) See note (2) in last page.—Ed.

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under the beast, I found nothing to satisfy my doubt. For, albeit I read there of forty-two months, of a time, times, and half a time, of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; yet all this by computation coming but to three years and a half, came nothing near the long continuance of these persecutions, which lasted three hundred years. Thus, being vexed and turmoiled in spirit about the reckoning of these numbers and years; it so happened upon a Sunday in the morning, I lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a majesty, thus inwardly saying within me; "Thou fool, count these months by sabbaths, as the weeks of Daniel are counted by sabbaths." The Lord I take to witness, thus it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the forty-two months by sabbaths: first, of months; that would not serve: then by sabbaths of years; wherein I began to feel some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to have the matter more sure, eftsoons I repaired to certain merchants of mine acquaintance; of whom one is departed a true faithful servant of the Lord, the other two be yet alive, and witnesses hereof. To whom the number of these aforesaid forty-two months being propounded and examined by sabbaths of years, the whole sum was found to surmount unto two hundred ninety and four years, containing the full and just time of these aforesaid persecutions, neither more nor less.

Now this one clasp being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifest to the intelligent reader to be understood. For, whereas mention is made of three days and a half; of one time, two times, and half a time; also of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; all these come to one reckoning, and signify forty and two months; by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these primitive persecutions, as here in order may appear.

THE MYSTICAL NUMBERS IN THE APOCALYPSE OPENED.

One thousand two hundred and sixty days.

First, whereas mention is made (Apocalypse, xi.) that the two prophets shall prophesy one thousand two hundred and sixty days; and also that the woman flying into the desert, shall there be fed one thousand two hundred and sixty days; who knoweth not that one thousand two hundred and sixty days make three years and a half? that is, months forty-two.

Three days and a half.

Secondly, whereas we read (chap. xi.) the bodies of the two aforesaid prophets shall lie in the streets of the great city unburied the space of three days and a half, and after the said three days and a half they shall revive again, etc., let the hours of these three days and a half (which be forty-two) be reckoned every day for a sabbath of years, or else every day for a month; and they come to months forty-two.[1]

A time, times, and half a time; or three years and a half.

Thirdly, whereas in the same book is expressed, that the woman had two wings given her to fly unto the desert for a time, times, and half a time; give for one time, one year or one day; for two times, two years or two days; for half a time, half a year or half a day;

(1) Our author has scarcely expressed himself intelligibly in this place: perhaps he means "Let the hours of these three days and a half (which be forty-two) be reckoned at the rate of every week for a sabbath of years, or else every day of twelve hours for a year, or else every hour for a month; and so these three days and a half come to months forty-two."—Ed.

and so it is manifest, that these three [times or] years and a half amount to months[1] forty-two. *The Tenth Persecution.*

Fourthly, account these forty-two months aforesaid, which the beast had power to make[2] (Apoc. xiii. 5), by sabbaths of years; that is, seven years for a month, or every month for seven years; and it amounteth to the sum of years two hundred and ninety-four. A. D. 303 to 313.

And so have ye the just years, days, times, and months of these aforesaid persecutions under the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of John Baptist under Herod the Roman king, to the end of Maxentius, and of Licinius, the two last great persecutors, the one in the West, the other in the East, who were both vanquished by godly Constantine. And so peace was given to the church; albeit not in such ample wise, but that divers tumults and troubles afterward ensued, yet they lasted not long: and the chief brunt, to speak of these Roman persecutions which the Holy Ghost especially considered above all others in this his Revelation, thus ended in the time of Constantine. Then was the great dragon the devil (to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting) tied short for a thousand years after this, so that he could not prevail in any such sort, but that the power and glory of the gospel by little and little increasing, and spreading with great joy and liberty, so prevailed that at length it got the upper hand, and replenished the whole earth, rightly verifying therein the water of Ezekiel,[3] which issuing out of the right side of the altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole ocean sea, and healed all the fishes therein. No otherwise the course of the gospel, proceeding of small and hard beginnings, kept still its stream: the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran. By blood it seeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprung; till, at last, out of thraldom and oppression it so burst forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all prosperity: had it so been that the Christians wisely and moderately could have used this liberty, and not abused the same (forgetting their former estate) to their own pride, pomp, and worldly ease! as it came afterward to pass: whereof more is to be seen and said (the Lord willing) in place and time convenient. Forty-two months.

And thus much touching the prophetical numbers in the Apocalypse. Wherein is to be noted and magnified the eternal wisdom and high providence of Almighty God, so disposing and governing his church, that no adversity or perturbation happeneth at any time to it, which his provident wisdom did not foresee before, and pre-ordain; neither did he pre-ordain or determine any thing, which he doth not most truly perform, both foreseeing the beginning of such persecutions, and limiting the end thereof, how long to continue, and when to cease. In much like sort we read in the books of Genesis, how the stock of Israel was four hundred years in the land of Egypt. During the space of which four hundred years, after the death of Joseph (who beareth a plain figure of Christ) they were hardly entreated, and cruelly afflicted of the Egyptians, about the space of three hundred years, reckoning from after the death of Joseph, to their deliverance out of the bondage of Egypt: semblably The persecuted Israelites bearing a figure of the persecuted church of Christ.

(1) Rev. xii. 14. (2) See suprà, p. 288, note (2), and p. 289, note (2).—Ed. (3) Ezek. xlvii. 2.

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as these Christians, after Christ's time, suffered the like bondage under the Roman tyrants. Thus much by the way I thought to insinuate, lest any should muse or take any offence in himself, to see or read of the church and people of God so long and so many years to be under so miserable and extreme afflictions: wherein neither chance, nor fortune, nor disposition of man, hath had any place, but only the fore-counsel and determination of the Lord so governed and disposed the same; who not only did suffer them to fall, and foresaw those persecutions before they fell, but also appointed the times and years how long they should last, and when they should have an end, as by the aforesaid forty-two months in the eleventh and thirteenth chapters of St. John's Apocalypse hath been declared; which months, containing two hundred ninety and four years, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time between the first year of the persecution of Christ under the Jews and Herod, till the last year of persecution under Licinius; which was in the year from the nativity of Christ 324: which was from the first persecution of Christ, in the year of our Lord 30, two hundred ninety and four years, as is aforesaid. After the which year, according to the pre-ordinate counsel of God, when his severity had been sufficiently declared upon his own house, it pleased him to show mercy again, and to bind up Satan, the old serpent, according to the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, for the space of a thousand years; that is, from this time of Licinius, to the time of John Wickliff and John Huss. During all which time, albeit certain conflicts and tumults were among christian bishops themselves in the church; yet no universal murdering persecution was stirring before the preaching of John Wickliff, Huss, and such others; as in the further process of this history (Christ willing and aiding us) shall more appear hereafter.[1]

From the first persecution to the last, two hundred ninety and four years.

Universal persecution ceaseth for one thousand years.

From the time of Licinius to Wickliff one thousand years.

Satan bound a thousand years.

Satan's binding opened.

Thus having at large discoursed these horrible persecutions past, and heavy afflictions of christian martyrs; now by the grace of God, coming out of this red sea of bloody persecution, leaving Pharaoh and his host behind, let us sing gloriously to the worthy name of our God; who through the blood of the Lamb, after long and tedious afflictions, at length hath visited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan short, hath sent his meek Moses (gentle Constantine, I mean), by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to work deliverance to his captive people, to set his servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnify the church of his Son, to destroy the idols of all the world, to grant life and liberty (and would God also not so much riches!) unto them which before were the abjects of all the world, and all by the means of godly Constantine, the meek and most christian emperor; of whose divine victories against so many tyrants and emperors, persecutors of Christ's people, and lastly against Licinius in the year of our Lord 324, of whose other noble acts and prowesses, of whose blessed virtues and his happy birth and progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaineth (Christ willing) to be declared.

(1) Our author resumes these computations and expositions infrà, vol. ii. p. 724, and vol. iv. p. 107.—Ed.

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This Constantine was the son of Constantius the emperor, a good and virtuous child of a good and virtuous father; born in Britain (as saith Eutropius[1]), whose mother was named Helena, daughter indeed of king Coilus: although Ambrose in his funeral oration on the death of Theodosius saith, she was an inn-holder's daughter. He was a most bountiful and gracious prince, having a desire to nourish learning and good arts, and did oftentimes use to read, write, and study himself. He had marvellous good success and prosperous achieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) supposed to proceed of this, for that he was so great a favourer of the christian faith. Which faith when he had once embraced, he did ever after most devoutly and religiously reverence; and commanded by special commission and proclamation, that every man should profess the same religion throughout all the Roman monarchy. The worshipping of idols (whereunto he was for some time addict by the allurement of Fausta his wife, insomuch that he did sacrifice to them), after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battle, he utterly abjured: but his baptism he deferred even unto his old age, because he had determined a journey into Persia, and thought in Jordan to have been baptized.[2]

The good qualities of Constantine.

The cause of all his prosperous success.

Constantine sometime by means of his wife was an idolater.

As touching his natural disposition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good philosopher, and in disputation sharp and ingenious. He was accustomed to say, that an emperor ought to refuse no labour for the utility of the common-weal; and that a part of the body must be cut off, if it cannot be cured; otherwise the same should be cherished.[3] This do Aurelius Victor, Pomponius Lætus, and Egnatius write of him. And Ælius Lampridius saith, writing upon the life of Heliogabalus; that Constantine was wont to say, "That an empire was given by the determinate purpose of God;[4] and that he to whom it was given, should so employ his diligence, as that he might be thought worthy of the same at the hands of the Giver:" which same saying also Augustine noteth in his third book against Cresconius.[5]

The common saying of Constantine.

He first entered into the empire by the mercifulness of God, minding after long waves of doleful persecution to restore unto his church peace and tranquillity, in the year of our Lord 310,[6] as Eusebius accounteth in his chronicle. His reign continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirty years; Lætus saith thirty and two years, lacking two months. Great quiet and tranquillity enjoyed the church under the reign of this good emperor, who took great pain and travail for the preservation thereof. First (yea, and that before he had subdued Licinius), he set forth many edicts for the restitution of the goods of the church, for the revoking of the Christians out of exile, for taking away the dissension of the doctors out of the church, for the setting of them free from public charges, and such like; even as the copies of his Constitutions declare, which Eusebius hath recorded in his tenth book and fifth chapter; in his Life of Constantine he repeateth other edicts of his, breathing kindness toward the christian church, in this wise:[7]

The reign of Constantine.

The effect of some of his Constitutions.

(1) Lib. x. cap. 2. (2) Euseb. De Vitâ Constantini, lib. iv. cap 61, 62.—Ed.
(3) "Eâ similitudine notabat malos homines, qui emendari nequeunt," adds Pomponius Lætus.—Ed.
(4) "Imperatorem esse, fortuna est." Æl. Lamp.—Ed.
(5) August. contra Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 82; and Epist. 49, 50.
(6) July 25, A.D. 306, is the true date.—Ed.
(7) Eusebius, De Vit. Constant. lib. ii. cap. 48—60. The following is a new and more accurate translation than Foxe's.—Ed.

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The Copy of an Epistle of Constantine, sent to his Subjects inhabiting in the East.

Victor Constantine, Maximus Augustus, to our loving subjects inhabiting the eastern provinces, sendeth greeting. Every thing connected with the established laws of nature furnishes sufficient indication to all men of providence and design, such as imply a divine agency; neither can there be any doubt that where the mind is led to the subject in the direct path of knowledge, the accurate apprehension of sound reason and of sight itself tends, equally with true virtue, to lead up to the knowledge of God. Therefore no wise man would ever be disturbed, though he sees mankind swayed by divers and opposite predilections; for the excellency of virtue would have remained in unprofitable obscurity, had not vice on the contrary part exhibited the life of perverse folly. Assuredly, therefore, there is a crown of reward for virtue; but the most high God reserves to himself the final adjudication. But I will endeavour, as perspicuously as I can, to explain to you all concerning the hope that is in me.

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Sloth the nurse of ignorance, and ignorance the enemy to wisdom.

For my own part, I always looked on the emperors, our immediate predecessors, as having forfeited their share in the empire on account of the ferocity of their manners. My father was the only one among them, who adopted a merciful line of conduct; and with an admirable piety he invoked God the Father in all his actions. But all the rest, like persons in a phrensy, made cruelty rather than kindness their study, and indulged it without restraint, seeking all the time they were in power to supplant the true doctrine: nay, the fury of their wickedness was kindled to such a degree, that when all sacred and civil affairs were in a state of profound repose, they stirred up civil wars.

Tyranny depriveth emperors.

Bloody tyrants make civil wars.

Apollo disquieted by the Christians.

It was said at the time, that Apollo had given an oracle from a certain den and dark cavern, and not by a man's voice, that the righteous people on the earth were an impediment to his predicting the truth, and that for this reason the responses given from his tripods proved false. This caused his locks to hang down relaxed, and he bewailed the misfortune to mankind of the prophetic influence being driven away. But let us see to what manner of conclusion these things were brought.

I now appeal to thee, the most high God, for the truth of what follows. When quite a youth, I heard him who then held the primacy among the Roman emperors (a wretched, truly wretched man, being deceived in his mind by error) with much curiosity inquire of his guards, who were meant by "the righteous people on the earth:" when one of the priests who were about him answered, "the Christians to be sure." The emperor, having gulped this answer as he would a mess of honey, unsheathed the swords which were prepared to punish crimes, against unblameable sanctity. Immediately, therefore, he wrote edicts of blood (as I may say) with homicidal sword-points, and desired the judges to rack their wits to the utmost in devising more terrible tortures. Then, then might you have seen with what strength those venerable worshippers of God, during a long continuance of cruelty, daily endured no common injuries; while the sobriety, which none of their enemies had ever aspersed, became the mere sport of their enraged fellow-citizens. What fire, what pains, what kind of tortures, was not applied indiscriminately to persons of all sorts and ages? Then, without doubt, the earth wept, and the round world with all things contained therein, being polluted with their blood, made lamentation, and the very day itself was clouded for sorrow at the awful prodigy.

The sword given to be avenged upon malefactors.

A great commendation of the Christians.

But what of all this? Why from these things the very barbarians now take occasion to glory, who received under their protection those of our countrymen who then fled, and kept them in a most humane captivity; for they not only afforded them preservation, but also liberty to retain their religious worship with security; and to this very day the Roman nation beareth the brand of infamy fixed upon it by those who were then banished from the Roman world, and found an asylum with the barbarians.

The earth bewailed the martyrs' deaths.

The authors of all mischief punished.

But what is the use of dwelling any longer on those lamentable events, which were the general sorrow of the whole world? Even the authors themselves of that horrid wickedness are at length gone, and have been committed for everlasting punishment to the depths of Acheron with an ignominious end: for

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having become involved in civil wars, they have left neither name nor kindred of theirs behind; which would not have happened to them, had not the impious prophecy of the oracles of Apollo possessed a spurious force.

And now I beseech thee, the supreme God, be mild and propitious to thy creatures in the eastern regions, yea to all thy provincials, worn out by long continued calamity: by me thy servant administer a remedy. And this I ask not without reason, O Lord of all, holy God! for it is under thy guidance and assistance that I have hitherto undertaken and perfected salutary measures; carrying thy sign before me every-where, I have led a victorious army; and as often as any public necessity requires I go forth against the enemy following the same ensigns of thy excellency. For these reasons I have entrusted my soul to thee, duly tempered with thy love and fear; for I sincerely love thy name, but I stand in awe of thy power, which thou hast manifested by many tokens, thereby rendering my own faith in thee the firmer. I hasten therefore (putting my own shoulders to the work) to repair and beautify thy most holy house, which those detestable and most ungodly wretches in their destructive phrensy laid waste. I desire that thy people may enjoy peace and live in tranquillity, and that—for the common advantage of the world and all its inhabitants. And may those who are yet in error partake (and welcome) of the enjoyment of peace and quiet equally with the believers, for the restoration of the social feeling will of itself have a great efficacy to lead those in error into the right way. Let no one, therefore, annoy his neighbour; but let every one be left to follow that which he really prefers. Yet right-minded persons will of necessity hold, that they only can live holily and purely, whom thou thyself callest to acquiesce in thy holy laws. As for those who withdraw themselves, let them have (if they must) their synagogues of false doctrine; *we* retain that splendid house of thy own truth which thou gavest us when born again.[1] This, however, we heartily wish for the others also, namely, that they also may reap pleasure from the general pacification.

Apollo's lying oracles the cause of so many martyrs' deaths.

Constantine's prayer.

His faith confirmed by the miracles of the cross.

The clemency of a good emperor.

A good judgment.

And yet our religion is nothing new or recent, but from the time when we believe the fabric of the universe to have been framed, thou didst enjoin it to be observed with becoming reverence. But mankind stumbled, being misled with all sorts of errors. Nevertheless, thou, in order that sin might not increase more and more, raising up a pure light, hast by thine own Son called all men to remember thee.

One religion from the beginning of the world.

Thy works confirm these things: it is thy power that makes us innocent and faithful; the sun and moon have their stated course; neither do the stars run their circuit round the world at random; the changes of the seasons recur by a certain law; it is by thy word that the earth is kept firm on its base; the wind makes its motion according to a set time; the ebb-tide of the waters alternates with the flood by a certain measure; the sea is confined within fixed bounds; and throughout the wide range of earth and ocean every thing is framed for certain admirable and advantageous uses. But unless all this were ordered according to thy sovereign will, without doubt so great a diversity of things, and a manifold distribution of independent power, would have brought ruin on all living beings and things in general. For those who fought against one another, would doubtless have fought with greater vehemence against mankind; which also they do, though invisible to the eye.

Each thing in their creation preach the very and true God.

The earth stayed up by the power of God.

We give thee abundant thanks, Lord of all, supreme God! for, as human nature is distinguished by special tokens of thy regard, so the instructions of thy divine word come specially recommended to such as are right-minded and zealous for true virtue. But if any one hinders himself from being cured, let him not impute that to another; for the means of cure are openly proffered to all men. Only let every man beware of doing wrong to that, which experience proves to be immaculate. Let us all then take our share in that common good which is now offered, namely, the blessing of peace, discarding from our minds every thing that is contrary to it.

Who they be, that Constantine accounteth wise indeed

But, whatever a man has been persuaded himself to adopt, let him not take occasion thereby to injure another; and if one sees and understands a thing, let him serve his neighbour therewith, if he can; but if that cannot be, let

(1) Κατὰ φύσιν is the Greek, and is obscure: Heinecken thinks it equivalent to κατὰ περιποίησιν; vid. not. in Euseb. V. C. 2. cap. 56. The phrase may perhaps be illustrated in Le Clerc's *Art. crit.* part 2, § 1, cap. 7, 5, though he is upon such topics, generally, a very unsafe guide.—Ed.

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him leave the matter alone; for it is one thing to take up the struggle for immortality voluntarily, and another, to be forced to it by punishment. Let this suffice: in fact, I have gone into the subject at greater length than my manSuetude intended, because I would not conceal what I consider the true belief; especially because some (as I hear) assert, that the temple-rites and the power of darkness have been abolished: which indeed I would ere this have advised all men to do, had not the violent insurrection of wicked error so strongly entrenched itself in some men's minds, to the hinderance of the common resurrection.

Such was the goodness of this emperor Constantine, or rather such was the providence of Almighty God toward his church in stirring him up, that all his care and study of mind was set upon nothing else, but only how to benefit and enlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him enough to deliver the church and people of God from outward vexation of foreign tyrants and persecutors. No less beneficial was his godly care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance within the church, among the christian bishops themselves; according as we read of Moses the deliverer of the Israelites, in agreeing the brethren together, when he saw them at variance:[1] no less, also, did his vigilant study extend in erecting, restoring, and enriching the churches of God in all cities, and in providing for the ministers of the same. And therefore, writing to Anulinus his chief captain, he declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertain to the churches of the Christians; that he should procure vigilantly for the same, that all goods, houses, and gardens, belonging before to the right of churches, should again be restored in all speedy wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.[2]

Constantine compared to Moses.

The letter of Constantine to Anulinus his captain.

Moreover he, writing to the said Anulinus in another letter, signifieth unto him in this effect: that forsomuch as the contempt of God's reverend religion is and hath been ever the greatest decay to the name and people of Rome, as, contrarily, the maintaining and reverencing the same hath ever brought prosperity to all commonweals, therefore he, in consideration thereof, hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that province where he had to do, which was in Africa where Cæcilian was bishop, he should there see and provide that all such ministers and clerks, whose vocation was to serve in the church, should be freed and exempted from all public duties and burdens; whereby they being so privileged, and all impediments removed which should hinder their divine ministration, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flourish, &c.[3]

Another letter of Constantine.

The contempt of God's religion, the chief decay of common weals.

Furthermore the said Constantine, in another letter writing to Miltiades, bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them how Cæcilian bishop of Carthage had been accused unto him by divers of his colleagues and fellow-bishops. Wherefore his will is, that the said Cæcilian, with ten bishops his accusers, and with ten other his defendants, should repair up to him at Rome; where, in the presence of the aforesaid Miltiades, with the assistance of Reticius, Maternus, Marinus, and of others his colleagues, the cause of Cæcilian might be heard and rightly examined, so that all schism and

Another letter to Miltiades, bishop of Rome.

(1) Exod. ii. (2) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5.—Ed. (3) Ibid. cap. 7.—Ed.

division might be cut off from among them; wherein the fervent desire of Constantine to peace and unity may well appear.[1] Upon the like cause and argument also he writeth to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse; being so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him, with two of his ministers of the second order and three servants, a public carriage to come up to him unto the council of other bishops, to be held at the city of Arles on the calends of August, for the agreeing of certain matters belonging to the church.[2] He writeth also another letter to the aforenamed Cæcilian bishop of Carthage.[3] To the provincials likewise of Palestine and those parts about, he directeth his edict in the behalf of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in captivity, and for the restoring again of them which had sustained any loss in the former persecution before, and for the refreshing of such as heretofore had been oppressed with any ignominy or molestation for their confession sake; declaring in the said edict how that his whole body, life and soul, and whatsoever is in him, he oweth to God and to the service of him, &c.[4] Moreover another letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the edifying of new christian churches, and restoring of them which had been wasted before by foreign enemies.[5]

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His letter to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse.

The edict of Constantine to the rulers of the province of Palestine.

The letter of Constantine to Eusebius.

He also collected the synod of Nice[6] for the study of peace and unity of the church, after he had first written upon the same to Alexander and Arius. In which his letter he most lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to see and hear of their contention and division, whereby the peace and common harmony of the church was broken, the synods provoked and resisted, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duty were rather to nourish concord, and to seek tranquillity. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others; yet the example of philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or piece of a question, some might dissent from others, yet in the unity of their profession they did all join as fellows together. In like case were it their duty in such fruitless questions (or rather pieces of questions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in silence unto themselves, and not to bring them forth into public synods, or to break there-for from the communion of the reverend council: declaring moreover in the said epistle, the first origin and occasion of this their contentious dissension to rise upon vain and trifling terms, vile causes and light questions, and pieces rather of questions; about such matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be answered unto, being moved; more curious to be searched, and perilous to be expressed, than necessary to be inquired: "Magisque puerilibus ineptiis, quam sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ convenientia;"[7] as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all manner of means he doth labour them, doth desire and entreat them, and doth persuade them, not only with reasons, but also with tears and sighing sobs, that they would restore peace again unto the church, and quietness to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet unto him),

The letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius.

(1) Euseb. lib. x. cap 5.—Ed. (2) Ibid.—Ed. (3) Ibid. cap. 6.—Ed.
(4) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. ii. cap. 24—43.—Ed.
(5) Ex Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. ii. [cap. 46]. (6) Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 4—14.—Ed.
(7) Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 71.—Ed.

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and that they would return again to the communion of the reverend council; who, in so doing, should open his way and purposed journey into the East parts: who otherwise, hearing of their discord and dissension, would be sorry to see with his eyes that which grieveth him now to hear with his ears—with much more in the same epistle contained; but this is the effect of the whole.[1] Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, whereby the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meek and religious Constantine might more notoriously appear to all princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal and care they ought to bear toward the church of Christ, and how gently to govern, and how to be beneficial to the same.

Constantine set forth a spectacle to all princes to follow.

Many other edicts and epistles, written to other places and parties, be expressed at large in the second book of Eusebius's "De Vitâ Constantini;" wherein the zealous care and princely beneficence of this noble emperor toward the church of Christ may appear; whereof, in a brief recapitulation, such specialties we have collected as here follow, and are to be sêen in Sozomen.[2]

A brief recapitulation of benefits wrought by him, upon Christ's church.

First, he commanded all them to be set free, whosoever for the confession of Christ had been condemned to banishment, or to the mines of metal, or to any public or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or open shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominy. Soldiers, who before were either deprived of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty either to serve again in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatsoever honour, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man, should be restored to them again. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoever they were alienated, should return to their heirs or next of kin, or for lack of them should be given to the church. He commanded, moreover, that only Christians should bear office; the others he charged and restrained, that they should neither sacrifice nor exercise any more divinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor set up any images, nor keep any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He corrected, moreover, and abolished all such unlawful manners and unhonest usages in the cities as might be hurtful any ways to the church; as the custom that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nile, at what time the people used to run together like brute beasts, both men and women, and with all kind of filthiness and sodomitry to pollute their cities in celebrating the increase of that river. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called Androgyni to be killed: by reason whereof the river afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increase in its flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, than it did before.[3]

Where wickedness is punished, there goodness followeth.

Among the Romans was an old law, that such as were barren, having no fruit of children, should be amerced of half the goods left them by will. Also, that such as being above the years of twenty and five unmarried, should not be numbered in the same privileges with them that were married, neither should be entitled to any thing

(1) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. ii. cap. 64—72.—Ed.
(2) Sozom. lib. i. cap. 8, 9.—Ed.
(3) Sozom. lib. i. cap. 8, 9. Euseb. V. C. 4. 25.—Ed.

by will, unless they were next in kin.[1] These laws, because they seemed unreasonable (to punish the defect of nature, or gift of virginity by man's law), he abrogated and took away. Another order was among the Romans, that they who made their wills being sick, had certain prescribed and conceived words appointed to them to use, which unless they followed, their wills stood in no effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to every man, in making his testament, to use what words or what witnesses he would. Likewise among the Romans he restrained and took away the cruel and bloody spectacles and sights, where men were wont with swords one to kill another. Of the barbarous and filthy fashion of the Arethusians in Phœnicia,[2] I have mentioned before, where they used to expose and set forth their virgins to open fornication before they should be married: which custom also Constantine removed away. Where no churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too little, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to the same great gifts and revenues, not only of such tributes and taxes as came to him from certain sundry cities, which he transferred unto the churches, but also out of his own treasures. When any bishops required any council to be had, he satisfied their petitions; and what in their councils and synods they established, being godly and honest, he was ready to confirm the same.

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The liberality of Constantine in giving to churches.

The armour of his soldiers, who were newly come from Gentilism, he garnished with the arms of the Cross, whereby they might learn the sooner to forget their old superstitious idolatry. Moreover, this worthy emperor, acting the part of a catechist, prescribed a certain form of prayer, for every man to have, and to learn how to pray and to invocate God. The which form of prayer is recited in the fourth book of Eusebius's, "De Vitâ Constantini," in words as followeth:

Form of prayer appointed of Constantine for his soldiers.

"We acknowledge thee only to be our God; we confess thee to be our King; we invocate and call upon thee our only helper; by thee we obtain our victories; by thee we vanquish and subdue our enemies; to thee we attribute whatsoever present commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we all direct our suits and petitions, most humbly beseeching thee to conserve Constantine our emperor (with his pious children) in long life to continue, and to give him victory over all his enemies."[3]

The Sunday appointed to be kept holy.

In his own palace he set up a house peculiar for prayer and doctrine, using also to pray and sing with his people. Also in his wars he went not without his tabernacle appointed for the same. The Sunday he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary causes, from markets, marts, fairs, and all other manual labours, only husbandry excepted: especially charging that no images or monuments of idolatry should be set up.

Liberties granted to the clergy.

Men of the clergy and of the ministry in all places he endued with special privileges and immunities; so that if any were brought before

(1) The text has been somewhat corrected from Sozomen, lib. i. cap. 9.—Ed.

(2) See Euseb. "Vit. Constant." 3. § 58. It might be more correct, perhaps, to say "in Cœlesyria;" but this region was variously named of old: vide "Plinii Hist. Nat." lib. v. cap. 12, or Cellarii "Geogr. Plen." tom. ii. p. 266, edit. 1706.

(3) "Te solum novimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adjutorem invocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum constituimus, tibi præsentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, et per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: imperatorem nostrum Constantinum, ac pientissimos ejus filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus." Euseb. lib. iv. De Vitâ Const. [c. 20.]

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the civil magistrate, and listed to appeal to the sentence of his bishop, it should be lawful for him so to do, and that the sentence of the bishop should stand in as great force as if the magistrate or the emperor himself had pronounced it. But here is to be observed and noted by the way, that the clerks and ministers then newly creeping out of persecution, were in those days neither in number so great as, nor in order of life of the like disposition to, these in our days now living.

The provision and liberality of Constantine in maintaining schools.

No less care and provision the said Constantine also had for the maintenance of schools pertaining to the church; and others for the nourishing of good arts and liberal sciences, especially of jurisprudence; not only with stipends and subsidies furnishing them, but also with large privileges and exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his own law is to be seen and read as followeth:

"Physicians, grammarians, and other professors of liberal arts, and doctors of the law, with their wives and children, and all other their possessions which they have in cities, we command to be freed from all civil charges and functions, neither to receive foreign strangers in provinces, nor to be burdened with any public administration, nor to be cited up to civil judgment, nor to be drawn out or oppressed with any injury. And if any man shall vex them he shall incur such punishment as the judge at his discretion shall award him. Their stipends moreover, and salaries, we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely instruct others in arts and sciences," etc. [1]

His care to have the Scripture in churches.

Over and besides this, so far did his godly zeal and princely care and provision extend to the church of Christ, that he commanded and provided books and volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remain in public churches to the use of posterity. Whereupon writing to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, in a special letter, he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty volumes of parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out copies of the Scripture in a fair legible hand, the provision and use whereof he thought necessary and profitable for the instruction of the church; and alloweth him the use of two public carriages to convey them when finished to the emperor's inspection, and engageth to pay one of his deacons for the conveyance thereof: he also writeth concerning the same to the superintendent of the diocese,[2] to support and further him with such necessaries, as thereunto should appertain.[3]

A wish of the author admonitory to princes.

In viewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the christian zeal of this emperor, I wish that either this our printing and plenty of books had been in his days, or that this so heroical heart toward Christ's religion, as was in this so excellent monarch, might something appear in inferior princes reigning in these our printing-days.

The liberality of Constantine towards the poor and needy.

The liberal hand of this emperor born to do all men good, was no less also open and ready toward the needy poverty of such, which either by loss of parents or other occasions were not able to help themselves: to whom he commanded and provided due subvention

(1) "Medicos, grammaticos, et alios professores literarum, et doctores legum, cum uxoribus et liberis," etc.

(2) About Constantine's time, several provinces were placed under one καθολικὸς, and called a "diocese;" and the καθολικὸς was the deputy of the præfectus prætorio, who had several "dioceses" under him. See Vales. not. in Euseb. loc. cit.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. iv. cap. 36, whence Foxe's text has been corrected in two or three points.—E.

both of corn and raiment to be ministered out of his own coffers, to the necessary relief of the poor men, women, children, orphans, and widows.[1] *The Tenth Persecution.* A. D. 303 to 313.

Finally, among all the other monuments of his singular clemency and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the empire of Rome and provinces belonging to the same, not only he diminished such taxes, revenues, and imposts, as publicly were coming to him, but also clearly remitted and released to the contributors the fourth part of the same.

This present place would require something to be said of the donation of Constantine, whereupon, as upon their chiefest anchor-hold, the bishops of Rome do ground their supreme dominion and right, over all the political government of the West parts, and the spiritual government of all the other sees and parts of the world. Which donation to be falsely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from Constantine, many arguments might here be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.[2] Donation of Constantine.

First, for that no ancient history, nor yet doctor, maketh any mention thereof. Reasons and arguments proving it to be falsified.

2. Nauclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the history of Isidore. But in the old copies of Isidore no such thing is to be found.

3. Gratian, the compiler of the Decrees,[3] reciteth that decree, not upon any ancient authority, but only under the title of "Palea."

4. Gelasius is said to give some testimony thereof, in Dist. 15, "Sancta Romana Ecclesia." But that clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient books is not extant.

5. Otho of Frisingen,[4] who was about the time of Gratian, after he hath declared the opinion of the favourers of the papacy, affirming this donation to be given of Constantine to Silvester the pope, induceth consequently the opinion of them that favour the empire, affirming the contrary.

6. How doth this agree, that Constantine did yield up to Silvester all the political dominion over the West? whereas the said Constantine

(1) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. iv. cap. 28.—Ed.

(2) The following arguments against the Donation of Constantine are probably an abridgment of those given by Illyricus Flacius, "Catalogus testium, curâ Goularti, Genevæ, 1608," cols. 284—290; whence several inaccuracies in Foxe's text have been detected and corrected. They will also be found in the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. iv. cap. 7, col. 319, 320, edit. Basil, 1624. The Donation of Constantine was forged between 755 and 776: for in 776 pope Adrian avails himself of it in an exhortation to Charlemagne. But in 755 Stephen II. had also an opening to make use of it; but as he neither mentions it nor refers to it in any way, it follows that it was unknown to him as it had been to all his predecessors. The president Hénault thinks it took its rise from Constantine's allowing the churches from the year 321 to acquire landed property, and individuals to enrich them by legacies. This donation preserved its credit so long, that in 1478 some Christians were burned at Strasburg for daring to question its authenticity. Laurence Valla having demonstrated its falsity towards the middle of the 15th century, the best writers of the 16th, even those of Italy, treated it with contempt. Ariosto places it among the chimeras which Astolphus meets with in the moon. Orl. Fur. chap. 14, stanza 8.—Ed.

(3) That portion of the canon law, which was drawn up by Gratian, is at present entitled Decretum; but from the remarks of Mastricht (§ 305), it will easily bear a plural interpretation. Some general reflections upon Gratian's compilation from the same writer may not be unsuitably subjoined:

"Nec meo judicio integrum opus Gratiani penitus abolendum aut omni utilitate carere censeo. Sunt in eo multa, quæ historiam, ut supra dictum, ejus et anteriorum temporum juvant. Sunt multa, quæ erroribus pontificiorum contraria sunt, et multa ipsam pontificis majestatem oppugnant et convellunt, etiamsi contra intentionem forte scribentis, qui in promovendâ monarchiâ pontificiâ multum momenti attulit; quod solide et accurate demonstravit magnus juris-consultus Innocentius Gentilet Delphinas in *Apologia pro ecclesiis Reformatis;* in qua controversias quæ inter Protestantes et pontificios agitari solent, solidissime et feliciter satis decidit.——Quæ sola ratio studiosos, interque eos etiam potissimum theologos, excitare debet ad studium juris canonici, ex quo, tanquam armamentario arma sufficienter contra adversarios promere, eosque proprio gladio confícere possunt." Ger. Von Mastricht historia juris eccles. et Pontificii, Halæ, 1719, p. 359.—Ed.

(4) Lib. iv. cap. 3.—Ed.

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at his death, dividing the empire to his three sons, gave the West part of the empire to one, the East part to the second, the middle part to the third.

7. How is it likely that Theodosius after them, being a just and a religious prince, would or could have occupied the city of Rome, if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the pope? and so did many other emperors after him.

8. The phrase of this decree, being conferred with the phrase and style of Constantine in his other edicts and letters above specified, doth nothing agree.

9. Seeing the papists themselves confess that the decree of this donation was written in Greek, how agreeth that with truth? when both it was written not to the Greeks, but to the Romans, and also Constantine himself, for lack of the Greek tongue, was fain to use the Latin tongue in the council of Nice.

10. The contents of this donation (whosoever was the forger thereof) doth bewray itself;[1] for if it be true (which therein is confessed), that he was baptized at Rome of Silvester and that this patrimony was given on the fourth day after his baptism (which was before his battle against Maximin in the year of our Lord 313, as Nicephorus recordeth),[2] how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to have given jurisdiction to the bishop of Rome over the other four principal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem? whereas the city of Constantinople was not yet begun (as Nicephorus recordeth) before the fall of Licinius, viz. in the tenth year of Constantine; and was not finished before the eight and twentieth year of the reign of Constantine,[3] A.D. 334; or if it be true as Jerome counteth, it was finished the three and twentieth year of his reign, which was A.D. 328, long after this donation, by their own account.

11. Furthermore, whereas in the said Constitution it is said that Constantine was baptized at Rome of Silvester,[4] and thereby was purged of leprosy; the fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of history, forsomuch as Eusebius, Jerome, Ruffinus, Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozomen, do all together consent that he was baptized, not at Rome, but at Nicomedia;[5] and that moreover, as by their testimony doth appear, not of Silvester, but of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia; not before his battle against Maximin or Licinius, but in the thirty-first year of his reign, a little before his death.

12. Again, whereas Constantine in this donation appointed him to have the principality over the other four patriarchal sees, that maketh Constantine contrary to himself; who, in the council of Nice,

(1) See Appendix.—ED. (2) Lib. vii. cap. 33, 35, 37.—ED.

(3) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 4. Constantine began his reign July 25, A.D. 306, so that the building of Constantinople commenced (according to Nicephorus) in A.D. 315; whereas Licinius did not receive his final overthrow till A.D. 324. Nicephorus seems to have misunderstood an expression of the emperor Julian, that Constantine built his city "infrà decem annos." The more correct opinion probably is, that the building commenced the latter end of A.D. 325 (being the twentieth year of Constantine), that the dedication took place on Monday, May 11, 330, and that it was completed "infrà decem annos" A.D. 334, which was the twenty-eighth of his reign. See Pagii Crit. in Baron. Annal. ad an. 324, num. xix an. 330, num. iv.—ED.

(4) "Nullo plane argumento probari posse quæ de lepra et baptizato a. 324 per Sylvestrum Constantino M. jactantur—dudum demonstraverunt præter Valesium ad Euseb. etc. Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs; tom. iv. p. 422—et præ reliquis Tentzel. Examen fabulæ Romanæ de duplici baptismo Constant. M. (Viteb. 1683) etc. etc. Heinecken excursus V. ad Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. iv. 61, Lipsiæ, 1830.—ED.

(5) Euseb. lib. iv. De Vitâ Constantini. Hieronym. in Chron. Ruffin. lib. ii. cap. 11. Socrat. lib. i. cap. 39. Theod. lib. i. cap. 32. Sozomen. lib. ii. cap. 34.

afterward agreed with other bishops, that all the four patriarchal sees should have equal jurisdiction, every one over his own territory and precinct. *The Tenth Persecution.* A. D. 303 to 313.

13. In sum, briefly to conclude: whoso desireth more abundantly to be satisfied touching this matter, let him read the book of Marsilius Patavinus,[1] intituled, "Defensor Pacis," A.D. 1324; of Laurentius Valla, A.D. 1440; of Antoninus archbishop of Florence, who, in his history, plainly denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old books of the decrees; of cardinal Cusan, lib. iii. cap. 2, writing to the council of Basil, in 1460; of Æneas Sylvius in "Dialogo;" of Hieronymus Paulus Catalanus,[2] in 1496; of Raphael Volateran, in 1500; of Luther, in 1537, etc.; all which, by many and evident probations, dispute and prove this donation (taken out of a Greek book in the pope's library, and translated by one Bartholomeus Picernus out of Greek into Latin) not to proceed from Constantine, but to be a thing untruly pretensed, or rather a fable imagined, or else to be the deed of Pipin or Charlemagne, or some such other, if it were ever the deed of any.[3]

Commendation of Constantine the emperor.

And thus hast thou, beloved reader, briefly collected the narration of the noble acts and heavenly virtues of this most famous emperor, Constantine the Great: a singular spectacle for all Christian princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual memory in all congregations of christian saints; whose fervent zeal and piety in general, to all congregations and to all the servants of Christ, was notable. But especially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before: them had he principally in price and veneration, insomuch that he embraced and kissed their wounds and stripes, and their eyes being put out. And if any such bishops or any other ministers brought to him any complaints one against another (as many times they did), he would take their bills of complaint, and burn them before their faces; so studious and zealous was his mind to have them agree, whose discord was to him more grief than it was to themselves. All the virtuous acts and memorable doings of this divine and renowned emperor to comprehend or commit to history, it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherefore contented with these above premised, because nothing of him can be said enough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

Constantine kissed the wounds of them that suffered for Christ.

Constantine burneth the bills of complaints, and breaketh strife among the bishops.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein as by the way

(1) The "Defensor Pacis" of Marsilius of Padua is mentioned again by our author, infrà, vol. ii. p. 705: it is included in Goldasti's "De Monarchiâ S. Romani Imperii," tom. ii. p. 154. It was translated into English by W. Marshall, and printed by Robert Wyer, in 1535. See Herbert's edition of Ames' Typographical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 371; or Dibdin's, vol. iii. p. 178.—Ed.

(2) He was a canon of Barcelona, and chamberlain to Alexander VI. His opinion is quoted by Cooke, vicar of Leeds, in his "Censura quorundam Scriptorum," (Helmestad. 1683) p. 178. In a remark subjoined to the "Biblioth. Hisp. Vetus" of Antonio (tom. ii. p. 340, edit. 1788) he is characterised as "notissimus;" but it is doubtful in what sense exactly this epithet is to be understood, Antonio having neglected to record any particulars of his life.—Ed.

(3) The above paragraph has been corrected in several particulars from Illyricus; who, in penning it, seems to have had before him the "Fasciculus rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum" of Orthuinus Gratius; who, at folio lxii. gives the Latin "Donatio Constantini," translated by Bartholomæus Picernus de Monte Arduo from a small Greek book, which he himself says he found in the library of pope Julius II., to whom he dedicates the translation: this is followed in the Fasciculus by Laurence Valla's "Declamatio in Donationem Constantini;" by a passage from Nicolas of Cusan on the same subject (De Concordantiâ Catholicâ, lib. iii. cap. 2), containing an allusion to Æneas Sylvius's Dialogus; by an extract from the history of Antoninus (tit. viii. cap. 2, § 8); by an extract from Raphael Volateran (Vit. Constant.); and by another from Hieronymus Catalanus (Practica Cancellaria Apostolica).—Ed.

The Tenth Persecution. A. D. 303 to 313.

of a note, I thought good to admonish the learned reader, such as love to be conversant in reading of ancient authors; that in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,[1] whereas in the latter end of the book is added a certain oration, "Ad conventum Sanctorum," under the name of Eusebius Pamphilus, here is to be understood, that the said oration is wrongfully intituled upon the name of Eusebius, which in very truth is the oration of Constantine himself. For the probation whereof (beside the style and matter therein contained, and tractation heroical lively declaring the religious vein of Constantine) I allege the very testimony of Eusebius himself, in his fourth book, "De Vitâ Constantini;" where he, in express words, not only declareth that Constantine wrote such an oration, intituled "Ad Conventum Sanctorum," but also promiseth, in the end of his book to annex the same: declaring, moreover, what difficulty the interpreters had to translate the same from the Roman speech to their Grecian tongue.[2]

And here an end of these lamentable and doleful persecutions of the primitive church, during the space of three hundred years from the passion of our Saviour Christ, till the coming of this Constantine; by whom, as by the elect instrument of God, it hath so pleased his Almighty Majesty, by his determinate purpose, to give rest after long trouble to his church, according to that which St. Cyprian declared before to be revealed of God unto his church: that after darkness and stormy tempest, should come peaceable, calm, and stable quietness to his church, meaning this time of Constantine now present.

Satan bound up for a thousand years.

At which time it so pleased the Almighty, that the murdering malice of Satan should at length be restrained, and himself tied up for a thousand years, through his great mercy in Christ; to whom therefore be thanks and praise, now and for ever! Amen.

(1) Note, that the oration "Ad Conventum Sanctorum," is wrongly ascribed to Eusebius, which indeed is the oration of Constantine.

(2) Euseb. de Vitâ Constantini, lib. iv. [cap. 32.—Ed.]

END OF BOOK THE FIRST.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK II.[1]

CONTAINING

THE NEXT THREE HUNDRED YEARS FOLLOWING, WITH SUCH THINGS SPECIALLY TOUCHED AS HAVE HAPPENED IN ENGLAND, FROM THE TIME OF KING LUCIUS TO GREGORY, AND SO AFTER, TO THE TIME OF KING EGBERT.

The Britons.

A. D. 180 to 449.

By these persecutions hitherto in the book before precedent thou mayest understand, christian reader, how the fury of Satan and rage of men have done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christ: for what thing did lack, that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of hell could devise? all was to the uttermost attempted. And yet, all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wisdom of the world and strength of men, doing, devising, practising what they could, notwithstanding, the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the upper hand; which thing I wish thee greatly, gentle reader, wisely to note and diligently to ponder in considering these former histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them, unless thou do first read and peruse them; let me crave, therefore, thus much at thine hands, to turn and read over the said histories of those persecutions above described, especially, above all the other histories of this present volume, for thy especial edification, which I trust thou shalt find not unworthy the reading.

A petition to the reader diligently to read over the former book of the ten persecutions.

Now because the tying up of Satan giveth to the church some rest, and to me some leisure to address myself to the handling of other stories, I mind therefore (Christ willing) in this present book,—leaving awhile the tractation of these general affairs pertaining to the universal church,—to prosecute such domestical histories as more nearly concern this our country of England and Scotland done here at home; beginning first with king Lucius, with whom the faith first began here in this realm, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. And forsomuch as here may rise, yea and doth rise, a great controversy in these our popish days, concerning the first origin and planting of the faith in this our realm, it shall not be greatly out of our purpose somewhat to stay and say of this question, Whether the

The first planting of the christian faith in England.

(1) Edition 1570, p. 145; edition 1576, p. 107; edition 1584, p. 106; edition 1596, p. 95; edition 1684, vol. i. p. 117.—Ed.

The Britons. church of England first received the faith from Rome or not? The which although I grant so to be, yet, being so granted, it little availeth the purpose of them which would so have it. For be it that England first received the christian faith and religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius their bishop, one hundred and eighty years after Christ, and also in the time of Augustine whom Gregory I. sent hither six hundred years after Christ; yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore fetch our religion from thence still, as from the chief well-head and fountain of all godliness. And yet as they are not able to prove the second, so neither have I any cause to grant the first, that is, that our christian faith was first derived from Rome; as I may prove by six or seven good conjectural reasons, whereof,

A.D. 180 to 449.

Answer. The first I take of the testimony of Gildas, our countryman; who in his history affirmeth plainly, that Britain received the gospel in the time of Tiberius the emperor, under whom Christ suffered;[1] and saith moreover, that Joseph of Arimathea, after the dispersion of the early church by the Jews, was sent of Philip the apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time; and so, with his fellows, laid the first foundation of christian faith among the British people, whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same and increased it.[2]

2. The second reason is out of Tertullian; who, living near about, or rather somewhat before, the time of this Eleutherius, in his book "Contra Judæos," manifestly importeth the same; where the said Tertullian, testifying how the gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the apostles, and there reckoning up the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Jewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Egypt, Pamphylia, with many more, at length cometh to the coast of the Moors, and all the borders of Spain, with divers nations of France; and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of Britain which the Romans could never attain to, and reporteth the same now to be subject to Christ; as also reckoneth up the places of Sarmatia, of the Dacians, the Germans, the Scythians, with many other provinces and isles to him unknown; in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ, which now beginneth to be common. This hath Tertullian.[3] Note here how among other divers believing nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of Britain to be of the same number; and these, in his time, were christened; who was in the same Eleutherius' time, as is above said. Then pope Eleutherius was not the first which sent the christian faith into this realm, but the gospel was here received before his time, either by Joseph of Arimathea (as some chronicles record), or by some of the apostles or of their scholars, which had been here preaching Christ before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

3. My third probation I deduct out of Origen; whose words be these, "Britanniam in Christianam consentire religionem." Whereby it appeareth, that the faith of Christ was sparsed here in England before the days of Eleutherius.[4]

(1) Gildas, Hist. Brit. § 6. "Gildas cognomento *Sapiens*, et *Badonicus* dictus, natus anno 520, ob prælium *Badonicum* claro (inde ei nomen) Iltuti discipulus, ob. 570." Cave.—Ed.

(2) Gildas, Lib. de Victoriâ Aurelii Ambrosii. See suprà, p. 152. [It appears from Usher, p. 12, that there is no book extant bearing this title. See Appendix for more on this subject.—Ed.

(3) Tertul. "Contra Judæos." [§ 7.—Ed.]

(4) Ex Origen. Hom. 4. in Ezech.

4. For my fourth probation I take the testimony of Bede; where he affirmeth, that in his time (seven hundred years after Christ) here in Britain Easter was kept after the manner of the east church, in the full of the moon, what day in the week so ever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the first preachers in this land had come out from the east part of the world, where it was so used, rather than from Rome.[1] *The Britons.* A. D. 180 to 449.

5. Fifthly, I may allege the words of Nicephorus; where he saith that Simon Zelotes did spread the gospel of Christ to the west ocean, and brought the same unto the isles of Britain.[2]

6. Sixthly, may be here added also the words of Peter of Clugni; who, writing to Bernard, affirmeth that the Scots in his time did celebrate their Easter, not after the Roman manner, but after the Greeks, etc. And as the said Britons were not under the Roman order in the time of this abbot of Clugni, so neither were they, nor would be, under the Roman legate in the time of Gregory, nor would admit any primacy of the bishop of Rome to be above them.[3]

7. For the seventh argument, moreover, I may make my probation by the plain words of Eleutherius; by whose epistle written to king Lucius we may understand, that Lucius had received the faith of Christ in this land before the king sent to Eleutherius for the Roman laws; for so the express words of the letter do manifestly purport, as hereafter followeth to be seen.[4]

By all which conjectures it may stand probably to be thought, that the Britons were taught first by the Grecians of the east church, rather than by the Romans.

Peradventure Eleutherius might help something either to convert the king, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung among the people; but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English stories confess, neither will I greatly stick with them therein; yet what have they got thereby when they have cast all their gain? In few words, to conclude this matter; if so be that the christian faith and religion was first derived from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but grant to us the same faith and religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence derived hither by the said Eleutherius, and we will desire no more. For then, neither was any universal pope above all churches and councils, which came not in before Boniface III.'s time, which was four hundred years after; neither any name or use of the mass, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this book following appear to be seen. Neither was any sacrifice propitiatory for the scouring of purgatory then offered upon hallowed altars, but only the communion frequented at christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered, as well of the people as of the priests, to God, because they should appear neither empty nor unkind before the Lord; as we may understand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand years after. Neither were then any images of saints departed set up in churches; yea, a great number of the saints worshipped in this our time were not as

Difference between the late church of Rome and the old church of Rome.

(1) Ex Beda, Hist. Eccl. Angl. lib. v. cap. 23.—Ed. (2) Ex Niceph. lib. ii. c. 40.—Ed.
(3) Pet. Cluniacensis ad Bernardum. [Epist. 229, § 9.—Ed.]
(4) Ex Epist. Eleutherii ad Lucium.

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yet born, nor the churches wherein they were worshipped yet set up, but came in long after, especially in the time of Irene and Constans the emperor. Likewise neither relics nor peregrinations were then in use. Priests' marriage was then as lawful (and no less received) as now; neither was it condemned before the days of Hildebrand, almost a thousand years after that. Their service was then in the vulgar tongue, as witnesseth Jerome. The sacraments were ministered in both kinds, as well to laymen as to priests, the witness whereof is Cyprian. Yea, and temporal men which would not then communicate at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, were not then counted for catholics, the pope's own distinction can testify.[1] In funerals, priests then flocked not together, selling trentals and dirges for sweeping of purgatory; but only a funeral concio was used, with psalms of praises and songs of their worthy deeds, and hallelujah sounding on high, which did shake the gilded ceilings of the temple; as witness Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and Jerome. In the supper of the Lord, and at baptism, no such ceremonies were used as now of late have been intruded: insomuch that (as in this story is showed hereafter), both Augustine and Paulinus baptized then in rivers, not in hallowed fonts; as witness Fabian,[2] and the portues[3] of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, with matins and evensong of the day. Again, neither were the orders and religions of monks and friars yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand years after. So that, as I said, if the papists would needs derive the faith and religion of this realm from Rome, then let them set us and leave us there where they had us; that is, let them suffer us to stand content with that faith and religion which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothing from the same), and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the wise reader judge where the fault is, in us, or them, who neither themselves will persist in the antiquity of the Romish religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit us so to do.

And thus much by the way, to satisfy the aforesaid objection; whereby we may have now a more ready passage into the order and course of the history. It being therefore granted unto them which they so earnestly stick upon, that the christian faith and religion of this realm was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterward by Augustine; thus write the chronicles of that matter:—

Eleutherius bishop of Rome. Augustine II.

The faith of Christ brought into this realm. Lucius first christened king of the Britons.

About the time and year of the Lord 180, king Lucius son of Coilus, which builded Colchester, king of the Britons, who then were the inhabiters and possessors of this land, which now we Englishmen call England, hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Christians at that time in divers places (as Geoffry of Monmouth writeth), directed his letters to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, to receive of him the christian faith; although about the computation of the year and time, great difference there is in authors when this should be.[4] Nauclerus saith, it was anno 156:[5]

(1) [Decret. pars iii.] De Consecr. Dist. 2. [§ 19.—Ed.]
(2) Fabian, pt. 5, cap. 119 and 130. [pp. 96, 112, edit. Lond. 1811. Bede, Ecc. Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 16.—Ed.]
(3) "Portues," (or "Portuse," suprà, p. 273,) a corruption of "Porthors," a word in French romance, signifying "a breviary" or portable prayer-book. See a full account of the word, and the various forms under which it occurs, in archdeacon Nares's Glossary.—Ed.
(4) Ex Monumetensi et aliis. (5) See Appendix, and suprà, p. 151, note (6).—Ed.

The Britons. A. D. 180 to 449.

but that cannot be, forsomuch as Eleutherius was not yet bishop by the space of twenty years after that. Henry of Herford saith it was A.D. 169, in the nineteenth year of Verus, emperor. But that agreeth not with approved histories, which all consent that Verus reigned not nineteen years; and if he had, yet that year cometh not to the year of our Lord 169, but to the year 179.[1] Some others say that Eleutherius was made bishop in the sixth year of Commodus, which was the year of our Lord 185: but that seemeth to go too far. But let the authors agree as they can. Let us return to Eleutherius, the good bishop, who, hearing the request of this king, and glad to see the godly-towardness of his well-disposed mind, sendeth him certain teachers and preachers called Fugatius, or by some Fagan, and Damian or Dimian, which first converted the king and people of Britain, and baptized them with the baptism and sacrament of Christ's faith. The temples of idolatry and all other monuments of gentility they subverted, converting the people from their divers and many gods, to serve one living God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decayed, with all other rites of idolatry. There were then in Britain twenty-eight head-priests, which they called "Flamins,"[2] and three arch-priests among them, which were called "Arch-Flamins," having the oversight of their manners, and as judges over the rest. These twenty-eight Flamins they turned to twenty-eight bishops, and the three arch-flamins to three arch-bishops, having then their seats in three principal cities of the realm: that is, in London, in York, and in Glamorgantia, videlicet in Urbe Legionum,[3] by Wales. Thus the countries of the whole realm being divided every one under his own bishop, and all things settled in a good order; the foresaid king Lucius sent again to the said Eleutherius for the Roman laws, thereby likewise to be governed, as in religion now they were framed accordingly; unto whom Eleutherius again writeth after the tenor of these words ensuing:

Fagan. Damian.

Twenty-eight bishops. Three arch-bishops.

The Epistle of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, sent to King Lucius.[4]

Anno 169 a passione Christi,[5] scripsit Dominus Eleutherius papa Lucio regi Britanniæ, ad correctionem regis et procerum regni Britanniæ; and so forth, as followeth in English.

Ye require of us the Roman laws and the emperor's to be sent over to you, which you may practise and put in use within your realm. The Roman laws and the emperor's we may ever reprove, but the law of God we may not. Ye have received of late, through God's mercy, in the realm of Britain, the law and faith of Christ; ye have with you within the realm, both the parts of the Scriptures. Out of them, by God's grace, with the council of your realm, take

(1) Herford's only mistake is in saying A.D. 169, instead of 179; for the emperor Verus completed the 19th year of his reign, March 17, 180, and died ten days after. L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—ED.

(2) "Some pretend to give a more punctual and exact account of the settling of our church government here; and for this, besides the rabble of our monkish historians, who swallow Geoffry of Monmouth whole without chewing, I find two of my predecessors, men considerable in their times, produced for the same purpose, viz. Radulphus de Diceto, and Rad. Baldock; so that setting aside the name of *Flamins* and *Archflamins*, for which there is no foundation at all, yet the thing itself hath no such absurdity or improbability in it." Stillingfleet's "Antiq. of British Churches," chap. 2: see also Usher, "Antiq. Brit. Eccles." cap. 5.—ED.

(3) Caerleon. See infrà, p. 338, note (1).—ED.

(4) Ex vetusto codice regum antiquorum. [There are serious objections to the genuineness of this epistle, which is exhibited more at length, and the subject fully discussed, in Mason's "Vindication of the Church of England, and of the lawful Ministry thereof;" (Lond. 1728) book ii. ch. 3. Bp. Stillingfleet's (p. 66) general view of the circumstances is probably correct. See also Cressy's "Church History of Brittany," b. iv. c. 4, § 7. See more in the Appendix to this Volume. Eleutherius was pope, A.D. 177—192. L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—ED.]

(5) There is an error here; the reader may consult the Appendix to this volume; also Stillingfleet's "Antiquities of the British Churches," p. 59, edit. 1685; and Usher's "Britan. Eccles. Antiquitates," cap. 6, p. 54, edit. 1687.—ED.

The Britons. A. D. 180 to 449.

ye a law, and by that law, through God's sufferance, rule your kingdom of Britain. For you be God's vicar in your kingdom, according to the saying of the Psalm, "O God, give thy judgment to the king, and thy righteousness to the king's son,"[1] &c. He said not, the judgment and righteousness of the emperor, but thy judgment and justice; that is to say, of God. The king's sons be the christian people and folk of the realm, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your kingdom, as the gospel saith, "Like as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings," so doth the king his people. The people and folk of the realm of Britain be yours: whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to the holy church, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from such as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of having a realm. You shall be a king, while you rule well; but if you do otherwise, the name of a king shall not remain with you, and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the realm of Britain, that you may reign with him for ever, whose vicar you be in the realm!

The king God's vicar within his own kingdom.

After this manner (as you have heard) was the christian faith either first brought in, or else confirmed in this realm of Britain by the sending of Eleutherius, not with any cross or procession, but only at the simple preaching of Fagan and Damian, through whose ministry this realm and island of Britain was eftsoons reduced to the faith and law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Isaiah, as well of that as other islands more, where he saith, "He shall not faint nor give over, till he hath set judgment in earth; and islands shall wait for his law."[2] The faith thus received of the Britons, continued among them, and flourished the space of two hundred and sixteen years, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were pagans; whereof more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ assisting thereunto. In the mean time something to speak of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first coming in of the Saxons; first, it is to be understood that all this while, as yet, the emperors of Rome had not received the faith, what time the kings of Britain and the subjects thereof were converted now, as is said, to Christ: for the which cause much trouble and perturbation was sought against them, not only here in Britain, but through all parts of Christendom, by the heathen infidels; insomuch that in the persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximian, reigning both together, within one month seventeen thousand martyrs are numbered to have suffered for the name of Christ, as hath been hitherto in the book before sufficiently discoursed.[3]

What incommodity cometh by lack of succession.

Thus therefore, although the foresaid Lucius the British king, through the merciful providence of God, was then christened, and the gospel received generally almost in all the land, yet the state thereof, as well of the religion as of the commonwealth, could not be quiet, for that the emperors and nobles of Rome were infidels, and enemies to the same; but especially for this cause, it so happening that Lucius the christian king died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the Britons (as it happeneth in all other realms, and namely in this realm of England, whensoever succession lacketh), that not only they brought upon them the idolatrous Romans, and at length the Saxons, but also enwrapped themselves in such misery and desolation, as yet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is where a prince or a king is in a kingdom,

(1) "Deus judicium tuum Regi da," etc. (2) Isaiah xlii. 4. (3) Henr. Huntingd. lib. i.

there to lack succession, as especially in this case may appear. For after the death of Lucius, when the barons and nobles of the land could not accord within themselves upon succession of the crown, the Romans stept in and got the crown into their own hands, whereupon followed great misery and ruin to the realm. For sometimes the idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Britons, reigned and ruled as violence and victory would serve; one king murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and deprived them both, as in process hereafter followeth to be seen.[1] *The Britons.* A.D. 180 to 449.

In the mean season touching the story of king Lucius, here is to be reproved the fable of some writers falsely feigning of him that he did, after his baptism received, put off all his kingly honour, forsake the land, and become a preacher,[2] who, after long travail in preaching and teaching in France, in Germany, [especially] at Augsburg, and in Swabia, at length was made doctor and rector of the church of Coire, where (as this fable saith) he suffered martyrdom. But this fancy, of whomsoever it first did spring, disagreeth from all our English stories, who with a full consent do for the most part concord in this, that the said Lucius, after he had founded many churches, and given great riches and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillity in his own land, and was buried at Gloucester the fourteenth year after his baptism, as the book, "Flores Historiarum," doth count, which was the year of our Lord, as it saith, 201; and reckoneth his conversion to be in the year 187.[3] In some I find his decease to be the fourth, and in some the tenth, year after his baptism; and some hold that he reigned all the space of seventy-seven years. And thus much concerning king Lucius. The decease of king Lucius.

Now to proceed in order of the story, briefly to touch the state of the aforesaid land of Britain, between the time of king Lucius, and the entering of the Saxons, who were the kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded, or rather invaded one after another, this catalogue hereunder written will specify.

A Table of the Kings of Britain from the time of Lucius, till the coming of the Saxons.[4]

Lucius, a Briton.
Severus, a Roman.
Bassian, a Roman by the father.
Carausius, a Briton.
Alectus, a Roman.
Asclepiodotus, a Briton.
Coilus, a Briton.
Constantius, a Roman.
Constantine, a Briton by the mother, named Helena.[5]
Octavius, a Gewissian.[6]
Maximian, a Roman born, but his mother a Briton.
Gratian, a Roman.
Constantine II., a Briton by the mother. A.D. 390.
Constans, a Roman by the father. secund. Fab. Bed.
Vortigern, a Gewissian or Briton. A.D. 433. Fab.
Vortimer, a Briton. A.D. 443.
Vortigern, the same. A.D. 448. A.D. 464.

(1) M. Westm. sub a 201. Fabian, pt. 3, sub finem.—Ed.
(2) *King* Lucius has been confounded with a German *monk* of that name. The authors, who have mentioned the missionary journey of the former, are cited in Usher's "Brit. Eccles. Antiq." pp. 17, 18: see also Fuller, cent. 2, § 14.—Ed.
(3) Rather he so dates Lucius's endowment of churches.—Ed.
(4) Ex Beda. Polychron. Monumetensi.
(5) This Helena, being the daughter of Coel, and married to Constantius, father of Constantine, is said to have first made the walls of London, also of Colchester, much about the year of our Lord 305, and to have been born in Britain.
(6) "To rule and guyde this land of Briteyn in his (Constantine's) absense, he ordeyned a man of might called *Octavius*, which was then king of Wales and duke of Gwiscop, which some expound to be Westsex, some Cornewall, and some Wynsore." Grafton's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 69, edit. Lond. 1809.—Ed.

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By this table may appear a lamentable face of a commonwealth so miserably rent and divided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in country as in religion; for when the Romans reigned, they were governed by the infidels; when the Britons ruled they were governed by Christians. Thus what quietness was or could be in the church in so unquiet and doubtful days, may easily be considered.

Albeit, notwithstanding all these foresaid heathen rulers of the Romans which here governed, yet (God be praised) we read of no persecution during all these ten persecutions above mentioned, that touched the christian Britons, before the last persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximian Herculius, who here then exercised much cruelty. This persecution, as it was the last among the Roman Christians, so it was the first of many and divers that followed after in this church and realm of England; whereof we will hereafter entreat (Christ willing) as order of the matter shall lead us. In the mean time this rage of Dioclesian, as it was universally through all the churches in the world fierce and vehement, so in this realm of Britain also it was so sore, that, as all our English chronicles do testify and record, all Christianity almost in the whole land was destroyed, churches were subverted, all books of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain. Among whom the first and chiefest was Alban, then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how many they were that suffered besides, stories make no rehearsal. And thus much thereof.

The Britons never touched with any persecution before the time of Dioclesian.

Now as concerning the government of these above-named kings of Britain, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this ecclesiastical history, yet this is not to be past over. First, how in the order of these kings cometh Constantine, the great and worthy emperor, who was not only a Briton born, by his mother Helena (being king Coilus' daughter), but also by the help of the British army (under the power of God), which the said Constantine took with him out of Britain to Rome, obtained, with great victory, peace and tranquillity, to the whole universal church of Christ; having three legions with him out of this realm, of chosen and able soldiers, whereby the strength of the land was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this story followeth.

Constantine the Great born and bred in Britain.

The cause how this realm of Britain was first weakened.

After him likewise Maximus, following his steps, took with him also (as stories record) all the power and strength which was left, and whatsoever he could make of able and fighting men to subdue France; besides the garrisons which he had out with him before, sending for more to the number of a hundred thousand soldiers at once, to be sent to him out of Britain into France. At which time also Conan his partner, being then in France, sent over for virgins from Britain, to the number of eleven thousand, who with Ursula,[1]

Britain spoiled of soldiers.

Ursula with her virgins.

(1) Fabian (p. 51, edit. 1811): "Of the martyrdome of these maydens, dyvers auctours wryte dyversly. Wherfore I remyte them that wyll have farther understandynge in this matter unto the Legende of Seyntes, radde yerely in the churche; where they maye be suffyciently taughte and enfourmed." Archbishop Usher has examined the fable with his customary erudition. "Brit. Eccles. Antiq." pp. 334—42, edit. 1687. The history of the eleven thousand virgins is supposed by Sirmond to have arisen from a mistake of this kind. The first reporters, having found in manuscript martyrologies, *SS. Ursula et Undecimilla V M.* (i. e. *Sanctæ Ursula et Undecimila Virgines Martyres*) supposed that *Undecimilla*, with *V* and *M* following, was an abridgement of *Undecim Millia Virginum Martyrum* (Valesiana, p. 49.) Encycl. Metrop. Hist. vol. iii. p. 96.—Ed.

the prince Dionet's daughter, being shipped over, many perished in the sea, some were taken of the infidels marching upon the borders; by whom because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserably dispersed (some one way, some another), so that none escaped. *The Britons.* A. D. 180 to 449.

Thus poor Britain, being left naked and destitute on every side, as a maimed body, without might or strength, was left open to its enemies, not able to succour itself without help of foreign friends; to whom they were then constrained to fly, especially to the Romans, to whom the Britons sent this word or message: "Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut submergimur." But the Romans then began to forsake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by Gwanus and Melga, had not Gwetelinus the archbishop of London made over to Lesser Britain; and, obtaining their help, had brought Constantine the king's brother, to rescue his country against the infidels. This Constantine was brother to Aldroenus, king of Little Britain, and father to Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther, who after reigned kings in Britain.[1] A.D. 446. Gwetelinus archbishop of London.

Thus, by the means of the good archbishop and Constantine, the state of the religion and realm of Britain was in some mean, quiet, and safety, during the time of the said Constantine, and of the good archbishop. But as the realm of Britain almost from the beginning was never without civil war, at length came wicked Vortigern, who cruelly causing Constans his prince to be murdered, ambitiously invaded the crown; who then, fearing the other two brethren of Constans, which were Aurelius and Uther, being then in Little Britain, did send over for the aid of the Saxons, being then infidels; and not only that, but also married with an infidel, the daughter of Hengist, called Rowena. Whereupon the said Vortigern, not long after, by the said Hengist and the Saxons, was with like treachery dispossessed of his kingdom, and the people of Britain driven out of their country, after that the Saxons had slain of their chief nobles and barons at one meeting (joining together subtlety with cruelty) to the number of two hundred and seventy-one; some stories say four hundred and sixty. This wicked act of the Saxons was done at Amesbury, or at a place called Stonehenge; by the monument of which stones, there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britons there were buried. (The fabulous story of the Welchmen,[2] of the bringing of these stones from Ireland by Merlin, I pass over.) Some stories record that they were slain, being bid to a banquet. Others say that it was done at a talk or assembly, where the Saxons came with privy knives, contrary to promise made; with the which knives they, giving a privy watch-word in their Saxon speech, "Neme your sexes,"[3] slew the Britons unarmed. And thus far concerning the history of the Britons. The Saxons sent for to Britain. King Constans slain by Vortigern. Hengist and Horsa, captains of the Saxons. A wicked murder of the Saxons.

As this great plague could not come to the Britons without God's permission, so Gildas showeth in his chronicle the cause

(1) Ex Chronico Monumetensi. ["Galfrid. Hist. Brit." lib. vi. cap. 3. See Usher, p. 199. Also Fabian, p. 53, edit. 1811.—Ed.]

(2) This is briefly alluded to by Fabian, pp. 69, 75.—Ed.

(3) In Grafton's Chronicle (vol. i. p. 78) the words are "Nempnith your sexes," that is, draw your knyfes; and "Nemet eour saxes" in Usher Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 227, in a quotation from Ninius. —Ed.

The Britons. thereof, writing thus: "Quod Britones propter avaritiam et rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam judicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse."

A.D. 180 to 449.

THE ENTERING AND REIGNING OF THE SAXONS IN THE REALM OF ENGLAND.

The Saxons. This was the coming in first of the Angles or Saxons into this realm being yet unchristened and infidels, which was about the year of our Lord, as William of Malmesbury testifieth, 449; the captains of whom were Hengist and Horsa. Although the said Hengist and Saxons at their first coming, for all their subtle working and cruel attempt, had no quiet settling in Britain, but were driven out divers times by the valiantness of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uther abovementioned, who reigned after that among the Britons; yet, notwithstanding, they were not so driven out, but that they returned again, and at length possessed all, driving the Britons (such as remained) into Cambria, which we call now Wales. Hengist (as some chronicles record) reigned three and forty years, and died in Kent. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his history of Britain, saith, that he was taken in war by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningsburgh, after he had reigned nine and thirty years.[1]

After the death of Hengist, his son Osca reigned four and twenty years, who also was slain by Uther Pendragon, leaving his son Octa, to whose reign with his son Imenricus histories do attribute three and fifty years.[2]

Seven kings ruling in England. The Saxons, after they were settled in the possession of England, distributed the realm among themselves first in seven parts, every part to have his king; that is, the first to be the king of Kent; the second to be king of Sussex and Southery, holding his palace at Cicester; the third king was of Westsex; the fourth king of Essex; the fifth king was of the East Angles, that is, of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk; the sixth king of Merceland, or Mercia; and in his kingdom were contained the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, Derby, Warwick, etc.; the seventh king had all the counties beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Of the seven kingdoms, although they continued not long, but at length joined all in one, coming all into the possession and subjection of the West Saxons; yet for the space they continued (which was with continual trouble and wars among themselves), this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be seen.

A Table describing the Seven Kingdoms of the Saxons reigning here in England.[3]

In the time of Vortigern above mentioned, began the reign of the Saxons in this land; the which, coming out of three sorts of the German people (to wit, the Saxons, the Jutes, and Angles), replenished the land, of them called now Anglia. Of whom first Hengist reigned in Kent, which country of Kent he had obtained by Rowena his daughter, of king Vortigern, which was about the

(1) Ex Galfrido, in suo Britannico, [lib. viii. cap. 3, 4. See Usher, "Brit. Eccles. Antiq." p. 240, 241.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Polychron, lib. v. cap. 4; whence a slight correction is made in Foxe's text.—Ed.

(3) Foxe having sometimes failed to make different kings synchronize as they should do, in the following table, the dates A.D. of the accession of the kings are added, chiefly from Mr. Sharon Turner's table, Foxe's account of the length of their reigns being left to stand.—Ed.

year of our Lord, as some do count, 476, or, as I find in the computation of our English Tables 456, in some 463. After Hengist came in Osca, with Eosa or Isse, his kinsman; who afterward succeeded the said Hengist in Kent. Not long after came in another company of the Saxons, with Elle their captain, which planted themselves in South-sax. And after them again another garrison of the Saxons, with Cerdic their captain, which did occupy the west part of the land, called by them West-sax. And so, likewise, the other multitude of the Saxons after them, which (as yet being unchristened and infidels) divided the whole land among themselves into seven kingdoms, as in this Table followeth :— *The Saxons.*

KENT.

The Kings of Kent with the Years they reigned.

A.D.		Years
456	Hengist (slain) reigned	31
488	Eosa, or Isse[1]	24
512	Ocha, or Octha	
542	Emenric, or Emeric	26
560	Ethelbert,[2] the first of the Saxon kings that received the faith by Augustine, anno regni 35	56
616	Edbald	24
640	Ercombert[3]	24
664	Egebert, or Edbrieth (slain)[4]	9
673	Lotharius (slain)	12
685	Eadric[5]	6
	Nidred }	
	Wilhard[6] }	7
694	Withred	33
728	Egfert, or Egbert	23
748	Ethelbert	11
	Alric[7]	34
760	Eadbert, surnamed Pren	2
	Cuthred	18
	Baldred (expulsed)	18

In the reign of this Baldred the kingdom of Kent was translated to Egbert, otherwise called Egbriet, king of the West Saxons; who, subduing the aforesaid Baldred in the year 832, gave the said kingdom to Athelstan his younger son. After whose decease it came to Ethelwolf, the elder son of Egbrect, and so was united to the West Saxons, who then began to be the monarch of the whole land. This kingdom began near about the year of our Lord 456, and continued 376 years, and had fifteen kings.

SUSSEX.

The Kings of Southsax, now called Sussex, with the Years they reigned.

A.D.		Years
478	Elle, or Alle, reigned	31
	Cissa.[8]	
	Nancanleus, or Nancanleod.[9]	
	Porth.[10]	
	Ethelwolf.[11]	
	Redwall.	
	Condebert.[12]	
	Ethelred, or Ethereus.	
	Adelwold, or Ethelwald (slain.)[13]	
	Adelbrich, or Berethunus (slain.)	
	Aldhume.	

This kingdom endured the shortest season of all others, and soonest passed into other kingdoms, in the days (as some write) of Ina king of West-sax; and so endured not above two hundred and ten years, under seven, or at most eleven kings, beginning first in the year of the Lord 478, and about the thirtieth year from the first coming of the Saxons.

(1) According to William of Malmesbury (p. 10), "Eisc" would be more correct; or "Esc," as Henry of Huntingdon has it (p. 312, edit. Francof. 1601.) Eosa was kinsman to Eisc, and was slain with him in battle by Uther; see infrà, p. 322. See Usher, p. 241.—Ed.

(2) This Ethelbert, first of all the Saxons received the faith, and subdued all the other six kings, except only the king of Northumberland.

(3) Ercombert commanded Lent first to be fasted in his dominion.

(4) Egbert killed two sons of his uncle.

(5) Unto the time of Edrick, all the bishops of Canterbury were Italians.

(6) Some chronicles do place these two, Nidred and Wilhard, after Edrick, and give to them seven years; some again do omit them.

(7) Between the reigns of Alrick and Cuthred, some stories do insert the reign of Eadbert, which reigned two years.

(8) Of this Cissa came Cicester, which he builded, and where he reigned.

(9) This Nathanleod seemeth, by some old stories, to be a Briton, and the chief marshal of king Uther, whom Porth the Saxon slew.

(10) This Porth, a Saxon, came in at the haven, which now is called of him Portsmouth.

(11) Because I find but little mention of these two, I think it rather like to be the same Ethelwold, or Ethelwald, which after followeth.

(12) Of Condebert and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table only, and suppose, therefore, that the true names of these were Ercombert, and Egbert, which were kings of Kent the same time, and peradventure might then rule in Sussex.

(13) This Adelwold was the first king of Sussex christened, and, as Fabian saith, the fourth king of the South Saxons; as others say the seventh; so uncertain be the histories of this kingdom.

The Saxons.

WESSEX.

The Kings of Westsax, and the Years they reigned.

A.D.		Years
495	Cerdic, or Credic,[1] reigned	17
534	Kenric	26
560	Cheling	30, 33
591	Celric, or Celfric	5
597	Celwulf, or Ceolulf	14
611	Kinigilsus,[2] and Quicelinus	32
643	Kinewalkins	31
672	Sexburga	1
674	Escwin, Ascwin, or Elkwin	2
676	Centwine (died at Rome)	7
685	Cadwalla[3]	3
688	Ina, or Ine[4]	35
728	Edelard, or Athelard	14
741	Cuthred, or Cuthbert	16
754	Sigebert, or Sigher (slain)[5]	1
755	Kinulf, or Kinewlf (slain)	31
784	Brithric	13
800	Egbert, or Egbricht,[6] otherwise Athelbert, or Athelbrich, etc.	37

This Egbert subdued all the other seven kingdoms, and first begun the monarchy of all the Saxons, which after by Alfred was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This kingdom of the West Saxons began the year of grace 495; and as it subdued all the others, so it did the longest continue, till about the coming of William the Conqueror, which is about the time of 571 years.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Kings of Northumberland, with the Years they reigned.

A.D.		Years
547	Ida,[7] reigned	12
	After Ida the kingdom of Northumberland was divided into two provinces, Deira and Bernicia.	
560	Alle or Elle,[8] for Deira	30
560	Adda, of Bernicia[9]	7
588	Alric, or Alfric, of Deira[10]	5
593	Ethelfrid, of Bernicia.[11]	
617	Edwin, of Northumberland (slain)[12]	17
634	Osric, of Deira (slain)	
634	Eanfrid, of Bernicia (slain)[13]	
634	Oswald,[14] of Northumberland (slain).	
642	Oswy,[15] of Northumberland	28
644	Oswin,[16] reigned together with Oswy, in Deira, (slain)	7

(1) This kingdom contained Somersetshire, Berkshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, etc.

(2) This Kinigilsus, the first king christened in that province, was converted by Berinus, and after made monk.

(3) Cadwalla went to Rome, and there was christened, and died.

(4) Ina also went to Rome, and was made monk. [Repeatedly called Ive by Foxe and Fabian.—Ed.]

(5) Sigebert, for his pride and cruelty, was deposed of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faithful council, giving him wholesome counsel; so after was he slain of the same councillor's swineherd, as he hid himself in a wood.

(6) This Egbert was first expelled by Brithric, who after (returning again and reigning) was much derided and scorned with mocking rhymes, for a coward, of Bernulf king of Mercia. At length the said Egbert subdued him first, then all the rest to his kingdom: causing the whole land to be called no more Britain, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in that lordship, hereafter followeth.

(7) This Ida of his wife had six children, Adda, Elricus, Osmerus, Theodledus; of concubines other six.

(8) This Alle was the son of Isse, and reigned in Deira; [*i.e.* between the Humber and the Tyne.—Ed.]

(9) Some chronicles set under Adda, to reign in Bernicia [*i.e.* between the Tyne and the Firth of Forth.—Ed.], these kings, Glappa or Claspa, Theonulf, or Hussa, or Theowaln, Frihulf, Theodoric.

(10) This Alfricus was the son of Ida, and reigned five years.

(11) This Ethelfrid was he that slew the monks of Bangor, to the number of 1200, which came to pray for the good success of the Britons; and by his wife Acca, the daughter of Elle, he had seven sons, Eaufrid, Oswald, Oswy, Oslac, Osmund, Osa, Offa.—Flor. Histor.

(12) This Edwin was the first of the Northumberland kings which was converted: he was christened by Paulinus bishop of London.

(13) These two are put out of the race of kings, because they revolted from the Christian faith, and were both slain miserably by Cedwalla a Briton, who then reigned in Northumberland and in Mercia.

(14) This Oswald, called St. Oswald, fought with Cedwalla and Penda with a small army, and by strength of prayer vanquished them in the field. He sent for Aidan out of Scotland to preach in his country, and as he preached in Scottish, the king expounded in English. He was a great giver of alms to the poor. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.

(15) This Oswy, fighting against Penda, vowed to make his daughter Elfred a nun, giving with her twelve lordships to build twelve monasteries; six in Bernicia, six in Deira. The same Oswy, in the beginning of his reign, took one Oswin the son of Edwin to be his partner over the country of Deira. Afterward, causing him to be killed, took to him another called Edelwald, the son of Oswald.

(16) Of this Oswin more followeth hereafter to be declared.

A.D.		Years
670	Egfrid,[1] of Northumberland (slain)	15
685	Alfred,[2] of Northumberland (slain)	20
705	Osred,[3] of Northumberland (slain)	11
716	Kenred, of Northumberland	2
	Osric,[4] of Northumberland	20
731	Celulf,[5] of Northumberland, (made a monk)	9
738	Edbert, or Eadbert, of Northumberland (monk)	21
757	Osulf, of Northumberland, (slain)	1
759	Mollo,[6] or Ethelwold, of Northumberland (in some chronicles six years)	11
765	Alcred,[7] of Northumberland (expulsed)	10
774	Ethelbert, or Edelred, of Northumberland (expulsed)	5
778	Alfwold, of Northumberland (slain)	11
789	Osred II	
790	Ethelbert, or Adelwald, of Northumberland (slain)	16

After this Ethelbert, the kingdom of Northumberland ceased the space of 25 years, till Egbert, king of the West Saxons, subdued also them, as he did the other Saxons, to his dominion. After the which Egbert, king of the West Saxons, succeeded his son in Northumberland.

Kings of West Saxons, reigning in Northumberland.

Ethelwolf.	Ethelbald.
Ethelbert.	Ethelred.

In the time of this Ethelred, there were two under-kings in Northumberland, Ella and Osbright, whom the Danes overcame, and reigned in their place, whose names were these:

Erbert, Richsi, Egbert, Gurthed, Gurthrid; Danes.

After the reign of these foresaid Danes, the kingdom of Northumberland came into the hands of the West Saxons, in the time of Athelstan and his brother Edmund. It began first in the year 547 [and ended in the year 938], and so endured 391 years. It contained Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, Copeland, and others.

MERCIA.

The Kings of Mercia, or Merceland, with the Years of their Reign.

A.D.		Years
586	Crida, or Creodda, reigned	35
	Wibba	20
	Ceorlus	10
626	Penda,[8] (slain)	30
655	Peda,[9] or Weda (slain by his wife).	
656	Ulfer[10]	29
675	Adelred, or Ethelred,[11] (made a monk)	30, or 19
704	Kenred made also monk at Rome	5
709	Ceolred, or Kelred.[12]	

(1) This Egfrid married Etheldrida, who, being twelve years married to him, could after by no means be allured to lie with him; but, obtaining of him license, was made nun, and then abbess of Ely. She made but one meal a day, and never wore linen. At last the same Egfrid, fighting against the Scots, was slain in the field by a train of the Scots feigning themselves to fly.

(2) Of this Alfred Bede in his history testifieth, that he was exactly and perfectly seen in the holy Scriptures, and recovered much that his predecessors had lost before. Some say, he reigned not eighteen years.

(3) Osred began his reign being but eight years old, and reigned the space of ten years.

(4) Some affirm that Osric reigned but eleven years.

(5) This Celulf, after he had reigned eight years, was made a monk. To him Bede wrote his history. "Gloriosissimo Regi Ceolvvlpho Beda famulus Christi et Presbyter." See the Dedication to Bede's Ecclesiastical History of Britain.—Ed.

(6) Mollo by the subtle train of Alcred was made away, which Alcred also himself, after he had reigned ten years, was expulsed by his own people.

(7) In some chronicles this Alcred reigned but eight years.

(8) Penda slew in battle Edwin and Oswald kings of Northumberland. Also Sigebert, Edrick, and Anna, kings of the East Angles. Also he drove out Kenwalkins, king of the West Saxons.

(9) Under Peda and Ulferus Christ's faith was received in those parts, they being converted by Finian, bishop. The same Peda reigned in a part of Mercia, with his brother Ulfer, who were both the sons of Penda.

(10) This Ulfer by his wife Ermeburg, had three daughters; Milburg, Mildrith, and Mildgith, holy virgins.

(11) This Adelred, or Ethelred, was monk of Bardney, whose sisters were Kinedrid and Kinswith, holy virgins.

(12) In the time of this Ceolred was Guthlake, otherwise called St. Guthlake, the popish hermit of Crowland.

The Saxons.

A.D.		Years
716	Ethelbald (slain)[1]	41
755	Bernred[2]	1
755	Offa[3]	39
794	Egfred	1
794	Kenulph, (slain)	20 or 16
	Kenelm (murdered)[4]	
819	Ceolwolf (expelled)	1 or 3
821	Bernulf (slain)	3
	Ludecane (slain)[5]	2
	Some chronicles here insert Milefred, Wilasius, or	
828	Withlacus (beheaded)	12

This Withlacus, in the beginning of his reign, was vanquished by Egbert king of West-sax, to whom he became tributary, with his successors here following:

Bernulf, 12 years; Buthred, 20 years; Celust, 1 year; Elfrid, 1 year. Some writers say that these four kings were subdued by the Danes.

After this Elfred, the kingdom of the Mercians was translated unto the West Saxons, in the latter time of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edward the eldest; and so was adjoined to the West Saxons, beginning in the year 586. It endured for the space of 315 years, till about the latter end of Alfred, by whom it was joined to the kingdom of the West Saxons. This kingdom stretched out to Huntingdonshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcester, Warwick, Litchfield, Coventry, Chester, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Buckingham, Dorchester, Lincoln, Leicester, etc.

EAST SAXONS.

The Kings of the East Saxons, with the Years of their Reign.

A.D.		Years
561	Erchwin, reigned	35
	Sledda	17
604	Sebert, or Sigebert[6]	14
	Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert,[7] brethren (slain)	
	Sigebert, the Little	23
	Sigebert, the Good,[8] or Sibert (slain)	
	Switheline	14
	Sigherius, son of Sigebert the Little.[9]	
	Sebbi, son of Seward, which was made a monk.	
	Sigehard and Suefrid, brethren	8
	Offa[10]	5
	Selred, or Colred (slain)	38
	Swithred	

This Swithred was subdued unto Egbert, king of West Saxons, albeit London remained under the Mercians to the time that they also were subdued to the West Saxons. This kingdom began in the year 561, and so continued till the time of Egbert. Some stories say it continued till the time of Edward son of Alfred, about the coming of the Danes, and contained under it the lordship of Middlesex and London. The metropolitan see of this province of Essex was London, where the famous church of St. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sebert king of Essex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to Christ's faith; whereof the first bishop was Mellitus, the second bishop was

(1) Under Ethelbald died Bede. Ethelbald gave, that all churches, should be free from all exactions and public charges.

(2) This Bernred, for his pride and stoutness toward his people, was by them deposed; and the same year, by the just judgment of God, burned.—Histor. Cariens.

(3) Offa, causing or consenting to the death of good Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, peaceably coming to marry his daughter, for repentance caused the Peter-pence first to be given to Rome, and there did his penance.

(4) This Kenelm, being seven years of age, was wickedly slain, after he had reigned six months.

(5) This Ludecane after the second year of his reign, was slain of Egbert, king of the West Saxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were also subdued.

(6) This Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert king of Kent, among these kings was first christened by Mellitus: he also made the church of Paul's.

(7) Sexred, Seward and Sigebert expelled Mellitus the bishop, because he would not minister to them the sacramental bread, they being not baptized. They were slain of Kinegils and Quicheline his brother, by the just judgment of God, for they revolted again from their faith, and expelled Mellitus bishop of London.

(8) This Sigebert the Good, or Sibert, much resorting to Oswy king of Northumberland, by his persuasion was brought to christian baptism, baptized of Finian, bishop, to whom also was sent Cedde with other ministers to preach and to baptize in his country. At last he was slain of his men about him, using too much to spare his enemies, and to forgive their injuries that repented. —Flor. Hist.

(9) This Sigherius and Sebbi first fell to idolatry; then, through the means of Ulfer or Wolfer king of Mercia, were reduced, and at last Sebbi became a monk.

(10) Offa, after he had reigned a while, became a monk at Rome.

Cedda, the third came in by simony, whose name was Wine.[1] After him was Erkenwald, of whom writeth Bede, that he, being diseased in his legs so that he could not go nor ride, yet would be carried about in a litter, to preach in his diocese, etc. Although William of Malmesbury, writing of the bishops of London in his book "De Vitis Pontificum," saith that Maurice, first the king's chancellor, then bishop there, did first begin this so large and famous building of the church of St. Paul in London; which work after him Richard, his successor, did prosecute, bestowing all the rents of his bishopric upon the same, and yet was scarcely seen [to make any progress].[2] Yet herein may be answered peradventure, that the church builded before by king Ethelbert and king Sigebert, might be overthrown by the Danes, and afterward was re-edified by these bishops above mentioned.

EAST ANGLIA.

The Kings of East Angles, with the Years of their Reign.

	Years		Years
Uffa, or Ulfa,[3] reigned	30	Adelhere, or Adelred (slain)	2
Titulus, or Titila	13	Adelwold, or Ethelbald	9
Redwald[4]	12	Adulph	25
Erpwald, or Corpwalous (slain)	38	Elkwold	12
Sigebert, or Sibrect,[5] first a monk (slain)	3	Beorna	26
Egnic, or Egric (slain)	3	Ethelred (slain)	52
Anna (slain)[6]	3	Ethelbright, or Ethelbert[7] (slain)	5

After the sinful murder of Ethelbert, the kingdom of East Angles, during the term of certain years, was in great trouble and desolation, under divers kings and tyrants; sometimes the king of Westsax, sometimes of Kent or of Mercia, having dominion over them; till the coming of St. Edmund, who was the last king there ruling under the West Saxons.

St. Edmund (martyred) reigned 16 years.

After the death of St. Edmund, being slain of the infidel Danes, the kingdom remained with the Danes fifty years, till at length Edward, king of the West Saxons, expulsed the Danes, and joined it to his kingdom. It began about the year of our Lord 561, and continued near about 350 years. Fabian numbereth but twelve kings, but in others I find more.

The metropolitan see of this province of East Angles was first at a town called Dunmoke, or Dunwich,[8] which in times past hath been a famous and populous town, with a mayor and four bailiffs, and also divers parish churches and hospitals, whereunto great privileges by divers kings have been granted; which town is now fallen into ruin and decay, and more than half consumed by the eating in of the sea, as also greatly impoverished by loss of the haven, which heretofore hath flourished with divers tall ships belonging to the same (the inhabitants thereof being not able of themselves to repair it without the help of other good people); where the first bishop was Felix, a Burgundian, who sat there fourteen years. After this, unto the time of Egbert king of Westsax, this province was ever ruled by two bishops, whereof the one had his see at Dunmoke, now called Dunwich; the other at Hemaham,[9] where ten sat one after another. From thence it was translated to Thetford, where sat two bishops. At last, by bishop Herbert it was removed to Norwich, where he erected a monastery of monks.

(1) Malmesb. de Vitis Pont.
(2) Malmesbury's words are, "propemodum nihil efficere visus est."—Ed.
(3) Of this Uffa, the people of Norfolk were then called Uskins [or "Uffings." Higden.—Ed.]
(4) Redwald first was converted in Kent. Afterward through the wicked persuasions of his wife and others, he joined idolatry with Christianity. Notwithstanding his son Erpwald through the means of Edwin king of Northumberland, was brought to the perfect faith of Christ, and therein faithfully did continue.
(5) This Sigebert made himself a monk, and afterward brought out to fight against Penda with a white stick in his hand, was slain in the field.
(6) The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberta, and St. Etheldreda.
(7) This Ethelbert for his holiness and godly virtues is counted for a saint; he, innocently coming to Offa king of Mercia, to marry with Althrid his daughter, by the sinister suspicion of Offa, and wicked counsel of Kineswina his wife, was cruelly put to death in the house of Offa. For the which cause Offa, afterward repenting, went to Rome, where he made himself a monk.
(8) This Dunwich lieth upon the sea side, in Suffolk.
(9) North Elmham, in Norfolk.—Ed.

The Saxons. And thus standeth the order and race of the Saxon kings, reigning together with the Britons in this realm. Now followeth the description of the British kings, reigning with the Saxons in like manner.

Although the miserable Britons thus were bereaved of their land, by the cruel subtlety of the Saxons, yet were they not so driven out or expelled, but that a certain kingdom remained among them in some part of the land, namely about Cornwall, and the parts of Cambria, which is divided in two parts, South Wales called Demetia, and North Wales called Venedocia. The said Britons, moreover, through the valiant acts of their kings, sometimes reigned also in other countries, displacing the Saxons, and recovering again their own, sometimes more, sometimes less, till the time of Carecius, when the Britons, being deposed by Gormund (whose help they themselves sent for out of Ireland against Carecius their wicked king), utterly lost their land and kingdom; being thence driven utterly into Wales and Cornwall, A.D. 586. What the order of these kings was, what were their acts, their names and times when they reigned, in this brief table underwritten is expressed. Wherein, first, is to be premonished that Constantine the Second had three children, to wit, Constans, who was made a monk in Winchester, and after made a king; the second was Aurelius Ambrosius; the third was Uther Pendragon. This being premised, we will now enter the description of our Table, beginning with Vortigern.

A Table declaring the Kings of Britain which reigned together with the Saxons, after their coming into their land.

Vortigern.	Aurelius Ambrosius.	Constantine III.	Malgo.
Vortimer.	Uther Pendragon.	Aurelius Conanus.	Carecius, or
Vortigern again.	Arthur.	Vortiporius.	Careticus.

Here is to be understood that these British kings above mentioned did not so reign here in this land from the time of Vortigern, that they had the full government over all the whole realm, but only over parcels or parts, such as by force of arms they could either hold or win from the Saxons; who, coming in daily, and growing upon them, did so replenish the land with multitudes of them, that the Britons at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recover that which they lost; leaving example to all ages and countries, what it is first to let in foreign nations into their dominion, but especially what it is for princes to join in marriage with infidels, as this Vortigern did with Hengist's daughter, which was the mother of all this mischief; giving to the Saxons not only strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this unconsidered before of the British lords and nobility, who, worthily being therewith offended, justly deposed their king, and enthroned Vortimer his son in his room. By the which Vortimer, being a puissant prince, the Saxons were then repulsed, and driven again into Germany, where they stayed a while till the death of Vortimer, whom Rowena, daughter of Hengist, caused traitorously to be poisoned. Then Vortigern being restored again to his kingdom, through the entreaty of Rowena his wife, sent into Germany again for Hengist, who, eftsoons making his return, came in with a navy of three hundred ships well appointed.[1]

What it is to let in strange nations. Marriage with infidels.

Second return of Hengist.

(1) So says Hardyng in his Chronicle: Hector Boethius says, "cum numerosâ classe navium:" but M.Westm. and Fordun say, "cum tribus millibus armatorum sibi sociatis."—ED.

The nobles of Britain, hearing this, prepared themselves on the contrary side in all forceable wise to put them off. But Hengist, through Rowena his daughter, so laboured the king, excusing himself, and saying that he brought not the multitude to work any violence either against him or against his country, but only thinking that Vortimer had yet been alive, whom he minded to impugn for the king's sake, and to take his part. And now, forsomuch as he heareth of the death of Vortimer his enemy, he therefore committeth both himself and his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would, to remain within his land; the rest should return. And if it so pleased the king to appoint day and place where they might meet and talk together of the matter, both he and his would stand to such order as the king with his council should appoint. With these fair words well contented, the king and his nobles did assign to them both day and place, which was in the town of Ambry,[1] where he meant to talk with them; adding this condition withal, that each part should come without any manner of weapon. Hengist, showing himself well agreed thereto, gave privy intelligence to his side, that each man should carry with him secretly in his hose a long knife, with their watch-word also given unto them, when they should draw their knives, wherewith every Saxon should (and so did) kill the Briton with whom he talked, as is above declared. The British lords being slain, the Saxons took Vortigern the king and bound him; for whose ransom they required to be delivered to them the cities of London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, with other the most strong holds within the land; which being to them granted, they begin to make spoil and havoc of the British nation, destroying the citizens, plucking down churches, killing up the priests, burning the books of the holy Scripture, leaving nothing undone that tyranny could work; which was about the year of our Lord 462. The king, seeing this miserable slaughter of the people, fled into Wales.[2]

The Saxons.

Dissembling words of the Saxons to deceive the Britons.

"Neme your seces," the watch-word.

The nobility destroyed.

The king ransomed.

The Saxons enter possession of the land.

Christian Britons persecuted of the Saxons.

A. D. 462.

This while, Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon, brethren to king Constans above mentioned, whom Vortigern wickedly caused to be killed, were in Little Britain.[3] To whom the Britons sent word, desiring their aid in helping their country. Aurelius, understanding the woful state of the realm, speedeth him over to satisfy their desire, and to rescue (what in him was) their necessity; who at his first coming eftsoons being crowned for their king, seeketh out wicked Vortigern, the cause of all this trouble and murder of king Constans, his brother. And finding him in Wales, in a strong tower wherein he had immured himself, setteth him and his castle on fire. That done, he moved his power against the Saxons, with whom and with Elle, captain of the South Saxons (who then was newly come over), he had divers conflicts.

Aurelius crowned king of Britain.

Vortigern burned in his tower.

Our old English chronicles make record, that Horsa the brother of Hengist was slain before in the time of Vortimer.[4] The same also do record that this Hengist was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against Aurelius Ambrosius; who then consulting with his nobles

Horsa slain; Hengist taken.

(1) "Upon the playne of Ambrii, now called Salesbury." Fabian, pp. 66, edit. 1811.—Ed.
(2) Matt. Westmonast. p. 84, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.
(3) Armorica, called Little Britain and Bretagne from the settlement there of the British refugees.—Ed.
(4) At the battle of Aylesford, A.D. 455.—Ed.

The Saxons.

and barons what was to be done with him, the bishop of Gloucester, called Eldad, standing up gave this counsel, saying, that if all men would deliver him, yet he with his own hands would cut him in pieces; alleging the example of Samuel against Agag king of the Amalekites, taken by king Saul in the field, whom the said Samuel caused to be cut in pieces. "Even so," saith he, "do you to this Agag here; that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, so his mother may be made this day of him likewise." And so was Hengist taken out of the city[1] by Eldol consul or mayor of Gloucester, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be given to these our old British stories,[2] whereof I have nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may suspect the truth thereof; which was about the year of our Lord 488.

Counsel of Eldad, bishop of Glouces-ter.

Hengist beheaded. A. D. 488.

The uncertainty of our old British stories.

A certain ancient written history I have in Latin, compiled in the fourteenth year of king Richard II., and by him caused to be written as the title declareth; which, because it beareth no name of the author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this book, with many others likewise without name, "Historia Cariana." This history recordeth, that Hengist died in Kent the two and thirtieth year of his reign; which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at Cuninburgh, and slain in the north. This Aurelius Ambrosius before-mentioned is thought of Polydore Virgil, citing the authority of Bede,[3] to descend of the stock of the Romans; which as it is not impossible to be true, so this is certain by the full accord of all our old written stories, that both the said Aurelius and his brother Uther Pendragon, being the sons of Constantine, brother to Audroenus king of Little Britain, were nursed and brought up in England in their tender age, and instructed by Guitelinus, archbishop of London; and, after the murder of Constans their elder brother, were conveyed from hence to Little Britain; whereby it is manifest that they were born in this land; and though their father were a Roman, as Polydore pretendeth, yet likely it is that they were Britons born, and had a Briton to their mother.[4]

Aurelius Ambro-sius, king.

A. D. 497.

Uther Pendra-gon, Bri-tish king.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the story saith) was poisoned by the crafty means of Pascentius son of Vortigern (suborning one under the weed of a monk to play the physician, and so to poison him), next succeeded his brother Uther, surnamed Pendragon, about the year of our Lord 497, who, fighting against Osca[5] and Eosa, took them and brought them to London there to be kept; but they, breaking out of prison, returned into Germany for more aid. In this mean time daily recourse was of Saxons, with great companies coming out of Saxony, with whom the Britons had divers and sundry conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Not long after, Osca and Eosa, renewing their power in Germany, in all most speedy haste did return again and join with the other Saxons against the Britons. Here began the state of miserable Britain more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Saxons prevailed in number and

The Britons per-secuted by the Saxons.

(1) York, according to some chronicles.—Ed.
(2) Ex Henr. Huntingtonensi, Galfrido, et Chronico quodam Cariensi. [Math. Westmonast. p. 92, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.]
(3) Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. i. cap. 16.—Ed.
(4) Ex Historiâ Cariana. [See Usher, Antiq. p. 241.—Ed.]
(5) Foxe here reads Octa; but as he means the same person whom he calls Osca, at p. 314, that reading is here introduced.—Ed.

strength against the christian Britons; oppressing the people, throwing down churches and monasteries, murdering the prelates, sparing neither age nor person, but wasting Christianity almost through the whole realm. To these miseries it fell, moreover, that Uther their king was sick, and could not come out: notwithstanding, being grieved with the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused his bed to be brought into the camp, where God gave him victory, Osca and Eosa there being slain. After this victory, in short space Uther died of poison (as is said) put into a fountain, whereof the king was wont to drink; about the year of our Lord 516.[1]

The Saxons.

A. D. 516.

About which time and year came in Scupha and Whigarus, two nephews of Cerdic king of West Saxons, with their companies, so violently upon the Britons, that they of the west part of the realm were not able to resist them. Then the merciful providence of Almighty God raised up for them king Arthur, the son of Uther, who was then crowned after him, and victoriously reigned. To this Arthur the old British histories do ascribe twelve great victories against the heathen Saxons; whose notorious and famous conquests mentioned in the British stories I leave as I find them, referring them to the credit of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding, as I do not think contrary, but God, by the aforesaid Arthur, gave to the Britons some stay and quietness during his life, and certain of his successors; so, touching certain of his great victories and conquests, not only over this land, but also over all Europe, I judge them more fabulous, than that any credit should be given unto them; and more worthy to be joined with the Iliads of Homer, than to have place in any ecclesiastical history. After Arthur, the next king of the Britons was Constantine III. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Vortiporius; after whom followed Malgo, noted in stories to be a Sodomite. And after him the last king of the Britons was Carecius, all given to civil war, execrable to God and man; who being chased out by the Britons themselves, the land fell into possession of the Saxons, about the year of our Lord 586, by whom all the clergy and the christian ministers of the Britons were then utterly driven out: insomuch that Theon, archbishop of London, and Thadioc, archbishop of York, seeing their churches all wasted, and parishes dispersed, with their carriages and monuments, left their sees in Britain, and fled into Cambria, which we now call Wales.[2] Touching which matter, and touching also the cause of this desolation and ruin of the Britons' kingdom, the first fountain and origin thereof partly before is declared; where was showed in the time of Constantine the Great and Maximian, how these noble princes, with others, achieving their venturous affairs in other countries, took with them great multitudes and armies out of Britain; through the occasion whereof the land was greatly impaired, and deprived of the most chief and principal nobles, being carried away to serve in foreign wars, which was no small cause why the realm of Britain (being so wasted) was the less able to help itself against their enemies.[3] Although this was not the chief occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherefore God by his just judg-

The tales of king Arthur.

Kings of Britain.

The archbishops of London, and of York, fly into Wales.

(1) Flor. Hist. [M. Westmonast. pp. 96, 97, edit. 1601.—Ed.]
(2) M. Westm. ad ann. 586.—Ed.
(3) See suprà, p. 312.—Ed.

The Saxons. ment suffered this plague and overthrow to fall upon that people; as here out of an old author, and partly out of Gildas, I have found it, so I thought to annex it in his own words, first in Latin,[1] then afterward Englishing the same, for the more credit of that which shall be alleged, in tenor as followeth:

The causes of the destruction of Britain. Remember the words of Gildas, 633 Hist. Carianæ. "The nobles of this realm following the princes and captains above named, the vulgar and rascal sort remained behind at home. Who, when they had gotten the rooms and places of the nobles, advanced themselves above that which their dignity required; and through their abundance of riches, being surprised with pride, they began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was never heard of even among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the Historiographer witnesseth, not into this vice only, but also into all manner of wickedness whereto man's nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the overthrow of all good estate, the hatred of the truth, love of lies, embracing of evil instead of goodness, regarding of mischief instead of virtue, receiving of the devil as an angel of light. They anointed kings, not such as could well rule a commonwealth, but those which exceeded all other in cruelty; and if any might be perceived to be somewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to favour the truth than the residue, him did every one hate and backbite as the overthrower and destroyer of Britain. All things, whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alike. And not secular men only did this, but also the congregation of the Lord, and their bishops and teachers, without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marvelled that such people, so degenerating and going out of kind, should lose that country which they had after this manner defiled."

And thus much hitherto concerning the history of the Britons, till (by the grace of Christ) the order of time shall bring us hereafter to treat of Cadwalla and Cadwallader. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the Saxons, to discourse particularly, that which before in the table above we have summarily comprehended.

In this order and race of the Saxon kings above specified, which had thus thrust out the Britons, and now divided their land in seven kingdoms, as there were many naughty and wicked kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on war and bloodshed, are greatly to be detested and eschewed of all true godly princes), so some there were again (although but few) very sincere and good. But no one almost from the first to the last, who was not either slain in war, or murdered in peace, or else constrained to make himself a monk. Such was the rage then, and the tyranny of that time. Whether we should impute it to the corruption of man's nature, or to the just judgment of God's hand, so disposing the matter that, as they had violently and falsely dispossessed the Britons of their right; so they most miserably were not only vexed of the Danes, and conquered at last by the Normans; but also more cruelly devoured themselves, one warring still against another, till they were neither able to help

(1) Nobiliores totius regni prædictos duces sequti fuerunt, et ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cœpissent, extulerunt se ultra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam divitiarum superbi cœperunt tali et tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, ut Gildas historicus [§ 21] testatur, non solum hoc vitium, sed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere solent, et præcipue quod totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis, amor mendacii, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate, exceptatio Sathanæ pro angelo lucis: ungebantur reges, non propter Dominum (*a*), sed qui cæteris crudeliores essent. Si quis vero eorum mitior, et veritati aliquatenus proprior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniæ subversorem omnia odia telaque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant et displicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solum hoc seculares viri, sed et ipse grex Domini, ejusque pastores, sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amittere, quam prædicto modo maculabant. Ex Historiâ quadam Cariensi. [Biblioth. Patrum (Paris, 1576), tom. iii. col. 585. Gildas, p. 27, edit. Lond. 1818; also Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xii. cap. 6.—Ed.]

(*a*) "Dominium" is Foxe's reading, "Deum" Geoffrey's.—Ed.

themselves, nor yet to resist others. Of them which are noted for good among these Saxon kings, the first and principal is Ethelbert, or Ethelbrict, the first king in Kent above specified: who by the means of Austin, and partly through his wife named Bertha,[1] first received and preferred the christian faith in all this land of the English Saxons, whereof more followeth hereafter to be said (the Lord so permitting) as place and opportunity shall require. The next place I give to Oswald of Northumberland, who not only did his endeavour in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his people; but also, being king, disdained not himself to stand up, and interpret to his nobles and subjects the preaching of Aidan, preaching Christ to them in his Scottish language. In the same commendation also, like as in the same line, cometh his uncle Edwin king of Northumberland, a good prince and the first receiver of Christ's faith in that land, by the means of his wife, and Pauline, a bishop. Add to these also Sigebert, first christened king of the East Angles, and Sebert, first christened king of Essex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of religion, and setter up of schools; the other, which is Sebert or Serbricht, was nephew to Ethelbert of Kent, under whom he ruled in Essex. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the said Sebert, the church of Paul's was builded at London, and christian faith much enlarged. Of the same name there was also another Ethelbert king of the East Angles, a good prince; who, by the advice of his council, being persuaded to marriage (though against his will), went peaceably to king Offa for espousage of Ethelreda his daughter; where the good king meaning innocently, through the sinister and devilish counsel of king Offa's wife, was secretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa, through repentance thereof, made the first Peter-pence to be given to St. Peter's church in Rome.

The Saxons.

The first building of the church of Paul's in London.

Peter-pence.

In the catalogue of these good kings is also to be numbered Kenelm king of the Mercians, and Edmund king of the East Angles; of the which two, the first was falsely and abominably circumvented and beheaded, by the means of his cruel sister and his tutor, as he was in his hunting at Corfe castle. The other, who is called king Edmund the Martyr, was slain at Bury, or (as some write) at the castle of Halesdon, by the Danes: upon what occasion, histories do vary. The author of "Flores Historiarum" saith,[2] it was by reason of one Lothbroke, a Dane,[3] who, being of the king's blood, and being with his hawk on the sea-side in a little boat, was driven by the force of the weather into the coast of Norfolk, where he, being presented to king Edmund, was retained in the court with great favour; till at length one Berike, the king's falconer, envying and despiteing him for his great dexterity in that faculty, privily did murder him in a wood. This being at last spied, as murder lightly will come out, Berike was set in Lothbroke's boat alone, without all tackling, to be

(1) This Berda, or Bertha, being a Christian, was married unto Ethelbert upon the condition that she should be suffered to enjoy her religion.

(2) Page 162, edit. 1601. "Matthæus, *Florilegus* dictus, Westmonasteriensis Monachus ord. Bened., claruit a. 1377. Scripsit 'Historiarum Flores,' seu Annales ab orbe condito ad ann. 1307, ex Matthæo Paris. quoad partem priorem ferè descriptos." Cave.—Ed.

(3) This is the famous Danish sea-king Ragnar Lodbrog, whose true history Mr. Sharon Turner says was better understood by the Frankish than by the British chroniclers. He in reality perished at the hands of Ella, king of Northumberland, whose dominions he had invaded, between 862 and 867. This story is repeated infrà, vol. ii. p. 17—19; this falconer's name was *Bern.*—Ed.

The Saxons. committed unto the sea; and, as it chanced, was driven into Denmark, who there being seen in Lothbroke's boat, was strictly examined of the party. He then, to excuse himself, falsely said he was slain by the commandment of the king. Upon the occasion whereof, Inguar and Hubba, sons to the said Lothbroke, gathering an army of Danes, invaded first Northumberland; after that, bursting into Norfolk on every side, sent this message to king Edmund after this tenor, signifying, that king Inguar, the victorious prince (dreaded both by sea and land), as he had subjected divers other lands under him, so, arriving now to the coasts of Norfolk, where he intendeth to winter, chargeth and commandeth him to divide with him his old treasures, and his father's riches, and so to rule under him: which if he would not do, but would contemn his power so strongly furnished with such an army, he should be judged as unworthy both of kingdom and life, etc. The king hearing this message, not a little astonished hereat, calling his council about him, consulted with them, especially with one of his bishops, being then his secretary, what was best to be done; who, fearing the king's life, exhorteth him by words and divers examples to agree to the message. At this the king awhile holding his peace, at length thereto made answer again in these words, saying, "Go," saith he, "tell your lord, and let him know, that Edmund the christened king, for the love of this temporal life, will not subject himself to a pagan duke, unless before he become a Christian," etc. The messenger, taking his answer, was not so soon out of the gates, as Inguar, meeting him and bidding him to be short in declaring his answer, caused all the king's garrison to be set round about. Some say, that the king flying to Thetford there pitched a field with the Danes; but the Danes prevailing, the good king from thence did fly to the castle of Halesdon above mentioned; where he, being pursued of the Danes, was there taken, and at length, being bound to a stake, there, of the raging Danes was shot to death. And thus much for the good kings.

The message of Inguar to king Edmund.

Martyrdom of king Edmund.

Whether kings, who made themselves monks, did well in so doing, or not?

Now as concerning those kings which made themselves monks, which in number be seven or eight, although the example be rare and strange, and much commended of the chroniclers of that time; yet I cannot rashly assent to their commendation, albeit the case thereof is no matter of our history. First, in altering their estate from kings to monks, if they did it to find more ease, and less trouble thereby, I see not how that excuse standeth with the office of a good man, to change his public vocation for respect of private commodity. If fear of jeopardy and danger did drive them thereunto, what praise or commendation deserve they in so doing? let the monkish histories judge what they list. Me-seemeth, so much praise as they deserve in providing their own safety, so much they deserve again to be discommended in forsaking the commonwealth. If they did it (as most like it is) for holiness' sake, thinking in that kind of life to serve and please God better, or to merit more toward their salvation than in the estate of a king, therein they were far deceived; not knowing that the salvation which cometh of God, is to be measured and esteemed, not by man's merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation, more of one than another, but only by the free grace of the gospel, which freely justifieth all them that faithfully believe

in Christ Jesus. But here will be said again; peradventure, in the solitary life of monkery be fewer occasions of evils than in king's courts; wherefore that life serveth more to holiness, and is more to be preferred than the other. To this I answer, to avoid the occasions of evil is good, where strength lacketh to resist: but otherwise, where duty and charge bind to tarry, there to avoid the occasions of evil, where rather they are to be resisted, rather declareth a weakness of the man, than deserveth any praise. As it is truly said of Tully, "Out of Asia," saith he, "to live a good life, is no Godamercy; but in Asia, where so great occasions of evils abound, there to live a good man, that is praiseworthy." With the like reason I may infer, if a man be called to be a king, there not to change the vocation for avoiding of occasions, but rather to resist occasions, and to keep his vocation, declareth a good and perfect man. But of these by-matters hitherto sufficient. *Ecclesiastical History.*

These things now thus premised, concerning the order and reign of kings, as is above prefixed; consequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of such things, as, in the time and reign of the aforesaid kings, happened in the church; first putting the reader again in mind of the former persecutions within the realm, partly before touched in the time of the British kings, which especially were three or four, before the coming of Augustine into England. Four persecutions in Britain before the coming of Augustine into England.

1. The first was under Dioclesian; and that not only in England, but generally throughout all the Roman monarchy, as is above specified. In this persecution Alban, Julius, Aaron, with a great number more of other good christian Britons, were martyred for Christ's name.[1] About the year of our Lord 310.

2. The second persecution or destruction of christian faith, was by the invading of Guanius and Melga, whereof the first was captain of the Huns, the other of the Picts. These two tyrants, after the cruel slaughter of Ursula and other eleven thousand noble virgins, made their road into Britain, hearing the same to be destitute of the strength of men. At which time they made miserable murder of Christ's saints, spoiling and wasting churches, without mercy either of women or children; sparing none. The persecution of Guanius and Melga, about A. D. 446.

3. The third persecution came by Hengist and the Saxons; who likewise destroyed and wasted the christian congregations within the land, like raging wolves flying upon the sheep, and spilling the blood of Christians, till Aurelius Ambrosius came, and restored again the churches destroyed. The persecution of Hengist in Britain, A. D. 462.

4. The fourth destruction of the christian faith and religion was by Gormund, a pagan king of the Africans,[2] who, joining in league with the Saxons, wrought much grievance to the Christians of the land.[3] Insomuch that Theon bishop of London, and Thadioc archbishop of York, with the rest of the people, so many as were left, having no place wherein to remain with safety, did fly some to Cornwall, and some to the mountains of Wales, about the year of our The fourth destruction of christian faith in Britain by Gormund, A.D. 586.

(1) See Usher's "Antiq. Eccles. Brit." pp. 79, 80, edit. 1687.—Ed.

(2) This name is altogether omitted in some accounts, which differ much as to his age and country; some assigning him a large kingdom in Ireland, etc. See Usher "Eccles. Brit. Antiq." pp. 296, 297.—Ed.

(3) This Gormund, as some stories record, leaving his kingdom at home to his brother, said, he would possess no kingdom but which he should win with his sword.

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Lord 586;[1] and this persecution remained to the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, in the year 595.[2]

In the reign of this Ethelbert, who was then the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received of the Saxons or English men, by the means of Gregory bishop of Rome, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old histories collected and recorded.

Computation of times concerning the continuance and decay of Christ's gospel between the Britons and the Saxons.

First then, to join the order of our history together, the christian faith first received of king Lucius, endured in Britain till this time, near upon the season of four hundred years and odd,[3] when by Gormundus Africanus (as is said) fighting with the Saxons against the Britons it was near extinct in all the land,[3] during the space of about forty-four[4] years. So that the first springing of Christ's gospel in this land, was A.D. 180. The coming of the Saxons was in the year 449. The coming of Augustine was in the year 596. From the first entering in of the Saxons to their complete conquest, and the driving out of the Britons (which was about the latter time of Cadwallader) were two hundred and forty years. In sum, from Christ to Lucius were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the gospel from Lucius to the entering of the Saxons, was two hundred and sixty-nine years. The decay of the same to the entering of Augustine was one hundred and forty-seven years, which being added together make from Lucius to Augustine four hundred and sixteen years; from Christ to Augustine they make five hundred and ninety-six years. In this year then, five hundred and ninety-six, Augustine, being sent from Gregory, came into England; the occasion whereupon Gregory sent him hither was this.[5]

A.D. 596.

In the days of Pelagius bishop of Rome, Gregory, chancing to see certain children in the market-place of Rome (brought thither to be sold, out of England), being fair and beautiful of visage, demanded out of what country they were? And, understanding they were heathenish, out of England, he lamented the case of the land, being so beautiful and angelical, so to be subject under the prince of darkness. And asking, moreover, out of what province they were? it was answered, "Out of Deira, a part of Northsaxons;" whereof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call Durham taketh its name. Then he, alluding to the name of Deira; "These people," saith he, "are to be delivered *de Dei irâ*," which is, "from God's wrath." Moreover, understanding the king's name of that province to be Alle (above mentioned), alluding likewise to his name, "There," saith he, "ought Alleluja to be sung to the living God." Whereupon he, being moved, and desirous to go and help the conversion of that country, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romans for that time to accomplish his desire.[6] But afterward, being bishop himself next

Durham in Northumberland.

(1) Foxe, at pp, 320, 323, 327, 328, assigns the dates A.D. 570, 568, 550, 586, for this event; the last (being that adopted by M. Westm.) is in each case adopted in the text.—Ed.

(2) Foxe says 589 in the text, and 595 in the margin; probably the 589 should have occupied the place of the 550, and 595 that of the 589. The year A.D. 595 was the year of Augustine's first commission, and the alarm felt by him and his companions confirms the idea that Christianity was then under persecution in Britain.—Ed.

(3) [These are Fabian's expressions.—Ed.] King Lucius died 395 years before the coming of Augustine [*i. e.* if he died A.D. 201, as stated supra p. 311.]

(4) It is not easy to make out more than *ten*, consistently with Foxe's own computations. It has been found necessary to alter some of his numbers in the remainder of this paragraph, they were so plainly incorrect.—Ed.

(5) Beda. Polychron. lib. i. cap. 8. Malmesburiens. de Regib. [p. 17, edit. Francof. 1601.] Henr. Hunt. lib. iii. [p. 320]. Fabian, p. 5, cap. 119, liber Bibliothecæ Jornalensis.

(6) Bede, lib. ii. cap. i. § 90.—Ed.

after Pelagius, he sent thither the foresaid Augustine with other preachers near about to the number of forty. But by the way, (how it happened I cannot say,) as Augustine with his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden fear entered into their hearts, that, as Antoninus saith, they returned all. Others write, that Augustine was sent back to Gregory again, to release them of that voyage so dangerous and uncertain, amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they never knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Then Gregory, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him again with letters to the bishop of Arles, willing him to help and aid the said Augustine and his company, in all whatsoever his need required.[1] Also other letters he directed to the foresaid Augustine and to his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lord's work, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appear. *Ecclesiastical History.*

The Epistle of Gregory to them which went to preach in England.[2]

Gregory, the servant of God's servants,[3] to servants of the Lord. Forsomuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, than, after they be begun, to think to revolt back from the same again, therefore now you must needs go forward, dear children, in that good business, which through the help of God you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey, nor the slanderous tongues of men appal you, but that with all instance and fervency ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand; knowing that your great travail shall be recompensed with the greater reward of eternal glory hereafter to come. Therefore, as we send here Augustine your chief back to you again, whom also we have ordained to be your abbot, so do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your souls, whatsoever at his admonition ye shall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal country the fruit of your labour; that, although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same fellowship together with you. God keep you safe, most dear and well-beloved children!

The bishop of Rome calleth the emperor his lord.

Dated the tenth before the Calends of August, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our pious and most august lord, Maurice Tiberius; the thirteenth year after his consulship. The fourteenth indiction.[4]

Thus they, emboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregory, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the isle of Thanet, lying upon the east side of Kent. Near to the which landing place was then the manory or palace of the king, not far from Sandwich (eastward from Canterbury), which the inhabitants of the isle then called Risborough, whereof some part of the ruinous walls is yet to be seen. The king then reigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as above appeareth, the fifth king of that province, who, at that time, had married to wife a French woman, being christened, named Bertha;[5] whom he had received of her parents upon this condition: that he should permit her, with her bishop committed unto her, called Luidhard, to enjoy the freedom of her faith and religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace

Augustine and his company cometh to England.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

What goodness cometh to have a good and godly wife.

(1) Given by Bede, lib. i. cap. 24.—Ed.
(2) Bede, lib. i. cap. 23.—Ed.
(3) Gregorius servus servorum Dei, servis Domini nostri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab iis quæ cœpta sunt cogitatione retrorsum redire, etc. Ex Henr. Hunting. lib. iii.
(4) Bede places Maurice's accession A.D. 582. See Art. Gregory I. Milner's Hist.—Ed.
(5) Daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris. Mezerai dates this marriage A.D. 470.—Ed.

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the preaching and doctrine of Christ. Thus Augustine being arrived, sent forth certain messengers and interpreters to the king, signifying that such a one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and salvation, eternally to reign in heaven, with the only true and living God for ever, if Ethelbert would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

The king, who had heard of this religion before by means of his wife, within a few days after cometh to the place where Augustine was, to speak with him; but that should be without the house, after the manner of his law. Augustine against his coming, as stories affirm, erected up a banner of the crucifix (such was then the grossness of that time), and preached to him the word of God. The king answering again, saith in effect as followeth: "Your words and your promises be very fair: nevertheless, because they are to me new, and of uncertain import, I cannot soon start away from my country law, wherewith I have been so long inured, and assent to you. Albeit, yet notwithstanding, for that ye are come (as ye say) so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be right well entreated, having all things to you ministered necessary for your supportation. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our people and subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your religion." When they had received this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the city of Dorobernia, or Canterbury, singing Allelujah with this litany; which then by Gregory had been used at Rome, in the time of the great plague reigning then at Rome, mentioned in old stories. The words of the litany were these: "We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercy, that thy fury and anger may cease from this city and from thy holy house, for we have sinned; Allelujah!"[1]

The king's answer to Augustine.

The king stayeth upon old custom.

The litany of Augustine.

Thus they, entering into the city of Canterbury, the head city of all that dominion at that time (where the king had given them a mansion for their abode), there they continued, preaching and baptizing such as they had converted, in the east side of the city in the old church of St. Martin (where the queen was wont to resort), unto the time that the king was converted himself to Christ. At length, when the king had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the miracles wrought through God's hand by them, he heard them more gladly; and lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and christened in the year above specified, 596, and the thirty-sixth year of his reign. After the king was thus converted, innumerable others came in and were adjoined to the church of Christ; whom the king did specially embrace, but compelled none: for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not coacted. Then he gave to Augustine a place for the Bishop's see at Christ's Church in Canterbury, and builded the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in the east side of the said city, where, after, Augustine and all the kings of Kent were buried; and that place is now called St. Augustine.[2]

Miracles wrought by God for the conversion of the land.

Augustine made archbishop.

(1) "Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordiâ tuâ, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua à civitate istâ et de domo sanctâ tuâ, quoniam peccavimus; Allelujah!" Bede, lib. i. cap. 26.—Ed.

(2) Bede, lib. i. cap. 25.—Ed.

In this while Augustine sailed into France, unto the bishop of Arles, called Etherius,[1] by him to be consecrated archbishop by the commandment of Gregory; and was so. Also the said Augustine sent to Rome Laurence, one of his company, to declare to Gregory how they had sped, and what they had done in England; sending withal to have the counsel and advice of Gregory concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before. *Ecclesiastical History.*

The tenor of his questions or interrogations, with the answers of Gregory to the same, here follow in English briefly translated.

The questions of Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, sent to Gregory, with the answers again of Gregory to the same.[2]

First Interrogation:—"My first question, reverend father, is concerning bishops, how they ought to behave themselves toward their clerks; and of such oblations as the faithful offer upon the altar, what portions or dividends ought to be made thereof?"

Answer:—"How a bishop ought to behave himself in the church, the holy Scripture testifieth (which I doubt not but you know right well), especially in the epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, wherein he laboureth to inform the said Timothy how to behave himself in the house of the Lord. The manner is of the see apostolic to warn and charge all such as be ordained bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is given, to make four portions: one for the bishop, for hospitality and receiving comers-in; another for the clergy; the third for the poor; the fourth for the repairing of churches. But, because your brotherhood, instructed with rules of monastical discipline, cannot live separated from your clerks about you, therefore in the English church (which now through the providence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you must observe that institution concerning your conversation, which was among the first fathers in the beginning of the primitive church; among whom there was not one which counted anything to be his own property of all that he did possess, but all was common among them." *Distribution of the church goods.*

Second Interrogation[3]:—"I desire to know and to be instructed, whether clerks that cannot contain, may marry: and if they do marry, whether then they ought to return to the secular state again or no?"

Answer:—"If there be any clerks out of holy orders, which cannot contain, let them have their wives, and take their stipends or wages abroad. For we read it so written of the foresaid fathers, that they divided to every person, according as their need was.[4] Therefore, as concerning the stipend of such, it must be provided and thought upon. And they must be also holden under

(1) His name was *Virgilius*. See Mr. Stevenson's note on Bede, lib. i. cap. 24.—Ed.

(2) Ex decreto Gregorii primi; lib. concil. tom. ii. [Bede, "Eccles. Hist." lib. i. cap. 27, whence the following translation has been in a few places improved.—Ed.]

(3) Foxe's *second* question and answer appear in the printed copies of Bede as a portion of the *first*; his second question, moreover, is rather an explanation of the original, which reads thus in the printed copies—"and how the bishop is to act in the church." Foxe's *third*, however, is quoted as "the third" by Parker in his "Antiqu. Brit." His *sixth* and *seventh* appear as the *fifth* in the printed copies; and after his *seventh* question and answer, the following appear as the *sixth* in the printed copies:—

Augustine's Sixth Question. "Whether a bishop may be ordained without other bishops being present, in case there be so great a distance between them that they cannot easily come together."

Gregory answers,—"As for the church of England, in which you are as yet the only bishop, you can no otherwise ordain a bishop than in the absence of other bishops; for when do any bishops ever come from France, that they may be present as witnesses to you in ordaining a bishop? But we would have you, my brother, to ordain bishops in such a manner, that the said bishops may not be far asunder, to the end that, when a new bishop is to be ordained, there be no difficulty, but that the other bishops whose presence is necessary, may easily come together. Thus when, by the help of God, bishops shall be so constituted in places every where near to one another, no ordination of a bishop is to be performed without assembling three or four bishops. For even in spiritual affairs, we may take example by the temporal, that they may be wisely and discreetly conducted. It is certain, that when marriages are celebrated in the world, some married persons are assembled, that those who went before in the way of matrimony, may also partake in the joy of the succeeding couple. Why then, at this spiritual ordination, wherein by means of the sacred ministry man is joined to God, should not such persons be assembled, as may either rejoice in the advancement of the new bishop, or jointly pour forth their prayers to Almighty God for his preservation?"—Ed.

(4) The gloss upon the [Decreti 2 pars; causa] 12; quæst. i.; [cap. 8]; parag. i. "Si qui," saith, that this now holdeth not; and allegeth the Extra. "de cler. conjug." [See Decret. Gregor. ix. lib. iii. tit. 3, cap. 1, "Si qui;" et cap. 7, "Johannes."—Ed.] Whereby note how the pope's decrees be repugnant to themselves.

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ecclesiastical discipline, to live a godly conversation, to employ themselves in singing psalms, and to refrain their tongue, heart, and body (by the grace of God) from all things unseemly and unlawful. As for those which live in common, to describe what partitions to make, what hospitality to keep, or what works of mercy to exhibit, to such I have nothing to say, but to give of that which aboundeth (as our Master teacheth) in pious and religious works: of that," saith he, " which aboundeth or is overplus, give alms, and behold all things be clean unto you."[1]

Third Interrogation :—" Seeing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then the ceremonies and customs of churches to be so diverse? as in the church of Rome there is one custom and manner of mass, and the French church hath another."

Answer :—" The custom of the church of Rome, what it is, you know, wherein you remember that you have been brought up from your youth; but rather it pleaseth it me better, whether it be in the church of Rome, or the French church, where ye find anything that seemeth better to the service and pleasing of God, that ye choose the same, and so infer and bring into the English church (which is yet new in the faith) the best and pickedst things chosen out of many churches; for things are not to be beloved for the place' sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good therein: wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those choose out of all churches, and introduce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of Englishmen."

Note a worthy saying of Gregory.

Fourth Interrogation :—" I pray you, what punishment adjudge you for him that shall steal or pilfer anything out of the church?"

Answer :—" This your brotherhood may soon discern by the person of a thief, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be, that having sufficient to live upon, yet do steal: others there be which steal of mere necessity. Wherefore, considering the quality and difference of the crime, necessary it is, that some be corrected by loss of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easily. Yea, and when sharper correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with charity, and with no fury; for in punishing offenders, this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saved, and not perish in hell-fire. And so ought discipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good fathers in punishing their children, whom they both chasten for their evil, and yet being chastened, they look to have them their heirs, and think to leave them all they have, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Therefore this charity must be kept in mind; and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind never do anything without the rule of reason. You may add, moreover, that those things ought to be restored again, which be stolen out of churches. But God forbid that the church should ever require again with increase, that which is lost in outward things, and to seek her gain out of such vanities."

Fifth Interrogation :—" Item, whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being far off from any part of kindred?"

Answer :—" This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done."

Sixth Interrogation :—" Item, to what degree of kindred may the matrimony of the faithful extend with their kindred; or whether is it lawful to marry with the stepmother and other kinsfolks?"

Answer :—" A certain terrene law amongst the old Romans doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the son and daughter of two brethren, may marry together. But by experience we learn, that the issue of such marriage doth never thrive, nor come forward. Also the holy law of God forbiddeth to uncover the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore of necessity it must be the third or fourth degree in which the faithful may lawfully marry; for in the second (being an unlawful) they must needs refrain. To be coupled with the stepmother is utterly abominable, for it is written in the law, ' Thou shalt not uncover the turpitude of thy father.' Forsomuch then as it is so written in the law, ' And they shall be two in one flesh;' the son then that presumeth to uncover the turpitude of his stepmother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but uncover the turpitude of his own father? Likewise it was forbidden and unlawful to marry with thy kinswoman, which by her first

In what degree of kindred a man may lawfully marry.

(1) Luke xi.

marriage was made one flesh with thy brother;[1] for the which cause John the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a martyr: who, though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet, forsomuch as Christ saith 'I am the truth,' therefore, in that John Baptist was slain for the truth, it may be said his blood was shed for Christ." *Ecclesias. tical History.*

Seventh Interrogation:—"Item, whether such as so be coupled together in filthy and unlawful matrimony ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy communion?"

Answer:—"Because there be many of the nation of Englishmen, which being yet in their infidelity, were so joined and coupled in such execrable marriage; the same coming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstain from the like, and be made to know the same to be a grievous sin: and let them dread the dreadful judgment of God, lest for their carnal delectation they incur the torments of eternal punishment. And yet, notwithstanding, they are not to be secluded there-for from the participation of Christ's body and blood; lest we should seem to revenge those things in them which they, before their baptism, through ignorance did commit. For in his time the holy church doth correct some faults more fervently, some faults she suffereth again through mansuetude and meekness; some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at and dissemble; that many times the evil, which she doth detest, through bearing and dissembling she may stop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they do, they are to be deprived of the communion of the Lord's body and blood. For like as in them that fell through ignorance, their default in this case is tolerable; so in them again it is strenuously to be prosecuted, who knowing they do naught, yet fear not to commit." A discreet saying of Gregory to be noted.

Eighth Interrogation:—"Item, in this I desire to be satisfied, after what manner I should deal or do with the bishops of France and of Britain?"

Answer:—"As touching the bishops in France, I give you no authority of power over them. For the bishop of Arles hath of old time received the pall of our predecessors, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Therefore, when your brotherhood shall go unto the province of France, whatsoever ye shall have there to do with the bishop of Arles, so do, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our fore elders.[2] But as concerning the bishops of Britain, we commit them all to your brotherhood; that the ignorant may be taught, the infirm by persuasion may be confirmed, the wilful by authority may be corrected."

Ninth Interrogation:—"Whether a woman being great with child, ought to be baptized? Or, after she hath had children, after how long time she ought to enter into the church? Or else, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be prevented with death, after how many days it ought to receive baptism? Or after how long time after her child-birth is it lawful for her husband to resort to her? Or else, if she be in her monthly courses after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the church, and receive the sacrament of the holy communion? Or else her husband, after the lying with his wife, whether is it lawful for him to enter the church, and to draw unto the mystery of the holy communion, before he be washed with water?—All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen."

Answer:[3]—"The childing or bearing woman, why may she not be baptized, seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our first parents in Paradise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortality which they had received before, by the just judgment of God. Then, because Almighty God would not mankind utterly to perish because of his fall (although he lost now his immortality for his trespass), of his benign pity, he left to him, notwithstanding, the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of man's nature, which is conserved by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy baptism?[4]

(1) By this rule the marriage of king Henry with queen Katherine dowager was unlawful.

(2) [Decreti pars 2; causa.] 25; quæst. 2; cap. 3, "in Galliarum."

(3) The following is the commencement of the ninth answer in the printed copies:—"I do not doubt but that these questions have been put to you, my brother, and I think I have already answered you therein. But I believe you would wish the opinion which you yourself might give to be confirmed by mine also."—Ed.

(4) The following words are here added in the printed copies:—"For it is very foolish to imagine that a gift of grace opposes that mystery in which all sin is blotted out."—Ed.

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"As concerning the churching of women, after they have travailed, whereas ye demand after how many days they ought to go to the church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a man-child thirty-three days, after a woman-child sixty and six days be appointed her to keep in: albeit this you must take to be understood in a mystery. For if she should, the very hour of her travail, enter into the church to give thanks, she committeth therein no sin: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the travail and pain of the flesh, is the sin. In the conjunction of the flesh is pleasure, but in the travail and bringing forth of the child is pain and groaning: as unto the mother of all it is said, 'In sorrow thou shalt travail.' Therefore, if we forbid the woman after her labour to enter into the church, then what do we else but make a crime of the very punishment?[1] For a woman after her labour to be baptized (if present necessity of death doth so require), yea, in the selfsame hour that she hath brought forth; or that which she hath brought forth, in the same hour when it is born, to be baptized—we do not forbid.

Mothers that nurse not their own children reprehended.

"Moreover, for the man to company with his wife, that he must not do before the child that is born be weaned. But now there is a lewd and naughty custom risen in the condition of married folks, that mothers do contemn to nurse their own children which they have borne, but set them to other women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontinency; for because they will not contain themselves, therefore they put from them their children to nurse, etc.

"As concerning the woman in her menstruous course, whether she ought to enter the church? To this I answer, she ought not to be forbid. For the superfluity of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it just that she should be deprived of her access to the church, for that which she suffered against her will. And if the woman did well, presuming in touching the Lord's coat in the time of her bloody issue; why then may not that be granted unto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmity? Therefore to receive the mystery of the holy communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so far presume in her great infirmity, she is to be praised; but if she do receive, she is not to be judged: for it is a point of a good mind in some manner to acknowledge faults there, where is no fault, because many times that is done without fault, which cometh of fault—as when we be hungry, we eat without fault, notwithstanding it cometh by the fault of our first father to us, that we are hungry, etc.

"Whereas ye ask, if a man after the company with his wife may resort to the church, or to the holy communion, before he be purged with water? the law given to the old people, commanded that a man (after the company with his wife) both should be purified with water, and also should tarry the sunset before he came to the congregation. Which seemeth to be understood spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is led to unlawful concupiscence in his imagination. At that time, before the said fire of concupiscence shall be removed, let the person think himself unworthy the entrance to the congregation, through the viciousness of his filthy will. But of this matter sundry nations have every one their sundry customs; some one way, and some another. The ancient manner of the Romans from our forefathers, hath been, that in such case, first they purge themselves with water, then, for a little, they abstain reverently, and so resort to the church," etc.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he inferreth:

"But if any person not for voluptuousness of the flesh, but for procreation of children, do company with his wife, that man concerning either the coming to the church, or the receiving the mysteries of the Lord's body and blood, is to be left to his own judgment; for he ought not to be forbid of us to come, who, when he lieth in the fire, will not burn," etc.

There is another question also to these adjoined, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our English ears sufficient.

(1) He speaketh here after the custom of the time.

To return now to the story again: Gregory, after he had sent these resolutions to the questions of Augustine, sendeth moreover to the church of England more coadjutors and helpers; as Mellitus, Justus, Pauline, and Rufinian, with books and such other implements as he thought necessary for the English church. He sendeth, moreover, to the aforesaid Augustine a pall,[1] with letters, wherein he setteth an order between the two metropolitan sees, the one to be at London, the other to be at York. Notwithstanding, he granteth to the said Augustine during his life, to be the only chief archbishop of all the land; and, after his time, then to return to the two foresaid sees of London and York, as is in the same letter contained, the tenor whereof here followeth in his own words, as ensueth.

The Copy of the Epistle of Gregory, sent to Augustine into England.[2]

To the reverend and virtuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop, Gregory the servant of the servants of God. Although it be most certain, that unspeakable rewards of the Eternal King be laid up for all such as labour in the word of the Almighty God; yet it shall be requisite for us to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more encouraged to go forward in the study of their spiritual work. And forsomuch now, as the new church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty help and your travail, therefore we have granted to you the use of the pall, only to be used at the solemnity of your mass: so that it shall be lawful for you to ordain twelve bishops, who shall be subject to your jurisdiction. So that hereafter always the bishop of the city of London shall be consecrated by his own proper synod; and receive the pall of honour from this holy and apostolic see, wherein I here (by the permission of God) do serve. And as touching the city of York, we would have you send also a bishop thither, whom you may think meet to ordain; yet so, that, if that city with other places bordering thereby shall receive the word of God, he shall have power likewise to ordain twelve bishops, and have the honour of a metropolitan; to whom also, if God spare my life, I intend (by the favour of God) to send a pall: this provided, that, notwithstanding, he shall be subject to your brotherly authority. But after your decease, the same metropolitan shall preside so over the bishops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wise subject to the metropolitan of London after you. And hereafter, betwixt these two metropolitans of London and York, let there be had such distinction of honour, that he shall have the precedence, which shall in time first be ordained. But with common counsel, and affection of heart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeal of Christ; let them forethink and deliberate together prudently; and what they deliberate wisely, let them accomplish concordly, not jarring, nor swerving one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be endued with authority; not only over those bishops that you constitute, and over the others constituted by the bishop of York; but also you shall have all other priests of whole Britain subject unto you, by the authority of our Lord

(1) "In the Decretals collected, or at least published by the appointment of Gregory IX. in the beginning of the twelfth century, the world is abundantly furnished with accounts of the nature, virtue, necessity of the *pall*, and of the time, manner, and circumstances of using it; where it is decreed, that an archbishop, till he had received his *pall* from the bishop of *Rome*, could not call a council, bless the chrism, consecrate churches, ordain a clerk, or consecrate a bishop; and that before any archbishop received his *pall*, he should swear fidelity to the bishop of Rome. (Decretal, lib. i. tit. 6, cap. 4 and tit. 8.)

"And whilst it was required, that on the translation of an archbishop, he should not carry his *pall* away with him, but demand a new one, by another canon it was determined that his successor should make no use of the *pall* he left behind; and by another, that every archbishop should be buried in his *pall*. By these ways the church of Rome did, in time, raise a mighty revenue."—Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 165. Fuller has some characteristic remarks upon this customary adjunct to Rome's empty baubles—*nugas dabit, accipit aurum*. Fuller's Church History, cent. 7, § 38; Rivet, Jesuita Vapulans, cap. x. § 2.—Ed.]

(2) "Reverendissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Cum certum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regis præmia reservari, nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare," &c. An entire Latin copy of the epistle may be found in Foxe's edition of 1563, p. 17. See also Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 29, whence the above is revised.—Ed.

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Jesus Christ: to the end that through your preaching and holiness of life, they may learn both to believe rightly, and to live purely; and so, in directing their life both by the rule of true faith and virtuous manners, they may attain, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdom of Heaven. God preserve you in health, most reverend brother.

Gregory calleth the emperor his lord.

The thirteenth before the kalends of July, in the ninteenth year of the reign of our most pious lord and emperor Maurice, the eighteenth year after the consulship of our said lord. The fourth indiction.

Besides this, the said Gregory sendeth also another letter to Mellitus concerning his judgment, what was to be done with the idolatrous temples and fanes of the Englishmen newly converted; which fanes he thinketh not best to pluck down, but to convert the use thereof, and so let them stand: and likewise of their sacrifices, and killing of oxen, how the same ought to be ordered, and how to be altered; disputing by the occasions thereof, of the sacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God unto the Israelites, the end and use thereof being altered, etc.[1]

A letter of Gregory to Augustine.

He sendeth also another letter to the aforesaid Augustine, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puffed up for the miracles wrought of God by him, in converting the people of England; but rather to fear and tremble, lest so much as he were puffed up by the outward work of miracles, so much he should fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart: and therefore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of his heart, with the remembrance of his sins rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament than to rejoice for the others. "Not all the elect of God," saith he, "work miracles; and yet have they all their names written in the book of life." And therefore he should not count so much of those miracles done, but rather rejoice with the disciples of Christ, and labour to have his name written in the book of life, wherein all the elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that rejoicing. And whatsoever miracles it hath pleased God by him to have been done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their conversion, whose salvation God sought thereby, &c.[2]

A letter of Gregory to king Ethelbert.

Item, he directed another epistle to king Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon,[3] in the which epistle, first he praiseth God, then commendeth the goodness of the king, by whom it pleased God so to work such goodness to the people. Secondly, he exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christ's faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same; in converting the multitude; in destroying the temples and works of idolatry; in ruling and governing the people in all holiness and godly conversation, after the godly example of the emperor Constantine the Great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come, with the Lord that reigneth and liveth for ever; premonishing him, besides, of the terrors and distresses that shall happen, though not in his days, yet before the terrible day of God's judgment. Wherefore he willeth him always to be solicitous for his soul, and suspectful of the hour of his death, and watchful of the judgment, that he may be always prepared for the same, when that judgment shall come. In the end, he desireth him

(1) Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 30.—Ed. (2) Id. cap. 31.—Ed.
(3) Lib. 3, [p. 323. Edit. Francof. 1601; and in Bede, "Hist. Eccles." lib. i. cap. 32.—Ed.]

to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send unto him from Rome, etc. *Ecclesiastical History.*

Augustine thus receiving his pall from Gregory, as is above said, and now of a monk being made an archbishop (after he had baptized a great part of Kent), afterward made two archbishops or metropolitans by the commandment of Gregory, as witnesseth Polychronicon, one at London, another at York.[1]

Mellitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent specially to the East Saxons in the province of Essex, where, afterwards, he was made bishop of London, under Sebert, king of Essex; which Sebert, together with his uncle Ethelbert, first builded the church and minster of St. Paul, London, and appointed it to Mellitus for the bishop's see. Augustine (associate with this Mellitus and Justus) through the help of Ethelbert assembled and gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britain in a place, which, taking the name of the said Augustine, was called Augustine's Oak. In this assembly he charged the said bishops, that they should preach with him the word of God to the Englishmen, and also that they should among themselves reform certain rites and usages in their church; specially for keeping of their Easter-tide, baptizing after the manner of Rome, and such other like. To this the Scots and Britons would not agree, refusing to leave the custom which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which used the same. Here the stories both of Beda,[2] Cestrensis in Polychronicon, Henry of Huntingdon, Jornalensis,[3] Fabian, and others, write of a certain miracle wrought upon a blind Englishman; whom when the Britons could not help, Augustine, kneeling down and praying, restored the blind man to sight before them all, for a confirmation (as these authors say) of his opinion in keeping of Easter. But concerning the credit of this miracle, that I leave to the authors of whom I had it.

Mellitus bishop of London.

The Britons and Scots used not the rites of Rome.

Then Augustine gathered another synod, to the which came seven bishops of Britain, with the wisest men of that famous abbey of Bangor. But first they took counsel of a certain wise and holy man amongst them what to do; and whether they should be obedient to Augustine or not.[4] And he said, "If he be the servant of God, agree unto him." "But how shall we know that?" said they. To whom he answered again, "If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is the servant of God." To this they said again, "And how shall we know him to be humble and meek of heart?" "By this," quoth he, "seeing you are the greater number, if he at your coming into your synod rise up, and courteously receive you, perceive him to be an humble and a meek man; but if he shall

Abbey of Bangor

(1) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 9. Fabian. part 5, cap. 119. (2) Lib. ii. cap. 2.—Ed.

(3) The following notices of these English chroniclers (much quoted by Foxe) are taken from Cave's Historia Literaria.

Ranulphus Higdenus, Anglus, monachus Cestriensis ord. Benedict., claruit anno 1357. Historiam universalem ex aliorum chronicis contexuit, quam à creatione mundi exorsus ad sua tempora deduxit, eamque *Polychronicon* appellavit.

Henricus Huntindoniensis, Anglus, Nicolai presbyteri conjugati filius, Albini Andegavii canonici Lincolniensis discipulus, ipse etiam canonicus Lincolniensis, ac demum ab Alexandro episcopo Lincolniensi, quem Romam usque comitatus fuerat, archidiaconus Huntindoniensis factus; claruit an. 1150. Scripsit ad Alexandrum Lincolniensem, "Historia Anglorum ab ipsis gentis primordiis usque ad Stephani regis mortem, ann. 1154," quam libris duodecim absolvit.

Johannes Brompton, Anglus, monachus Cisterciensis, deinde cœnobii Jornallensis (rectius Jervallensis) in agro Eboracensi abbas; claruisse videtur circa annum 1198. Extat sub illius nomine chronicon ab anno 588 ad annum 1198.—Ed.

(4) Ex libro Jornalensi, Fabiano, et aliis.

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contemn and despise you (being as ye are the greater part), despise you him again." Thus the British bishops entering into the council, Augustine, after the Romish manner, keeping his chair, would not remove. Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdain and great displeasure, departed thence. To whom then Augustine spake, and said, "That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive war with their enemies; and if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their hands the revenge of death." Which not long after so came to pass by the means of Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, who being yet a pagan, and stirred with fierce fury against the Britons, came with a great army against the city of Chester,[1] where Brocmaile, the consul of that city, a friend and helper of the Britons' side, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the same time at Bangor in Wales an exceeding great monastery, wherein was such a number of monks, as Geoffrey with other authors do testify,[2] that if the whole company were divided into seven parts, in every of the seven parts were contained not so few as three hundred monks; which all did live by the sweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their ruler, named Dino.[3] Out of this monastery came the monks to Chester, to pray for the good success of Brocmaile, fighting for them against the Saxons. Three days they continued in fasting and prayer. When Ethelfrid, the foresaid king, seeing them so attentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of their coming thither in such a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their consul, "Then," saith he, "although they bear no weapon, yet they fight against us, and with their prayers and preachings they persecute us." Whereupon, after that Brocmaile, being overcome, did flee away, the king commanded his men to turn their weapons against the silly unarmed monks, of whom he slew the same time, or rather martyred, twelve hundred, only fifty persons[4] of that number did fly and escape away with Brocmaile; the rest were all slain. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare and say how the fore-speaking of Augustine was here verified upon the Britons; who, because they would not join peace with their friends, he said, should be destroyed of their enemies. Of both these parties the reader may judge what he pleaseth; I cannot see but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First, Augustine in this matter can in no wise be excused; who, being a monk before, and therefore a scholar and professor of humility, showed so little humility in this assembly, to seven bishops and an archbishop, coming at his commandment to the council, that he thought scorn once to stir at their coming in. Much less would his pharisaical solemnity have girded himself, and washed his brethren's

Ethelfrid king of Northumberland.

Brocmaile, consul of Chester.

The monastery of Bangor.

A pitiful slaughter of unarmed monks of Bangor.

Whether Augustine or the Britons in this case were more to blame.

(1) Bede's words are,—"to the city of Legions, which by the English is called Legacester, but by the Britons more rightly Carlegion;" it was the station of the second Augustan legion. It was called "Carlegion ar Usk," to distinguish it from "Carlegion ar Dour-dwy" (hod. Chester): it was often called "Chester," as here, and infra vol. ii. p. 5, 25, 37; sometimes "Chester in South Wales," as infra vol. ii. p. 28. To avoid confusion, "Caerleon" has been appropriated to the one, "Chester" to the other city. See Usher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. cap. 5.—Ed.

(2) Galfridus Monumeten.; Polychron. lib. v. cap. 10. Liber Bibliothecæ Jornalensis. Guil. Malmesburiensis, lib. [i. de Reg. p. 18] Fabian, p. 5, cap. 119, 120. [Bede, lib. ii. cap 2.—Ed.] [Hen. Hunting. p. 325, edit. 1601; Bede, lib. ii. c. 2.—Ed.]

(3) Bede names this abbot "Dinooth."—Ed.

(4) Nennius, the British historian, was one of these fifty.—Ed.

feet after their travel, as Christ, our great Master, did to his disciples; seeing his lordship was so high, or rather so heavy, or rather so proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and an humble heart. Again, the Britons were as much or more to blame, who so much neglected their spiritual duty, in revenging their temporal injury, that they denied to join their helping labour to turn the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and salvation, in which respect all private cases ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cause, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the stroke of God's punishment did light upon them, according to the words of Augustine, as is before declared. But especially the cruel king in this fact was most of all to blame, so furiously to fly upon them, which had neither weapon to resist him, nor yet any will to harm him. And so likewise the same or like happened to himself afterward. For so was he also slain in the field by christian Edwin, who succeeded him, as he had slain the Christians before, which was about the year of our Lord 610.[1] But to return to Augustine again, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelty was done; after he had baptized and christened ten thousand Saxons or Angles in the west river, that is called Swale, beside York,[2] on a Christmas-day, perceiving his end to draw near, he ordained a successor, named Laurence, to rule after him the archbishop's see of Canterbury. Where note by the way, christian reader, that whereas Augustine baptized then in rivers, it followeth there was then no use of fonts.[3] Again, if that be true which Fabian saith, that he baptized ten thousand in one day, the rite then of baptizing at Rome was not so ceremonial, neither had so many trinkets at that time, as it hath had since, or else it could not be that he could baptize so many in one day.

Laurence archbishop after Augustine.

Baptizing in rivers, not in fonts, among the old Romans

In the mean season, about this time departed Gregory, bishop of Rome; of whom it is said, that of the number of all the first bishops before him in the primitive time, he was the basest; of all of them that came after him, he was the best. About which time also died in Wales, David, archbishop first of Caerleon, who then translated the see from thence to Menevia, which therefore is called St. David's in Wales.[4] Not long after this also deceased the aforesaid Augustine in England, after he had sat there fifteen or sixteen years; by the which count we may note it not to be true, what Henry of Huntingdon and others do witness, that Augustine was dead before that battle of Ethelfrid against the monks of Bangor. For if that be true which Polychronicon testifieth of this murder, to be done about the year of our Lord 609, and the coming of Augustine first into the realm to be in the year 596, then Augustine enduring sixteen years, could not be dead at this battle. Moreover, Geoffrey of Monmouth[5] declareth concerning the same battle, that Ethelbert, the king of

Computation of time examined.

(1) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 12. Polychron. The date 610 refers to the slaughter of the monks.—Ed.

(2) This more probably took place in *Kent*. "When we find in Camden that the Medway, falling into the Thames, is divided by the isle of Sheppey into two great branches, of which one is called East Swale, and the other West Swale, I see no reason why we should look elsewhere for that river Swale." Heylin, quoted in Fuller's "Appeal to Injured Innocence," p. 394 (edit. Lond. 1840) who himself assents to the conjecture.—Ed. (3) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 4.—Ed.

(4) St. David in Wales, otherwise called Dewie.

(5) As this author, Geoffrey, archdeacon of Monmouth, is often mentioned by Foxe, we may remark that the opinions as to his fidelity very much vary, and that the fables which abound in his work are not of his own fabrication, but were adopted from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. "Scripsit de origine et rebus gestis regum Britanniæ, xii. libros, qui una cum aliis Heidelbergæ,

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Kent, being (as is said) converted by Augustine to Christ's faith, after he saw the Britons to disdain and deny their subjection unto Augustine, neither would assist him with preaching to the English nation—therefore stirred up the foresaid Ethelfrid to war against the Britons. But that seemeth rather suspicious than true, that he being a christian king, either could so much prevail with a pagan idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel deed; but of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, much less to judge.

A.D. 610. A story of John, patriarch of Alexandria.

About this present time above prefixed, which is the year 610, I read in the story of Ranulphus Cestrensis (the writer of Polychronicon)[1] of John the patriarch of Alexandria, whom for his rare example of hospitality and bountifulness to the poor, I thought no less worthy to have place amongst good men, than I see the same now to be followed of few. This John (being before belike a hard and sparing man) as he was at his prayer, upon a time, it is said, there appeared to him a comely virgin, having on her head a garland of olive leaves, who named herself Mercy, saying to him, and promising, that if he would take her to wife, he should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or else invented for a morality, I would wish this flourishing damsel to be married to more than to this John,[2] that she should not live so long a virgin as now she doth, because no man will marry her. But to return to this patriarch, who after that day (as the story recordeth) was so merciful and so beneficial, especially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his masters, and himself as a servant and steward unto them: this patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to sit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to set unity where was any variance. One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented that all that day he had done no good: to whom his deacon standing by answered again, that he had more cause to rejoice, seeing he had brought the city in that order and in such peace, that there needed no reconcilement amongst them. Another time, as the said John the patriarch was at service, and reading the gospel in the church, the people (as their used manner is) went out of the church to talk and jangle: he, perceiving that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they marvelled to see him do so. "My children," said he, "where the flock is, there ought the shepherd to be: wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you; or else, if you tarry out, I will likewise tarry out together with you," etc.

Mercy may live a maiden, for no man will marry her.

The acts of Gregory.

As touching the acts and deeds of Gregory above mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pride of John, patriarch of Constantinople, who would be the universal priest, and only chief bishop of all others, declaring him to be no less than the forerunner of Antichrist, that would take that name upon him; and how and with what reasons he answered again the letters of the emperor Maurice in that behalf, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entry

1587, prodierunt." Vid. Vossius "de hist. Lat." p. 419, edit. 1651; and "Supplementa ad Vos." (Hamb. 1709) p. 711. Archb. Usher has made great use of him. See also Godwin "de Præsulibus," p. 633. edit. Cantabr. 1743.—Ed.

(1) Polychron. lib. v. c. 10. He was surnamed "Eleemosynarius," "the Almoner."—Ed.

(2) This John was so bountiful in giving, that he essayed to strive in a manner with the Lord; whether the Lord should give more, or he should distribute more of that which was given.

and beginning of this history.[1] This Gregory, among many other things induced into the church (the specialties whereof hereafter shall follow, Christ willing, more at large), first began and brought in this title among the Roman bishops, to be called, "Servus servorum Dei;" putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleness, and also of their duty in the church of Christ. Moreover, as concerning his act for the single life of priests, first began and then broken again; also concerning the order of Gregory's Mass-book to be received in all churches, hereof whoso listeth to read more, shall find the same in other places hereafter; namely, when we come to the time of pope Adrian the first.

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The Roman bishops' style, "Servus servorum Dei."

After the death of Gregory above-mentioned, first came Sabinian, who, as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory[2] and of his works, so he continued not long, scarce the space of two years. After whom succeeded next Boniface III., who, albeit he reigned but one year, yet in that one year did more hurt than Gregory with so much labour, and in so many years, could do good before. For that which Gregory kept out, he brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked emperor, for him and his successors after him, that the see of Rome, above all other churches, should have the pre-eminence; and that the bishop of Rome should be the universal head through all churches of Christ in Christendom: alleging for him this frivolous reason, that St. Peter had and left to his successors in Rome, the keys of binding and loosing. And thus Rome first began to take a head above all other churches, by the means of Boniface III., who, as he lacked no boldness nor ambition to seek it, so neither lacked he an emperor fit and meet to give such a gift. This emperor's name was Phocas, a man of such wickedness and ambition (most like to his own bishop Boniface) that, to aspire to the empire, he murdered his own master, the emperor Maurice, and his children. Thus Phocas coming up to be emperor, after his detestable villany done, thinking to establish his empire with friendship and favour of his people, and especially with the bishop of Rome, quickly condescended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be what he would,—the universal and head bishop over all christian churches. But as blood commonly requireth blood again, so it came to pass on the said Phocas; for, as he had cruelly slain his lord and emperor Maurice before, so he, in like manner, of Heraclius (the emperor who succeeded him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the sea. And thus wicked Phocas, which gave the first supremacy to Rome, lost his own. But Rome would not so soon lose its supremacy once given, as the giver lost his life: for ever since, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policy possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom, by the words of Gregory, we may well call "the runner before antichrist;" for, as

Sabinian, bishop of Rome.

Boniface III. bishop of Rome.

How Rome began to take a head above other churches.

Phocas a traitor and murderer of his emperor.

Blood revenged with blood.

(1) Suprà, p. 40: where, however, Foxe promises to give the said correspondence in this place. —Ed.

(2) Baronius relates from *Sigebert*, that Gregory appeared to Sabinian "per visum" three times, and chode him "pro culpa tenaciæ et hujus derogationis;" and at his fourth appearance "horribiliter increpans, et comminans in capite percussit: quo ille dolore vexatus, non multo post mortem obiit"—a story, which Pagi says Baronius should not have credited. It appears however to be just as worthy of reception as numbers of others proposed and urged upon the belief of the Roman catholic laity. Baron. "Annal." an. 605, § 8.—Ed.

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Gregory brought in their style, "Servus servorum Dei;" this Boniface brought in their heads first, "Volumus ac mandámus, statuimus ac præcipimus:" that is, "We will and command, we enjoin and charge you," etc.

A style brought in by Boniface.

Mention was made a little before, of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and also of Ethelfrid, king of North-Saxony or Northumbria. This Ethelbert, having under his subjection all the other Saxon kings unto the Humber, after he had first received himself, and caused to be received of others, the christian faith by the preaching of Augustine, confirmed afterward in the same faith, amongst other costly deeds, with the help of Sebert king of Essex, his nephew, then reigning under him, began the foundation of Paul's church within the city of London, and ordained it for the bishop's see of London.[1] For the archbishop's see, which before-time had been at London, was by Augustine and this Ethelbert, at the prayer of the citizens of Canterbury, translated to the said city.[2] Wherefore such authors as say that Paul's was builded by Sebert say not amiss: which Sebert was the king of Essex, in which province standeth the city of London. This Ethelbert also founded the church of St. Andrew in the city of Dorubrevi in Kent, now called Rochester of one Rof, distant from Canterbury four and twenty miles. Of this city Justus was bishop, ordained before by Augustine.[3] Moreover, the forenamed Ethelbert stirred up a dweller or citizen of London, to make a chapel or church of St. Peter in the west end of London (then called Thorny, now the town of Westminster), which church or chapel was after by Edward the Confessor[4] enlarged or new builded: lastly, of Henry III. it was newly again re-edified, and made, as it is now, a large monastery. After these christian and worthy acts, this Ethelbert, when he had reigned the course of fifty and six years, changed this mortal life about the year of our Lord, 616; whom some stories say to be slain in a fight between him and Ethelfrid king of North-Saxons.

Ethelbert and Sebert builders of Paul's church.

The archbishop's see translated from London to Canterbury.

The monastery of Westminster.

A. D. 616.

In the mean time the foresaid Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, after the cruel murder of the monks of Bangor, escaped not long unpaid his hire: for after he had reigned four and twenty years he was slain in the field by Edwin, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

Blood revenged with blood.

This Edwin, being the son, not of Ethelfrid (as Geoffrey of Monmouth saith) but rather of Ella (as Giraldus Cambrensis[5] seemeth to witness more truly), was first a paynim or idolater; afterward by Paulinus was christened, and the first christened king in Northumberland. The occasion of which his calling or conversion, as is in sundry stories contained, was this.

Edwin first christened king in Northumberland.

Edwin being yet a pagan, married the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, called Ethelburga, a christian woman, otherwise called Tate. But before this marriage, Edwin being yet young, Ethelfrid the king, conceiving envy against him, persecuted him so sore, that he was forced to fly to Redwald, king of East-Angles, as in the table of the kings is expressed; the which Redwald, what for fear, what with

The conversion of Edwin to the faith of Christ.

The trouble of Edwin.

(1) Fabian, part v. cap. 120.
(2) Malmesburiensis lib. de Pontific. [lib. ii. p. 235]. H. Hunting. lib. iii. [p. 324, edit. 1601.—Ed.]
(3) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3.—Ed.
(4) This Edward was the third of that name before the conquest.
(5) Sylvester Giraldus, flourished in the court of Henry II.—Ed.

bribes, being corrupted of Ethelfrid, at length privily had intended to have betrayed Edwin. But, as God's will was, Edwin, having warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moved to fly, and to save himself; being promised also of his friend to be safely conveyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom Edwin said, "Whither shall I fly, that have so long fled from the hands of mine enemies, through all provinces of the realm? and if I must needs be slain, I had rather he should do it, than another unworthy person." Thus he remaining by himself alone and solitary, sitting in a great study, there appeared unto him suddenly a certain stranger to him unknown, and said, "I know well the cause of thy thought and heaviness. What wouldst thou give him that should deliver thee out of this fear, and should reconcile king Redwald to thee again?" "I would give him," said Edwin, "all that I ever could make." And he said again, "And what if he make thee a mightier king than was any of thy progenitors?" He answered again as before. "Moreover," saith he, "and what if he show thee a better kind and way of life, than ever was showed to any of thine ancestors before thee, wilt thou obey him and do after his counsel?" "Yea," said Edwin, promising most firmly with all his heart so to do. Then he, laying his hand upon his head: "When," said he, "this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say unto thee." And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwin was sitting alone by himself pensive and sad, his foresaid friend, which moved him before to fly, cometh to him, bidding him be of good cheer; "For the heart," said he, "of king Redwald, which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsel of the queen, and is fully bent to keep his promise with you, whatsoever shall fall thereupon." To make the story short, Redwald the king[1] (although Fabian, following Henry of Huntingdon, saith it was Edwin) with all convenient speed assembled a host, wherewith he, suddenly coming upon Ethelfrid, gave battle to him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, with Reignher, Redwald's son, was slain in the field. By reason whereof, Edwin (his enemies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwin remained in his old paganism; albeit his queen, king Ethelbert's daughter, a christian woman (as is above declared),[2] with Paulinus the bishop, ceased not to stir and persuade the king to christian faith. But he, taking counsel with his nobles and counsellors upon the matter, was hard to be won. Then the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose, to bring all good things to pass, sent another trouble upon him, by means thereof to call him: for by affliction God useth commonly to call them whom he will save, or by whom he will work salvation unto others. So his divine wisdom thinketh good to make them first to know themselves, before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with Paul (who was stricken down before he was lifted up); with Constantine, Edwin, and many more. How long was Joseph in prison

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Marvellous calling of Edwin.

Edwin miraculously delivered.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

(1) W. Malmesburiensis, lib. de reg. [p. 18.—Ed.]
(2) This queen was Ethelburga, daughter to king Ethelbert, the christened king of Kent.

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before he bare rule! How hardly escaped this our queen now being (queen Elizabeth), by whom, notwithstanding, it hath pleased God to restore this his gospel now preached amongst us! In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his spirit was Martin Luther, before he came to preach the justification of Christ openly! And so be all they most commonly, which come to any lively feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

Another trouble of Edwin. A. D. 627.

But to return to Edwin again. The occasion of his trouble was this. Quiceline[1] with Kinegils[2] his brother, kings of West-Saxons (as above is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kings), conspiring the death of Edwin, now king of Northumberland, upon envy and malice sent upon an Easter day a sword-man, named Eomer, privily to slay the said Edwin.[3] This sword-man or cut-throat came to a city beside the water of Derwent in Derbyshire,[4] there to wait his time; and lastly, found the king smally accompanied, and intended to have run the king through with a sword envenomed. But one Lilla, the king's trusty servant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his master, started between the king and the sword, and was stricken through the body, and died; and the king was wounded with the same stroke. And after, he wounded also the third, which was a knight; and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to work that treason. The other knight that was secondly wounded, died; and the king lay long after sick, ere he were healed.[5]

A part of a trusty servant.

After this, about Whitsuntide, the king being scantly whole of his wound, assembled his host, intending to make war against the king of West-Saxons, promising to Christ to be christened, if he would give him victory over his enemies: and in token thereof caused his daughter, named Eanfleda, born of Ethelburga, the same Easter day when he was wounded, to be baptized of Paulinus, with twelve others of his family. Thus Edwin proceeded to the battle against Quiceline, and Kinegils with his son Kenwalc, and other enemies; who in the same battle being all vanquished and put to flight, Edwin, through the power of Christ, returneth home victor. But for all this victory and other things given to him of God, as he was in wealth with the world, he forgat his promise made, and had little mind thereof, save only that he, by the preaching of Paulinus, forsook his maumetry; and for his excuse said, that he might not clearly deny his old law, which his forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and good advice of his council.[6]

Old customs in matters of religion not to be followed, but only truth.

Old custom letteth Edwin to be christened.

About the same season pope Boniface the fifth sent also to the said Edwin letters exhortatory, with sundry presents from Rome to him, and to Ethelburga the queen: but neither would that prevail.[7] Then Paulinus seeing the king so hard to be converted, poured out his prayers unto God for his conversion; who the same time had revealed to him, by the Holy Ghost, the oracle above mentioned, which was showed to the king when he was with Redwald, king of the East-Angles. Whereupon Paulinus, coming after to the king

A miracle in the conversion of Edwin.

(1) Sometimes called Quichelm or Cwichelm.—Ed. (2) Sometimes called Cynigils.—Ed.
(3) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. iii.
(4) So says Fabian; but Bede calls it "Doruvention, the regal city," which Camden says was on the site of a village called "Auldby," (*i. e.* old habitation), six miles from York.—Ed.
(5) Fabian. pt. v. [cap. 130; Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.]
(6) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed. (7) Ibid. cap. 10, 11.—Ed.

on a certain day, and laying his hand upon the king's head, asked him if he knew that token. The king hearing this, and remembering well the token, was ready to fall down at his feet. But Paulinus, not suffering that, did lift him up again, saying unto him, "Behold, O king, you have vanquished your enemies, you have obtained your kingdom; now perform the third thing, which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him."[1] Whereupon the king, conferring with his council and his nobles, was baptized of Paulinus at York,[2] with many of his other subjects with him; insomuch that Coifi,[3] the chief of the prelates of his old maumetry, armed himself with his idolatrous bishops, and bestrode a stallion, which before, by their old law, they might not do, nor ride but only a mare: and so destroyed he all the altars of the maumetry, and their temple of idols, which was at Godmundham, not far from York. And this was in the eleventh year of his reign.[4]

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The part of a godly bishop exemplified in Paulinus.

Edwin baptized.

From that time forth, during the life of Edwin, which was the term of six years more, Paulinus christened continually in the rivers of Gwenie[5] and Swala,[6] in both provinces of Bernicia, and Deira; using the said rivers for his fonts, and preached in the shire of Lindsey, where he builded also a church of stone at Lincoln.[7]

This Paulinus was the first archbishop of York, and as he was of Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, ordained archbishop of the see of York, so he again, after the decease of Justus, ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canterbury.[8]

Archbishop of Canterbury and York: the one ordaineth the other.

In this time was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin after his conversion, that a woman laden with gold[9] might have gone from the one sea-side to the other, and no man molest her. Moreover, by the highway sides, through all his kingdom, he caused by every well or spring to be chained a dish or bowl of brass, to take up water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bowls of brass there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwin. Such was then the tender care and study of christian princes, for the refreshing of their subjects. But that was then the brasen world, which now is grown to iron and lead, called *ætas ferrea*, or rather *plumbea*.

Justice, of a good prince.

Great peace and truth among the people.

This Edwin who first brought in the faith in the north parts, continuing after his baptism six years, at length was slain in battle by Cadwalla, king of the Britons, and by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, with his son Osfrid also, in the field called Hatfield.[10] A. D. 634.

Paulinus, after the death of godly Edwin, seeing unmerciful Cadwalla or Cadwallo, with his Britons, and wicked Penda, with the idolatrous Mercians, to spoil the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age, nor sex, nor religion, was compelled to fly with Ethelburga, the queen, and Eanfleda, her daughter, by water into Kent, where the said archbishop Paulinus remained bishop of

(1) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 12.—Ed.
(2) He was baptized in St. Peter's church at York, which he first caused to be made of wood; which after, by St. Oswald, was builded of stone.
(3) "Coifi" was the title of the chief of the Druids. See Palgrave's "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," vol. i. p. 155.—Ed.
(4) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.—Ed.
(5) In Fabian it is "Gwevy," p. 112; in H. Hunting. p. 328, "Gleni," sometimes "Glen."—Ed.
(6) Note, Paulinus christened in rivers. (7) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14, 16.—Ed.
(8) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9, 16, 18.—Ed.
(9) Bede (lib. ii. cap. 16) says, "with a new-born babe."—Ed.
(10) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 20. H. Hunting. p. 329; Matt. West. p. 114, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed

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Rochester the said space of nineteen years.[1] And so the church of Northumberland lacked a bishop for the space of thirty years after. Notwithstanding he left there one James his deacon, a good man, who continued there baptizing and preaching in the north parts, till that, peace being recovered, and the number of the faithful increasing, the church came again to his stay.[2]

James, a godly deacon. A deacon then might baptize.

By means of this Edwin, Erpwald, king of the East-Angles, son to Redwald above-mentioned, was reduced to Christ's faith.[3]

Erpwald, otherwise named Corpwald, king of East Angles, converted to the faith.

After the decease of Edwin and his son Osfrid, both slain in battle, reigned Osric and Eanfrid, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. Osric was the son of Elfric, who was uncle to Edwin. Eanfrid was the eldest son of Ethelfrid; for Ethelfrid had three sons, to wit, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Osric. These two kings of Deira and Bernicia, Osric and Eanfrid, being first christened in Scotland, after being kings returned to their idolatry; and so in the year following were slain, one after the other, by the aforesaid Cadwalla and wicked Penda, as in the table above expressed.

Oswald king of Northumberland, A. D. 634.

After whom succeeded, in Northumberland, the second son of Ethelfrid, named Oswald, having rule on both the provinces, as well Deira as Bernicia. Whereof when the aforesaid Cadwalla, or Cadwallo, the British king, had understanding (who before had made havoc of the Saxons, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of England), he kept king Penda with a mighty host of the Britons, thinking to slay also Oswald, as he had before slain his brother Eanfrid, and king Edwin before them. But Oswald, when he was warned of the great strength of this Cadwalla and Penda, made his prayers to God, and besought him meekly of help to withstand his enemy, for the salvation of his people. Thus after Oswald had prayed for the saving of his people, the two hosts met in a field named Denesesburn,[4] some say Hevenfield,[5] where was fought a strong battle. But finally, the army and power of Penda and Cadwalla, which were far exceeding the number of Oswald's host, was chased, and most part slain of Oswald. Cadwalla himself, also, was there slain, after he had reigned over the Britons two and twenty years, leaving after him a son, whom Geoffrey calleth Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons.[6]

Strength of prayer overcometh armies.

Penda beaten in the field, A. D. 635.

Commendation of king Oswald.

Of this Oswald much praise and commendation is written in authors, for his fervent zeal in Christ's religion, and merciful pity towards the poor; with other great virtues more. As touching the miracles of St. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirm. This I find in stories certain, that he, being well and virtuously disposed to the setting forth of Christ's faith and doctrine, sent into Scotland for a certain bishop there called Aidan, who was a famous preacher. The king at what time he was in Scotland banished, had learned the Scottish tongue perfectly: wherefore as this Aidan preached in his Scottish tongue to the Saxons, the king himself interpreting that which he had said,

He disdained not to expound and preach the gospel to his people.

(1) Ex Flor. Hist. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 20; lib. iii. cap. 14. [Matt. West. p. 114.—Ed.]
(2) Bede. Ibid. Hunting. lib. ii. [p. 336.] (3) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 15.—Ed.
(4) Supposed by some to be Devilston, or Dilston, in Cumberland.—Ed.
(5) From the prayers offered before the action, as Bede says.—Ed.
(6) Galfridus [lib. xii. cap. 14], Malmesburiensis, Polychron., Historia Jornalensis, Fabian. Foxe's text has been corrected from Fabian in this last sentence. M. West. and Fabian make Cadwalla to be succeeded by his son Cadwallus or Cadwalinus, and him (after a reign of 48 years) by Cadwallader, A.D. 683. See infrà, p. 357.—Ed.

disdained not to preach and expound the same unto his nobles and subjects in the English tongue. *Ecclesiastical History.*

His goodness and charity to the poor.

Moreover, towards the poor and needy his pity and tenderness was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time being then Easter-day, he, sitting with the said Aidan at meat, and served after the manner of kings in silver, there cometh to him one of the servitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poor people sitting in the street, which desired some alms of the king. He, hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his own table to be carried to them, but also taking a silver platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces, and sent it amongst them, and so relieved his poor subjects, not only with the meat of his table, but with his dishes also. Aidan the bishop, seeing this and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: "This hand," saith he, "I pray God may continue, and never putrefy."[1] What the stories say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I intend not to meddle further, than simple, true, and due probability will bear me out. In those days, and partly by the means of the said Oswald, Kinigils, king of the West-Saxons, was converted to Christ's faith; especially through the godly labour of Birinus, who was sent by pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made bishop of Dorchester.[2] To whom Quiceline, brother of Kinigils, after he had also received baptism of the said Birinus, gave to him the said city to make there his see. And as Guido[3] witnesseth, the said Quiciline gave after to the bishop of Winchester seven miles compass of land, to build there the bishop's see; the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalc, his son.[4]

Kinigils, king of the West-Saxons, converted to Christ's faith, A. D. 635

Lands given to Winchester.

Of this Birinus Malmesbury[5] and Polychronicon, with divers other writers, do report a thing strange and miraculous; which if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvel that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same.[6] The matter is this: This Birinus, being sent (as is said) by Honorius to preach in England, promiseth him to travel to the uttermost borders thereof, and there to preach the gospel, where the name of Christ was never heard; thus he, setting forward in his journey, passeth through France, and so to the sea-side; where he found a passage ready, and the wind served so fair, that he was called upon in such haste, that he had no leisure to remember himself to take all things with him which he had to carry. At length, as he was on the sea sailing, and, almost in the middle course of his passage, he remembered himself of a certain relic left behind him for haste, which Honorius had

(1) Historia Jornalensis; Polychronicon. lib. v. cap. 12.

(2) Now a village, nine miles S.E. of Oxford, whence the see was moved to Lincoln by Remigius, A.D. 1078.—Ed.

(3) "Guido de Columna, Siculus, Edvardi I. à sacrâ expeditione reducis in regnum comes, auctor Chronici libb. 36; item Historiæ de Regibus Angliæ, A.C. 1287." Hoffman. Fabian often quotes him; in this case, however, he refers to "the auctor of the floure of hystories." See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. iii. cap. 7; Polychron. lib. v. cap. 13; Fabian, part v. cap. 133, 134. All the English chroniclers represent Kinegils, and not Quiceline, as the person who founded and endowed the two bishopries, and as Kenwalcus's father; so does Foxe himself at pp. 344, 380. See Appendix.—Ed.

(5) Willelmus, Anglus, Somersetensis, cœnobii Malmsburiensis monachus, ordinis Benedict., bibliothecarius, et præcentor, claruit circa ann. 1130; obiit anno 1143. De eo hæc nobiliss. Savilius, quo nemo melius judicare poterat, "Inter vetustissimos rerum nostrarum autores, et narrationis fide et judicii maturitate principem locum tenet Gulielmus Malmsburiensis, homo, ut erant illa tempora, literatè doctus, qui septingentorum plus minus annorum res tantâ fide et diligentiâ pertexuit, ut è nostris prope solus historici munus explevisse videatur." Cave, Hist. Lit. —Ed.

(6) Malmesburiens. lib. de Pontif. Angl.; Cestrensis, lib. v.; Hist. Jornalensis.

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given him at his coming out. William of Malmesbury calleth it "Corporalia;" Historia Jornalensis calleth it "Pallulam super quam corpus Christi consecraret," which we call a corporas, or such a like thing; and what else enclosed within it, I cannot tell. Here Birinus, in great sorrow, could not tell what to do: if he should have spoken to the heathen mariners to turn their course back again, they would have mocked him, and it had been in vain. Wherefore, as the stories write, he boldly steppeth into the sea, and walking on foot back again, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his company again, having not one thread of his garments wet.[1] Of this miracle, or whether I should call it a fable rather, let the reader judge as he thinketh; because it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then to be thought wrought of God, not for any holiness in the man or in the corporas, but a special gift for the conversion of the heathen, for whose salvation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Birinus, being received in the ship again with a great admiration of the mariners, who were therewith converted and baptized, was driven at last by the weather to the coast of the West-Saxons, where Kinigils and his brother Quiciline above-mentioned did reign: which two kings the same time, by the preaching of Birinus, were converted and made christian men, with the people of the country; being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time, when the aforesaid king should be christened, that Oswald (mentioned a little before) king of Northumberland was then present, and the same day married Kinigilsus's daughter, and also was godfather to the king.

Birinius walking on the sea with lie and all.

King Oswald slain in the field, A. D. 643.

Penda king of Mercians slain.

Oswy king of Northumberland.

Thus Oswald, after he had reigned nine years in such holiness and perfectness of life as is above specified, was slain at length in the field called Marfield,[2] by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians; which Penda, at length, after all his tyranny, was overcome and slain by Oswy, brother to Oswald, next king after Oswald of Northumberland, notwithstanding he had thrice the people which Oswy had. This Penda, being a paynim, had three sons, Wolfer, Weda, and Egfrid.[3] To the second son Weda, Oswy had before-time married his daughter, by consent of Penda his father; the which Weda, by help of Oswy, was made king of South-Mercia, the which lordship is severed from North-Mercia by the river Trent. The same Weda, moreover, at what time he married the daughter of Oswy, promised to him that he would become a christian man; which thing he performed after the death of Penda his father: but afterward, within three years of his reign, he was, by reason of his wife, slain. And after him the kingdom fell to Wolfer, the other brother; who, being wedded to Ermenilda, daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent, was shortly after christened; so that he is counted the first christened king of Mercia. This Wolfer conquered Kenwalc, king of the West-Saxons, and got the Isle of Wight, which after he gave to Sigbert, king of the East-Angles, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the East-Angles, which before had expulsed Mellitus their bishop, as is declared, recovered again the christian faith under Sigbert their king, who, by the

The converting of the Mercians to the faith.

Wolfer first christened king of Mercia, A.D. 661.

The East-Angles reduced to the christian faith.

(1) Hunting. lib. iii.
(2) Supposed to be Oswestry.—Ed.
(3) Fabian, part v. chap. 134. *Weda* is more correctly called Peda by Foxe, pp. 317, 383; Peada by Mat. Westmon. p. 120; and also in the Saxon Chronicle, by Ingram. (Lond. 1823.) A.D. 655.—Ed.

means of the aforesaid Wolfer, was reduced and baptized by Finian, the bishop.[1] *Ecclesiastical History.*

But to return again to Oswy, from whom we have a little digressed; of whom we showed before how he succeeded after Oswald in the province of Bernicia, to whom also was joined Oswin, his cousin, over the province of Deira, and there, with his fellow Oswy, reigned the space of seven years. This Oswin was gentle and liberal to his people, and no less devout toward God; who, upon a time, had given to Aidan, the bishop above-mentioned, a princely horse with the trappers, and all that appertained thereto, because he should not so much travel on foot, but sometimes ease himself withal.[2] Thus Aidan, the Scottish bishop, as he was riding upon his kingly horse, by the way meeteth him a certain poor man, asking and craving his charity. Aidan, having nothing else to give him, lighted down and giveth to him his horse, trapped and garnished as he was.[3] The king understanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entering to dinner with the said Aidan, "What meant you, father bishop," said he, "to give away my horse I gave you, unto the beggar? Had not I other horses in my stable that might have served him well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose was picked out for you amongst the chiefest?" To whom the bishop made answer again, saying, or rather rebuking the king: "What be these words, O king," saith he, "that you speak? Why set you more price by a horse, which is but the foal of a horse, than you do by him which is the Son of Mary, yea, which is the Son of God?" He said but this, when the king, forthwith ungirding his sword from about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting), falleth down at the feet of the bishop, desiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after speak a word to him for any treasure he should afterward give away of his. The bishop, seeing the king so meekly affected, he then taking him up, and cheering him again with words, began shortly after to weep, and to be very heavy. His minister asking the cause thereof, Aidan answered in his Scottish language, saying to him: "I weep," saith he, "for that this king cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have such a prince as he is, to reign amongst them." And so, as Aidan said, it came to pass: for not long after, Oswy, the king of Bernicia, disdaining at him, when Oswin either was not able, or not willing to join with him in battle, caused him traitorously to be slain. And so Oswy, with his son Egfrid, reigned in Northumberland alone.

Oswy and Oswin fellow-kings in Northumberland.

Example of true alms

Example of humility in a prince.

Oswin traitorously murdered, A. D. 651.

In the time, and also in the house of this Oswy, king of Northumberland, was a certain man named Benedict, who was the bringer-up of Bede from his youth, and took him to his institution when he was but seven years old, and so taught him during his life. This Benedict or Benet, descending of a noble stock and rich kin, and in good favour with Oswy, forsook service, house, and all his kindred, to serve Christ, and went to Rome (where he had been in his lifetime five times), and brought from thence books into monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serve for devotion. This Benedict, surnamed bishop, was the first that brought in the art and use of

Benedict or Benet, the bringer up of Bede.

The use of glazing first brought into this realm.

(1) This and the preceding sentence contain a confused mixture of three different pieces of history: see Appendix. See also infrà p. 354, for the correct statement of the matter.—Ed.
(2) Note the worthy liberality in the king; and no less in the bishop.
(3) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. 14.—Ed.

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glazing into this land; for, before that, glass windows were not known, either in churches or in houses.

In the reign of the aforesaid Oswy and Egfrid, his son, was Botulph, an abbot, who builded in the east part of Lincoln an abbey.[1] Also Aidan, Finian, and Colman, three Scottish bishops of Northumberland, holy men, who held with the Britons against the Romish order for the keeping of Easter-day. Moreover, Cuthbert, Jaruman, Cedda,[2] and Wilfrid, lived the same time; whom as I judge to be bishops of holy conversation, so I thought it sufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles where-for they were made saints in the pope's calendar, seeing they are not written in the gospel, nor in my creed, but in certain old chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my faith: notwithstanding, as touching their conversation, this I read, and also do credit, that the clergy, both of Britain and England, at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gave themselves to preaching and teaching the word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they preached by giving of good example.[3] And over that, as our histories accord, they were so void of covetousness, that they received no possessions or territories, but they were forced upon them.

O quanta mutatio!

About this season, or not much before, under the reign of Oswy and Oswin, kings of Northumberland, another synod or council was holden against the Britons and the Scottish bishops, for the right observing of Easter, at Streaneshalch.[4] At that time Agilbert, bishop of the West-Saxons, came to Northumberland, to institute Wilfrid abbot of Ripon, where this question for Easter-day began to be moved: for Colman, then bishop of Northumberland, followed not the custom of Rome, nor of the Saxons, but followed the British and the Scottish bishops, his predecessors in the same see before. Thus, on the one side, was Colman, the archbishop of York, and Hilda, the abbess of Streaneshalch, which alleged for them the doings and examples of their predecessors, as Aidan and Finian, archbishops of that see of York before them, both godly and reverend bishops, and divers more, who had used always to celebrate the Easter from the 14th day of the first month, till the 28th of the same: and specially, for that St. John the evangelist, at Ephesus, kept and observed that day, etc. On the other side, was Agilbert, bishop of the West-Saxons, James, the deacon of Paulinus above-mentioned, Wilfrid, abbot of Ripon, and king Alfrid, Oswy's son, with his queen, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation here followeth, according as in the story of Bede at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides, as ensueth,[5] etc.

Controversy about Easter-day.

Disputation between the Roman and Scottish bishops, for the day of Easter, and other ceremonies, A.D. 664.

The question of Easter, and of shaving, and other ecclesiastical matters, being moved, it was determined, that in the abbey which is called Streaneshalch, of the which Hilda, a devout woman, was abbess, a convocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the kings, the father and the son, bishop Colman, with his clergy of Scotland, Agilbert, with Agatho and Wilfrid, priests. James and Ronanus were on their sides;

(1) Fabian, part v. chap. 134. (2) St. Chad.—Ed.
(3) Beda, lib. iv. cap. 5; Polychron.; Jornalensis; Fabian.
(4) A word which Bede states, means "The Bay of the Lighthouse;" now Whitby in Yorkshire. Fuller's Church History; cent. vii. book 2, § 90; Ingram's Sax. Chron. p. 443.—Ed.
(5) Ex Beda, lib. iii. cap. 25; iv. 23.—Ed.

Hilda the abbess, with her company, was on the Scottish part; and the reverend bishop Cedda was appointed prolocutor for both parties in that parliament. King Oswy began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessary for such as served one God, to live in one uniform order; and that such as looked for one kingdom in heaven should not differ in celebration of the heavenly sacraments, but should rather seek for the true tradition, and follow the same. This said, he commanded his bishop Colman to declare what the rite and custom was in this behalf that he used, and from whence it had its original. *Ecclesiastical History.* The king beginning.

Then Colman, obeying his prince's commandment, said:

"The Easter which I observe, I received of my elders that sent me hither a bishop, the which all our forefathers, being men of God, did celebrate in like manner: and lest it should be contemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparent to be the very same which the holy evangelist St. John (a disciple especially beloved of the Lord) did accustomably use in all churches and congregations where he had authority." Colman speaketh.

When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the king commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion in this behalf, and to show the order that he then used, from whence it came, and by what authority he observed the same. Agilbert requested the king that his scholar Wilfrid, a priest, might speak for him; inasmuch as they both were of one opinion herein with the rest of his clergy, and that the said Wilfrid could utter his mind better and more plainly in the English tongue, than he himself could by an interpreter.[1] Wilfrid replieth.

Then Wilfrid, at the king's commandment, began on this sort, and said:

"The Easter which we keep, we have seen kept by all in Rome, where the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, did live and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is used in Italy and in France; the which countries we have travelled in for learning, and have noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Asia also, and in Africa, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same manner of Easter is observed that we use, save only by these here present with their accomplices, the Picts and the Britons; the which, being the inhabitants of these two remote islands (and yet they not altogether agreeing), condescend and strive foolishly in this order against the universal world." Universality alleged.

To whom Colman replied, saying:

"I marvel you will call this order 'foolish' that so great an apostle as was worthy to lie in the Lord's lap, did use, whom all the world doth well know, to have lived most wisely." Colman again speaketh.

And Wilfrid answered,

"God forbid that I should reprove St. John of folly; who kept the rites of Moses' law according to the letter, the church being yet Jewish in many points, and the apostles not as yet able to abdicate all the observances of the law before ordained of God. As for example, they could not reject images invented of the devil (the which all men that believe on Christ, ought of necessity to forsake and detest), lest they should be an offence to those Jews that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did St. Paul circumcise Timothy; for this cause did he sacrifice in the temple, and did shave his head with Aquila and Priscilla, at Corinth: all which things were done to none other purpose, than to eschew the offence of the Jews. Hereupon also said James to Paul, 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews do believe, and all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the gospel is so manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawful for the faithful to be circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnal Wilfrid replieth. Why Paul circumcised Timothy.

(1) Agilbert was a Frenchman.—Ed.

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things to God.' Therefore John, according to the custom of the law, the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated on the Saturday or any other day of the week. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remembering that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the Sabbath, giving thereby an hope to the world of the resurrection, thought good to institute Easter on that day, and not after the use and precepts of the law, that is, on the fourteenth day of the first month: even so John, looking for the moon at night, if it did arise, and the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the first day after the sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the evening, like as we use to do even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seventeenth, or on any other day unto the twenty-first, he tarried always for it, and did begin the holy solemnity of Easter on the Saturday evening next before. And so it came to pass, that Easter was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day unto the twenty-first. Neither doth this tradition of the apostle break the law, but fulfil the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the same month at evening; the which manner all St. John's successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the Catholic church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all Christians to be observed, it was not newly decreed, but only confirmed, by the council of Nice; as appeareth by the ecclesiastical history.[1] Whereupon it is manifest that you [Colman] do neither follow the example of St. John, as ye think, nor of St. Peter, whose tradition you do willingly resist, nor of the law, nor yet of the gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For St. John, observing Easter according to the precepts of the law, kept it not necessarily on the first day after the Sabbath; but you precisely keep it only on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter did celebrate Easter Sunday from the fifteenth day of the moon to the one and twentieth day, but you keep Easter from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day; so that you begin Easter oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which manner neither the law nor the gospel maketh any mention. But the Lord, in the fourteenth day, either did eat the old passover at night, or else did celebrate the sacrament of the New Testament, in the remembrance of his death and passion. You do also utterly reject from the celebration of Easter, the one and twentieth day, the which the law hath chiefly willed to be observed: and therefore, as I said, in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree with St. John, nor with Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the gospel."

Peter alleged, but no proof thereof.

Peter and John did not agree in the celebrating of Easter.

Then Colman again answered to these things, saying:

Colman again answereth.

"Did then Anatolius, a godly man, and one much commended in the aforesaid Ecclesiastical History, act against the law and the gospel, who writeth that the Easter of our Lord was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or shall we think that Columba, our reverend father, and his successors, being men of God, who observed the Easter after this manner, did against the holy Scripture? Whereas some of them were men of such godliness and virtue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles. And I, hereby nothing doubting of their holiness, do endeavour to follow their life, order, and discipline."

Then said Wilfrid;

Wilfrid replieth.

"It is certain that Anatolius was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation; but what have you to do with him, seeing you observe not his order? For he, following the true rule in keeping his Easter, appointed a circle of nineteen years; the which either you know not, or if you do, you condemn the common order observed in the universal church of Christ. And moreover, the said Anatolius doth so count the fourteenth day, in the observation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fifteenth day at night, after the manner of the Egyptians; and likewise noteth the twentieth day to be, in the feast of Easter, the one and twentieth when the sun had set: the

(1) In the council of Nice, no such matter appeareth.

which distinction that you know not, by this may appear, for that you keep Easter before the full moon, *i. e.* on the thirteenth day. Or otherwise I can answer you touching your father Columba and his successors, whose order, you say, you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wise, 'that the Lord will answer to many that shall say in the day of judgment, that in his name they have prophesied and cast out devils, and have done many miracles,' &c., 'that he never knew them.' But God forbid that I should say so of your fathers; because it is much better to believe well of those we know not, than ill. Whereupon I deny not but they were the servants of God; and holy men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicity: and I think that the order which they used in the Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could show them the right observation of the same for them to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter, as they did in others. But you and your fellows, if you refuse the order of the apostolical see, or rather, of the universal church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture; without all doubt you do sin. And though your forefathers were holy men, is their fewness, being but a corner of an island, to be preferred before the universal church of Jesus Christ, dispersed throughout the whole world?[1] And if Columba your father (and ours also, being a servant of Christ Jesus) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the prince of the holy apostles? To whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'"

The authority of men is not to be stuck to for their doing of miracles.

The example of them that follow not, for lack of teaching, excuseth not them which, being taught, will not follow.

Wilfrid having thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman: "Is it true, that the Lord spake these things to St. Peter?" And Colman answered, "Yea." Then said the king, "Can you declare any such power that the Lord gave to Columba?" Colman answered, "No." Then quoth the king, "Do both of you agree and consent in this matter without any controversy, that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" And they both answered, "Yea." Then concluded the king on this wise, "Forsomuch as St. Peter is the door-keeper of heaven, I will not gainsay him; but, in that I am able, I will obey his orders in every point: lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me."

The king concludeth.

Upon this simple and rude reason of the king, the multitude eftsoons consented, and with them also Cedda was contented to give over; only Colman the Scot, being then archbishop of York, in displeasure left the realm, and departed into Scotland, carrying with him the bones of Aidan.[2] And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

After the decease of Oswy, Egfrid his son was king after him in Northumberland fifteen years. By this Egfrid Cuthbert was promoted to the bishopric of the Isle of Lindisfarne: and Wilfrid, who before had been archbishop of York, was displaced through the means of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and Cedda possessed that see.[3] Wilfrid, when he was put out, went to Rome, and complained of him to Agatho the bishop,[4] and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodore had there such proctors and friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Wherefore he returned into

Egfrid or Edfrid king of Northumberland.

Wilfrid archbishop of York.

(1) Yea, sir, "Suffragia ecclesiæ non numeranda sunt, sed ponderanda."—Aug.
(2) Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25.
(3) Malmesburien. [pp. 263, 266]; Hunting. [p. 336, edit. Franc. 1601,] Fab. cap. 135, [p. 121, edit. 1811.]
(4) Agatho was pope, A.D. 679—682. L'Art de V. des Dates.—ED.

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the South-Saxons, and builded an abbey in Selesey, and preached unto the South-Saxons, fifteen years. The king of the South-Saxons at that time was Ethelwold, to whom we declared a little before[1] that Wolfer king of the Mercians gave the Isle of Wight upon condition that he would be christened, and so was he baptized by Birinus;[2] the said Wolfer being his godfather, and son-in-law,[3] both in one day. Wherefore Wilfrid, now being licensed by Ethelwold the king, preached unto his nobles and people of South-Sax, and converted them to Christ. In the mean time of whose baptizing, the rain which before they lacked three years together was given them plentifully, whereby their great famine slacked, and the country was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrenness;[4] insomuch that (as in some stories it is said) the people, penured with famine, would go forty together upon the [top of the] rocks [or] by the sea-side, and taking hands together, would throw themselves down, [or into] the sea.[5] Moreover, whereas they lacked before the art of fishing, the foresaid Wilfrid taught them how with nets to fish.

South-Saxons converted to christian faith.

The Isle of Wight last converted.

And thus by process have we discoursed from time to time how and by what means the idolatrous people were induced to the true faith of Christ; of whom the South-Saxons with the Isle of Wight were the last.

After Egfrid, who was slain in the straits of Scotland, next succeeded Alfrid his brother, and bastard son to Oswy, and reigned eighteen or nineteen years in Northumberland. This Alfrid restored again the foresaid Wilfrid to the see of York, whom his brother had before expelled and put in Cedda. Notwithstanding, the same king within five years after expulsed the said Wilfrid again, and so went he to Rome; but at length by Osred his successor was placed again in the archbishopric of York, and Cedda was by Theodore ordained bishop of Mercia. The which province of Mercia the said Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, by the authority of the synod holden at Hatfield, did after divide into five bishoprics; that is, one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cederna[6] in Lindsey, the fifth to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincoln.

Wilfrid restored to York.

Mercia divided into five bishoprics, A.D. 680.

The wicked sect of Mahomet.

Near about this time in the year of our Lord 666, the detestable sect of Mahomet began to take strength and place.[7] Although Polychronicon, differing a little in years, accounteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before, but the most diligent searchers of them which write now, refer it to this year, which well agreeth with the number of that beast signified in the Apocalypse, χξϛ, that is, 666. Of this Mahomet came the kingdom of Agarens (whom he after named Saracens), to whom he gave sundry laws, patched of many sects and religions together; he taught them to pray ever to the

(1) See above, p. 348.—Ed.

(2) Brompton mentions Birinus as having officiated on this occasion.—Ed.

(3) There is no authority for this: Wolfer became "patrinus" to Ethelwold, but no more: possibly our author was thinking of the baptism of Kinigils, supra pp. 347, 348.—Ed.

(4) H. Hunting. lib. iii. p. 334.—Ed.

(5) Bede, lib. iv. 13; whence several words wanting in the text are supplied, to make the sense clear.—Ed.

(6) Called "Cedema" in Fabian, p. 122. "Lindeseia apud Sideneiam;" Sidnacester apud Lincolnienses olim celebrem. (Wilkins, Concil. Magnæ Brit. tom. i. p. 51.) "About this time (678) Ecgfride founded another bishopric at Sydnacester in Lincolnshire, near the Humber."—Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 90.—Ed.

(7) Mahomet himself died A.D. 632.—Ed.

south; and as we keep the Sunday, so they keep the Friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to have as many wives as they were able to maintain; to have as many concubines as they listed; to abstain from the use of wine, except on certain solemn days in the year; to have and worship only one God omnipotent, saying that Moses and the prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the prophets, as being born of the Virgin Mary by the power of God, without man's seed, and at last was taken up to heaven; but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him; with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this kingdom of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turks, and in process of time wholly subdued to them.[1] *Ecclesiastical History.*

But now to return again to the time of our English Saxons. In this mean season Theodore was sent from Italy into England by Vitalian the pope, to be archbishop of Canterbury, and with him divers other monks of Italy, to set up here in England Latin service, masses, ceremonies, litanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodore, being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canterbury, began to play the "Rex," placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Wilfrid, archbishops of York, he thrust them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully consecrated; notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their kings, and were placed against their wills. Wherefore Wilfrid, as is before touched, went up to Rome, but could have no redress of his cause. Yet to show what modesty this Wilfrid used against his enemy, being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed in William of Malmesbury, I thought here to express the same both for the commendation of the party, and also for the good example of others, in case any such there be whom good examples will move to well-doing. This Wilfrid therefore, having such injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of Theodore, although he had just cause to do his uttermost, yet in prosecuting his complaint how he tempered himself, what words of modesty he used, rather to defend his innocency than to impugn his adversary, by this his suggestion offered up to the bishop of Rome may appear; whose words in effect were these. "How it chanceth that Theodore the most holy and reverend archbishop (myself being alive in the see, which I, though unworthy, did rule and dispose) hath of his own authority, without the consent of any bishop (neither having any simple voice agreeing to the same), ordained three bishops, I had rather pass over in silence than to stir any further therein, because of the reverence of that man; and no less thought I it my duty so to do. The which man, for that he hath been directed by the see apostolical, I will not, nor dare not, here accuse," etc.[2] Thus the cause of the said Wilfrid, albeit it was sufficiently known in the court of Rome,[3] to be well allowed for just and innocent, yet it was not then *Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.*

(1) Ex Polychron.; Giraldo Cambriensi; Stephano Cantuariensi.

(2) "Quid autem acciderit, ut Theodorus sanctiss. archiepiscopus (me superstite in sede, quam licet indignus dispensabam) absque consensu cujuslibet episcopi ex sua authoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinaverit tres episcopos: omittere magis quam urgere, pro ejusdem viri reverentia, condecet. Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac apostolicæ sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo," &c. Guli. Malmesburiensis, lib. i. de gestis pontif. Anglorum. [p. 196, edit. 1601.—Ed.]

(3) The cause of an archb. of York's death, according to the metrical relation in that rare volume, the "Missale ad usum Eccles. Eboracensis," (Parisiis, 1533) is remarkable on several accounts. We

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redressed: in such estimation was this Theodore then among the Romans.[1] Upon this controversy of these two bishops I may well here infer the words of William of Malmesbury, not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be these in his story. "In the which Theodore," saith he, "the weak and miserable infirmity of man be seen and also lamented; considering, that although a man be never so holy, yet in the same man is found something, whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his stubborn conditions," etc.[2]

A.D. 673. In the time of this Theodore, and by the means of him, a provincial synod was holden at Thetford,[3] mentioned in the story of Bede:[4] the principal contents whereof were these:

1. That Easter-day should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole realm, upon one certain day, videlicit prima, 14 luna mensis primi.[5]
2. That no bishop should intermeddle within the diocese of another.
3. That monasteries consecrated unto God should be exempt, and free from the jurisdiction of the bishops.
4. That the monks should not stray from one place (that is, from one monastery to another), without the license of their abbot; but to keep the same obedience which they promised at their first entering.
5. That no clergyman should forsake his own bishop, and be received in any other place, without letters commendatory of his own bishop.
6. That foreign bishops and clergymen coming into the realm,[6] should be content only with the benefit of such hospitality, as should be offered them: neither should intermeddle any further within the precinct of any bishop, without his special permission.
7. That synods provincial should be kept within the realm twice a year.[7]
8. That no bishop should prefer himself before another, but must observe the time and order of his consecration.
9. That the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of the believers increaseth.[8]
10. That no marriage should be admitted, but that which was lawful; no incest to be suffered; neither any man to put away his wife for any cause, except only for fornication—after the rule of the gospel. And these be the principal chapters of that synod, &c.

A.D. 681. In the next year following[9] was the sixth general council kept at

give it as prosaically printed, but without the contractions, and without being answerable for some offences against grammar, intelligibility, &c.

"Eboracum præsul redit, pontis casus nullum lædit de tot turbæ millibus. In octavis Pentecostes quidam malignantur hostes in eum pacifice. Et ut ipsum privent vita celebrantes achonita propinant in calice Toxicatura prophanis ille potus ille panis, per quem perit toxicum. Ambo præsul amplexerat ut per unum moriatur et vivat per reliquum. Vivit moriturque quidem; sed non agunt circa idem fermentum et azima. Corpus obit præ fermento, azimorum alimento vegetatur anima. Virus bibit nocuum, risumque perpetuum brevi mercans lachryma. Mortem subit optimam dum sacrando victimam, fit et ipse victima. O Wilhelme, martyr Christi, per eundem quem bibisti salutaris calicem, fer solamen mundo tristi, et quem tibi placuisti nobis placa judicem." As the volume, from which this extract is made, is so rare that Sir H. Nicholas (p. 94) doubts whether any perfect copy exists, but in the library of St. John's Col. Cambridge, its introduction may be excused. The 8th of June is the day dedicated to the archbishop's memory, and his troubles seem to have had much in common with those of Wilfrid.—Ed.

(1) Bede, lib. v. c. 20.

(2) "Ubi videri et doleri potest humana miseria, quod videlicet quantumlibet quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum pervicaces mores exuat," &c. Guli. Malmes. de gestis pontif. Anglorum lib.; Polychron. lib. v. cap. 19.

(3) "Hertford," according to Bede, who has "Herudford." The exact words in the first canon, as given by Bede, and Mat. West. (p. 122, edit. 1601) are, "dominica post decimam quartam lunam primi mensis." Both these writers give "Herudford" or "Hertford," anno 673, as the seat of this council; though *Thetford* is very briefly mentioned by Hen. Hunting. p. 318. Mr. Soames, "Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Church," thinks Hertford was decidedly the place.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. iv. cap. 5.

(5) *i. e.* on the Sunday after the fourteenth moon of the first month.—Ed.

(6) "Bishops and clergymen, when travelling." Bede.—Ed.

(7) Altered to once a year, on the calends of August, at Clovesho.—Ed.

(8) This canon was thrown out.—Ed.

(9) Rather, in the year following the council of Hatfield; see p. 354.—Ed

Constantinople, whereat this Theodore was also present[1] under pope Agatho: where marriage was permitted to Greek priests, and forbidden to the Latin. In this council the Latin mass was first openly said by John bishop of Porto, the pope's legate, before the patriarch and princes at Constantinople, in the temple of St. Sophia. *Ecclesiastical History.*

After the decease of Alfrid king of Northumberland (from whom it was digressed) succeeded his son Osred, reigning eleven years, after whom reigned Kenred two years, and next Osric after him eleven years. A.D. 705.

In the time and reign of these four kings of Northumberland, king Iva or Ina reigned in West-Sax; who, succeeding after Cadwallader the last king of Britons,[2] began his reign about the year of our Lord 689, and reigned with great valiantness over the West-Saxons the term of thirty-seven years: concerning whose acts and wars maintained against the Kentish-Saxon and other kings, because I have not to intermeddle withal, I refer the reader to other chroniclers. The kingdom of the Britons ceaseth.

About the sixth year of the reign of this Ina, or Ine, Polychronicon[3] and others make mention of one Cuthlacus, whom they call St. Cuthlake, a confessor, who, about the four-and-twentieth year of his age, renouncing the pomp of the world, professed himself a monk in the abbey of Repingdon;[4] and, the third year after, went to Crowland, where he led the life of an anchorite. In the which isle and place of his burying was builded a fair abbey, called afterward, for the great resort and gentle entertainment of strangers, "Crowland the courteous."[5] But why this Cuthlake should be sainted for his doings, I see no great cause; as neither do I think the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to believe that he enclosed the devil in a boiling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect up houses; with such other fables and lying miracles. Among which lying miracles also may be reckoned that which the stories mention in the eleventh year of the reign of Ina to be done of one Brithwald or Drithelme, who, being dead a long season, was restored to life again, and told many wonders of strange things that he had seen, causing thereby great alms and deeds of charity to be done of the people: and so he, disposing of his goods given in three parts, went to the abbey of Melrose, where he continued the rest of his life.[6] St. Cuthlake a popish saint. Crowland the Courteous. Lying miracles.

Moreover, about the sixteenth year of the said Ina, Ethelred king of Mercia, after he had there reigned thirty years, was made a monk, and, after, abbot of Bardney. King Ethelred made abbot of Bardney.

(1) Some think this a mistake, arising from the circumstance of two different councils having been held much about the same time; namely, this at Constantinople, and another at Hedtfeld (see Bede, lib. iv. c. 17) under the presidency of Theodore of Canterbury, and upon the same subject —the heresy of Eutyches. There were several Asiatic bishops of the name of Theodorus present at the Constantinopolitan council, and some deputies from *England*, among whom, in 681, *this* Theodore might have been present. (See Dupin's Rec. Eccles. Hist. vol. vi. p. 66.) Malmesbury states of pope Agatho, that he assembled a council of fifty bishops, etc. "in basilica Salvatoris, quæ appellatur *Constantiana*," p. 263, edit. Francof. 1601. According to Labbé, Concill. (tom. vi. c. 579) a council was held at Rome in the Basilica Constantiniana in 680, under Agatho, having reference to disputes with England. For the subsequent remark about the permission of marriage, the 13th canon of the Quinisext council (A.D. 691) is probably alluded to. "Labbé. Concill." tom. vi. col. 1147.—Ed.

(2) The English historians distinguish between Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons, and Ceadwalla, king of the West-Saxons, whom they state to have been a lineal descendant of Cerdic. See suprà, p. 346, note (3).—Ed.

(3) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 21.

(4) Repton in Derbyshire.—Ed.

(5) Ingulphi Hist. p. 872, edit. Franc. 1601; and Matt. West. p. 135.—Ed.

(6) What strange sights this Brithwald or Drithelme did see after his death, read the ninth book of Henry Huntingdon. [Huntingdon's History was written in twelve books. "Quatuor posteriores in duobus codicibus MSS. Bibliothecæ Lambethanæ asservantur. Nempe Nonus agit 'de Sanctis Angliæ eorumque miraculis,' ad verbum fere ex Bedæ historiâ translatus." Cave.—Ed.]

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And about the eighteenth year of the reign of Ina died the worthy and learned bishop Aldelm, first abbot of Malmesbury, afterwards bishop of Sherborne, of whom William of Malmesbury writeth plenteously with great commendation;[1] and that not unworthily, as I suppose: especially for the noble praise of learning and virtue in him above the rest of that time (next after Bede); as the great number of books and epistles, with poems by him set forth, will declare. Although, concerning the miracles which the said author ascribeth to him; as first, in causing an infant of nine days old to speak at Rome, to declare[2] pope Sergius, who was then suspected the father of the said child; also in hanging his casule upon the sunbeams; item, in making whole the altar-stone of marble brought from Rome; item, in drawing a-length one of the timber pieces, which went to the building of the temple in Malmesbury; item, in saving the mariners at Dover—as concerning these and such other miracles, which William of Malmesbury to him attributeth, I cannot consent to him therein; but think rather the same to be monkish devices, forged upon their patrons to maintain the dignity of their houses. And as the author was deceived (no doubt) in believing such fables himself, so may he likewise deceive us, through the dexterity of his style and fine handling of the matter; but that further experience hath taught the world now-a-days more wisdom, in not believing such practices. This Aldelm was bishop of Sherborne; which see after was united to the see of Winchester: in which church of Winchester the like miracles also are to be read of bishop Adelwold and St. Swithin, whom they have canonized likewise for a saint.

Lying miracles.

Lying miracles reproved.

Malmesbury commended for his style.

Aldelm, bishop; Swithin, bishop.

St. John of Beverley.

A.D. 721.

Moreover, near about the five and twentieth of Ina, by the report of Bede,[3] St. John of Beverley, who was then archbishop of York, died, and was buried at the porch of the minster of Deirwood or Beverley. In the which porch it is recorded in some chronicles,[4] that as the said John upon a time was praying, being in the porch of St. Michael in York, the Holy Ghost, in the similitude of a dove, sat before him upon the altar, in brightness shining above the sun. This brightness being seen of others, first cometh one of his deacons running unto the porch, who, beholding the bishop there standing in his prayers, and all the place replenished with the Holy Ghost, was stricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithstanding, the bishop by and by cured the face of his deacon again, charging them (as the story saith) not to publish what he had seen during his life time. Which tale seemeth as true as that we read in Polychronicon about the same time done of St. Egwin, abbot of Evesham and bishop of Worcester (then called Wicts);[5]

Another lying fable of St. Egwin.

(1) Guli. Malmesb. lib. v. de Pontif. [Foxe must have obtained this from MSS. as the fifth book does not appear in the later edition of this writer. It will be found in Gale's collection, tom. iii. and a strong eulogium upon Aldhelm in the secular part of Malmesbury's history, p. 13. See also Fabian, pt. vi. p. 159.—Ed.]

(2) "Declare" obsolete for "to clear, to free from obscurity," Johnson: it seems to be used here sensu forensi; for "declaritor" (according to Jacob's Law Dict.) is an action, whereby we pray something to be declared *in our favour*. Malmesbury says—"Infantem allatum, vix dum novem à matre dierum, baptismi lavacro prius innovavit [Adelmus], sciscitatus est deinde publicè, utrum vulgi opinio conveniret veritati de patre. Pusiolus in vocem absolutissimam conatus, nodum dubietatis abrupit, sanctum et immaculatum esse Sergium, nunquam illum mulieri communicasse." Fabian says, "the childe answered unto certain questions and clered the bishop of Rome of that crime."—Ed.

(3) Bede says A. D. 721, lib. v. cap. 2—6. (4) Ex Historiâ Jornalensi "de Regibus Northumb."

(5) Fabian, part vi. c. 141, has "Wykcies," but Palgrave has "Huiccas." See "Hist. Anglo-Sax." p. 83.—Ed.

who upon a time, when he had fettered both his feet in irons fast locked for certain sins done in his youth, and had cast the key thereof into the river, afterward a fish brought the key again into the ship, as he was sailing homeward from Rome.[1]

But to leave these monkish phantasies, and return to the right course again of the story: in the time of this foresaid Ina, began first the right observing of Easter-day to be kept of the Picts and of the Britons. In the observation of which day (as is largely set forth in Bede and Polychronicon[2]) three things are necessary to be observed: first, the full moon of the first month, that is, of the month of March; secondly, the Dominical letter; thirdly, the equinoctial day, which equinoctial was wont to be counted in the Eastern nations, and especially among the Egyptians, to be about the seventeenth day of March. So that the full moon on the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day, being observed, the next Dominical day following that full moon is to be taken for Easter-day. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: first, the fulness of the moon must be perfectly full, so that it be the beginning of the third week of the moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the moon. Secondly, it is to be noted, that the said perfect fulness of the moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day: for else, if it happen either on the equinoctial day before the evening, or before the equinoctial day, then it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed.[3]

A general rule serving for the observation of Easter-day.

This rite and usage in keeping Easter-day being received in the Latin church, began now to take place among the Picts and Britons, through the busy travail of Theodore and Cuthlake, but namely[4] of Egbert the holy monk,[5] as they term him, and of Ceolfrid abbot of Jarrow[6] in Northumberland, who wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus the king of Picts, concerning the same: who also among other things writeth of the shaven crowns of priests, saying, that it was as necessary for the vow of a monk, or the degree of a priest, to have a shaven crown for restraint of their lust, as for any christian man to bless him against spirits, when they come upon him.[7] The copy of which letter, as it is in Bede, I have here annexed, not for any great reason therein contained, but only to delight the reader with some pastime, in seeing the fond ignorance of that monkish age. The copy of the letter thus proceedeth.[8]

Why priests' crowns were shaven.

Of the Shaving of Priests: copied from a Monkish Letter of Elfrid [or Ceolfrid] to King Naiton, for the Shaving of Priests' crowns.

Concerning the shaving of priests (whereof also you desired me to write unto you), I exhort you that it be decently observed, according to the christian faith. We are not ignorant indeed that the apostles were not all shaven after one manner, neither doth the catholic church at this day agree in one uniform manner of shaving, as they do in faith, hope, and charity. Let us consider the former time of the patriarchs, and we shall find that Job (an example of patience), even in the very point of his afflictions, did shave his head; and so

Much said, nothing proved.

(1) Ranulphus in Polychron. lib. v. cap. 23 [citing Malmesbury, p. 284.—Ed.]
(2) Bede, lib. v. cap. 21, de Gestis Angl.; Polychron. lib. v. cap. 22.
(3) This rule of Easter seemeth to be taken out of the book of Numbers. And they going out of Ramisse the fifteenth day of the first month, the next day after held their Easter, etc.
(4) See supra, p. 1, note (1).—Ed.
(5) Ingram's Sax. Chron. A.D. 716.—Ed
(6) Malms. p. 22.—Ed.
(7) Bede de Gest. lib. v. cap. 21.—Ed.
(8) The following translation has been revised from the original.—Ed.

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proved also, that in the time of his prosperity, he used to let his hair grow. And Joseph an excellent doctor and executor of chastity, humility, piety, and other virtues, when he was delivered out of prison and servitude, was shaven:[1] whereby it appeareth, that whilst he abode in prison he was unshaven. Behold, both these, being men of God, did use an order in the habit of body one contrary to the other, whose consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like grace of virtues. But to speak truly and freely, the difference of shaving hurteth not such as have a pure faith in the Lord, and sincere charity towards their neighbour: especially for that there was never any controversy amongst the catholic fathers about the diversity thereof; as there hath been of the difference of the celebration of Easter, and concerning matters of faith. But of all these shavings that we find, either in the church or elsewhere, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and embraced, as that which he used on his head, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter,[2] and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' And contrariwise there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which he used, to whom the said St. Peter said, 'Thy money perish with thee: because thou thinkest to possess the gift of God by money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word.' Neither ought we to be shaven on the crown, only because St. Peter was so shaven, but because Peter was so shaven in remembrance of the Lord's passion. Therefore we that desire by the same passion to be saved, must wear the sign of the same passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. For as every church, because it is made a church by the death of the Saviour, doth use to bear the sign of the holy cross on the forehead, that it may the better by the defence of that banner be kept from the invasions of evil spirits;[3] and by the often admonition thereof be taught to crucify the flesh with the concupiscence of the same; in like manner it behoveth such as have the vows of monks, and degrees of the clergy, to bind themselves with a stricter bit of continency for the Lord's sake. And as the Lord bare a crown of thorns on his head in his passion, whereby he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our sins; so must every one of us, by shaving our heads, show ourselves willing patiently to bear, and willingly to suffer the mocks and scorns of the world for his sake; and that we expect to receive the crown of eternal life, which God hath promised to all that love him; and that, for the gaining thereof, we contemn both the adversity and the prosperity of this world.[4] But the shaving which Simon Magus used, what faithful man doth not detest, together with his magical art? the which at the first appearance hath a show of a shaven crown, but if you mark his neck, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say, it is rather meet to be used of the Simonites, than of Christians. Such, indeed, of foolish men be thought worthy of the glory of the eternal crown; whereas indeed for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same, but also are doomed to eternal punishment. I speak not this against them that use this kind of shaving, and live catholicly in faith and good works; for surely I believe there be divers of them be very holy and godly men; amongst the which is Adamnan, the abbot and worthy priest of the Columbians: who, when he came ambassador from his country unto king Aldfrid, desired greatly to see our monastery; where he declared a wonderful wisdom, humility, and religion both in his manners and words. Amongst other talk, I asked him, "Why, holy brother, do you, that believe to come to the crown of life that shall never have an end, use, by a habit contrary to your belief, the image of a crown on your head, which is terminated or rounded? And if you seek," quoth I, "the fellowship of St. Peter, why do you use the fashion of his crown whom St. Peter did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to live eternally?" Adamnan answered, saying, "Know right well, brother, that though I use Simon's manner of shaving, after the custom of my country, yet notwithstanding do I detest, and with all my heart abhor, his infidelity; and I desire to imitate the footsteps of the most

Diversity of rites hurteth not the church.

Why priests and monks be shaven in the crown.

The shaving of the crown what it representeth.

Simon Magus shaven, as he saith.

The difference between the shaving of Peter and Simon Magus.

(1) How proveth he that the apostles Job and Joseph were shaven?

(2) See how these shavelings would father their shaving upon Peter, which is neither found in Scripture, nor any approved story, but only in painted clothes.

(3) How doth the sight of the cross defend churches from evil spirits, when it cannot keep them from evil priests?

(4) If shaving of the crown doth teach men patience in suffering, how cometh it that we see none more waspish and ireful than these shorn generations of monkish vipers?

blessed prince of the apostles as far forth as my littleness will extend." Then said I, "I believe it is so: but then let it be apparent that you imitate those things which the apostle Peter did from the bottom of your heart, by using the same upon your face, that you know he did: for I suppose your wisdom understandeth, that it is right decent to differ in the trimming your face or shaving, from him whom in your heart you abhor: and contrariwise, that, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to have a Mediator between God and you,[1] so it is meet you imitate the manner of his apparel and shaving." Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our churches; and showed how much he had profited from seeing the statutes of our churches, when, returning into Scotland, he by his preaching brought numbers of that nation over to the catholic observance of the pascal time; though he was not yet able to gain the consent of the monks in the island of Hii,[2] over whom he presided. He endeavoured also to have reformed their manner of shaving, if he had been able. And now, O king, I exhort your wisdom to labour with your people, over whom the King of kings and Lord of lords hath made you governor, to imitate likewise in all these points the catholic and apostolic church. So shall it come to pass, that at the end of this your temporal kingdom, the most blessed prince of the apostles shall open to you and yours the gates of the heavenly kingdom, together with the other elect of God.[3] The grace of the Eternal King preserve you, most dearly beloved son in Christ, long time to reign over us, to the peace of us all.

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In outward habit Christians ought not to resemble wicked doers.

The Scottish monks and the English monks differ in their shaving.

When this letter was read before king Naiton with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper language, he seemed to rejoice very much at the exhortation thereof; insomuch that, rising up from among his noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deserved to receive so worthy a present out of England; and so caused forthwith, by public proclamation, the circles or revolutions of nineteen years to be written out, learned, and observed throughout all the provinces of the Picts, suppressing the erroneous circles or revolutions of eighty-four years that had been used there. For all the ministers of the altar and all monks were shaven on the crown; and all the people rejoiced for having been put under the new discipline of the most blessed prince of the apostles, St. Peter, and under his protection.[4]

By this monkish letter above-prefixed (void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of history) thou mayest note, gentle reader, how this vain tradition of shaven crowns hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occasion: which in very deed was none other but the dreaming phantasies of monks of that time, falsely grounded upon the example of Peter, when by no old monument of any ancient record they can ever prove either Peter or Simon Magus to have been shaven. Moreover, in the said letter also is to be noted, how the Scottish clergy at that season, did wear no such priestly crowns as our English churchmen then did.

A note to admonish the reader.

But to cut off this matter of shaving (more worthy to be laughed at than to be storied), let us now again return where we left at king Iva or Ina, of whom William of Malmesbury and Fabian in his chronicle do record,[5] that when the foresaid Ina had ruled the West-Saxons by the term of thirty-seven years, by the importunate persuasion and subtle policy of his wife Ethelburga he was allured to go to Rome, there to be made a monk. Which Ethelburga, after she had a long

(1) There is but one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.
(2) Icombkill or Iona.—Ed.
(3) If Peter shall let the elect of God into heaven, Christ then serveth in little stead.
(4) Bede, ibid.—Ed (5) Fabian, part v. cap. 141; Guil. Malmesb. de Reg. p. 15.—Ed.

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time laboured him to leave the world, and could not bring about her purpose; upon a season, when the king and she had rested them in a fair palace richly hanged, and were upon the morrow thence departed, she, by her commandment, caused the palace to be replenished with all kind of filth and dung, and hogs and wild beasts therein to be laid, as well in the chambers, as other houses of office; and in their own chamber where they did lie, there was a sow laid with her young pigs. And when she knew that this palace was thus deformed, being a certain space out of the town, she besought the king to visit the said palace. And when she had brought him thereunto, she said to him, "I pray you, my lord, behold now this house, where are now the rich tapets and clothes of gold and silk, and other rich apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies and pleasant servitors and costly dishes, that you and I lately were served with? Be not all these passed and gone? My lord," said she, "in like manner shall we vanish away, as suddenly as you see these worldly things be passed; and our bodies, which now be delicately kept, shall fall and turn into the filth of the earth. Wherefore have in mind my words that before-time to you I have often showed and told, and busy you to purchase that palace that ever shall endure in joy, without transmutation."

A.D. 724. Ethelburga, the queen, persuadeth her husband to be a monk.

The crafty head of a woman.

By means of these and other words the queen turned so the king's mind, that shortly after he resigned the governance of his kingdom unto Ethelard his nephew; and, for the love of Christ, took on him the habit of a poor man, and, setting apart all the pomp and pride of this wicked world, associated himself in the fellowship of poor men, and travelled to Rome with great devotion, when he had been king of West-Saxons (as before is said) thirty-seven years. After whose departing, the said Ethelburga, his wife, went unto Barking, seven miles from London, where, in the nunnery of Barking, before of Erkenwald [bishop of London] founded, she continued and ended the rest of her life, when she had been abbess of the place a certain time. The said Malmesbury in his story also testifieth, that this Ina was the first king that granted a penny of every fire-house through his dominion to be paid unto the court of Rome; which afterward was called Romescot, or Peterpence,[1] and long after was paid in many places of England.

King Ina, resigning his kingdom, goes to Rome, and becomes a monk.

Ethelburga, the queen, made nun of Barking.

Peterpence first granted and paid to Rome.

This Ina, like as for his time he was worthy and valiant in his acts, so was he the first of the Saxon kings (that I read of) which set forth any laws to his country: the rehearsal of which laws, to the number of fourscore and odd, were not unprofitable here to be inserted, together with other laws of the West-Saxon kings after him, before the time of William the Conqueror; in case it were not for the length and prolixity of this present volume.[2] And thus much concerning the reign of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, by the way. Now to repair again to the course of Northumberland kings, something intermitted.

The laws made by king Ina for his people.

Celulf, king of Northumberland. Bede.

Next unto the foresaid Osric, followed Celulf, whom he had adopted, brother to Kenred above-specified.[3] This Celulf, as he was himself learned, so were in his time divers learned men then flourishing

(1) Matt. West. pp. 137, 149; the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1095.—Ed.
(2) See infrà, vol. ii. p. 89.—Ed. (3) See above, p. 357.—Ed.

in England, among whom was Bede, who unto the same king Celulf offered his story, intituled, "Anglorum Historia," not only to be ratified by his authority, but also to be amended, as Malmesbury writeth,[1] by his knowledge and learning. *Ecclesiastical History.*

And forsomuch as I have here entered into the mention of Bede, a man of worthy and venerable memory; because of the certifying of the truth of that man, and for that I see all writers (as touching his life) do not agree, some saying that he was no Englishman born: I thought so much to report of him, as I find by his own words testified of himself in the latter end of his Ecclesiastical History of England, offered to the said Celulf above-mentioned, the words of whom be these. A.D. 729. The life of Bede briefly described.

"Thus much, by the help of God, I, Bede, the servant of Christ, and priest of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul at Wiremuth and Gurwum,[2] have compiled and digested concerning the ecclesiastical history of Britain, and especially of the English nation." And so the same Bede, proceeding further in his narration, declareth that he, being born[3] in the territory of the said monastery, being of the age of seven years, was committed of his parents and friends, to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom above relation is made),[4] and afterward of Ceolfrid, abbots of the aforesaid monastery. In the which place or monastery he, continuing from that time forth, all his life long gave himself and all his whole study to the meditating of holy Scripture. Whatsoever time or leisure he had from his daily service in the church, that he spent either in learning or teaching, or writing something. About the nineteenth year of his age he was made deacon; in the thirtieth year of his age he was made priest. From the which time, to the age of nine-and-fifty years, he occupied himself in interpreting the works of the ancient fathers for his own use and the necessity of others; and in writing of treatises, which came in all to the number of seven-and-thirty volumes, which he digested into threescore-and-eighteen books. The number of the works and books written by Bede.

Some say that he went to Rome, either there to defend his books to be consonant to catholic doctrine; or else, if they should be found faulty, to amend and correct the same, as he should thereto be commanded. Albeit the reporter of his life dare not certainly affirm that ever he was at Rome;[5] but that he was invited and

(1) Malms. p. 21, edit. 1601. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England is addressed "Gloriosissimo Regi Ceolwulpho."—Ed.

(2) These were in reality two monasteries, the former at the place now called Monks-Wearmouth, on the river Wear, opposite Sunderland; the latter a little below Gateshead, on the river Tyne, at a place afterward called Jarrow. They were both of the Benedictine order, which produced such harmony between them, that they were called one monastery. This led W. Malmesbury into the error of saying that they were opposite to each other, on the banks of the Wire. The above information is taken from Dr. Giles's Life of Bede, prefixed to his translation of Bede.—Ed.

(3) The venerable Bede was born near Durham, in a village now called Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. "About a mile to the west of Jarrow there is a well called Bede's well, to which, as late as the year 1740, it was a prevailing custom to bring children troubled with any disease or infirmity; a crooked pin was put in, and the well laved dry between each dipping. My informant has seen twenty children brought together on a Sunday to be dipped in this well; at which, also, on Midsummer-eve, there was a great resort of neighbouring people" Brand's Pop. Antiq. Lond 1813, vol. ii. p. 270, quoted in Dr. Giles's Life of Bede.—Ed.

(4) Suprà, p. 349. This Benedict, master to Bede, was the first that brought in the use of glass windows into England. Also, the said Benedict brought from Rome with him John, the archchanter, who first taught in England to sing in the choir after the manner of Rome.

(5) "An Beda Romam profectus sit, ut Sergius Papa per literas petiit, quas refert Malmesburiensis in lib. i. de Reg. Angl. cap. 3, Ceolfrido Abbati scriptas, et ex eo Baronius, recte arbitratur Card. Doctiss. Bedam illuc se non contulisse: cum in fine suæ Epitome cunctum ab infantia tempus vitæ suæ in sui monasterii habitatione peractum a se affirmet. Mabillonius (sæculo III.

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called thither to come, both it is manifest in stories, and also this epistle of pope Sergius doth sufficiently prove; declaring moreover in what price and estimation Bede was accepted, as well in the court of Rome, as in other places besides. The epistle of Sergius sent to Ceolfrid thus proceedeth, in tenor and form as followeth, in Latin.

The Epistle of Pope Sergius, sent to Ceolfrid,[1] Abbot of Wiremuth Abbey; requiring Bede to be sent up to him to Rome, for the fame of his worthy learning.

An epistle of pope Sergius.

Sergius episcopus servus servorum Dei, Celfrido religioso abbati, sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, atque inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, et dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis ejus circa nos beneficiis persolvere, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiæ perducit? *Et infra.* Benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portitorem tua devota misit religio, libenti et hilari animo sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse, cognosce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ solicitudinis petitionibus arctissima devotione satisfacientes, hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuæ bonitatem, ut, quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum arte literaturæ imbuti, sicut decet Deo devotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris universalis ecclesiæ obedientem devotionem huic nostræ exhortation non desistas accommodare: sed absque aliqua immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem monasterii tui presbyterum, ad limina apostolorum principum Dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere. Quem, satisfaciente Domino sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire (peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate). Erit enim, ut confidimus, etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid ecclesiæ generali claruerit per ejus præstantiam impertitum, etc.

The famous learning of Bede.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foresaid Bede, that the church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both stood in need of his help, and also required the same, about the discussing of certain causes and controversies appertaining to learning. Moreover, the whole Latin church at that time gave him the mastery in judgment and knowledge of the holy Scriptures. In all his explanations, his chiefest scope and purpose did ever drive to instruct and inform his reader, simply, and without all curiousness of style, in the sincere love of God and of his neighbour. As touching the holiness and integrity of his life, it is not to be doubted: for how could it be, that he should attend to any vicious idleness, or had any leisure to the same, who, in reading and digesting so many volumes, consumed all his whole cogitations in writing upon the Scriptures? For so he testifieth of himself in the third book of Samuel, saying in these words; "If my treatises and expositions," saith he, "bring with them no other utility to the readers thereof, yet to myself they conduce not a little thus; that while all my study and cogitation was set

Bede commended for integrity of life.

Benedict. parte 1, in elogio historico Bedæ) ait nonnihil suspicionis esse in ea epistola, quod vix Beda presbyter ordinatus sit ante mortem Sergii, et quia libris scribendis vacare cœpit a tempore suscepti presbyteratûs, quibus factum est, ut fama ipsius ad posteros spargeretur. Henschenius vero ad diem 27 mensis Maii in vita venerabilis Bedæ dicit, totam illam epistolam supposititiam apparere. Existimo tamen eam ab aliquo Sergii Papæ successore datam, qui cum paulo post demortuus fuerit, Ceolfridus Bedam Romam mittendum esse non existimavit." Pagii Crit. in Baron. an. 701, § 2. Mr. Stevenson, in his Introduction to the recent edition of Bede (Lond. 1838), supposes that Bede's name has been introduced into the letter by Malmesbury (whereas, the request of Sergius was general, that some one, "quendam," might be sent), and that hence arose the story of Bede's invitation and actual journey to Rome.—Ed.

(1) G. Malms. p. 22.—Ed.

upon them, in the meanwhile, of slippery enticements and vain cogitations of this world I had little mind." Thus in this travail of study he continued till the age of sixty-two years. At length, drawing to his latter end, being sick seven weeks together, besides other occupyings of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit, he translated also the Gospel of St. John into English. At length, with great comfort of spirit, he departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable sayings to them that stood about him, upon Ascension-day, the same year[1] when Nothelm was instituted archbishop of Canterbury. And thus much concerning the story of Bede.

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St. John's Gospel translated into English by Bede.

A.D. 735.

This Celulf, king of Northumberland, afore-mentioned, after he had reigned eight years, was made a monk in the abbey of Farne, otherwise called Lindesfarne, or Holy Island;[2] where, by his means, license was given to the monks of that house to drink wine or ale, which before, by the institution of Aidan above-mentioned, drank nothing but milk and water. After whom succeeded Edbert, his cousin, brother to Egbert the same time being archbishop of York; who brought again thither the pall that his predecessors had foregone, since the time that Paulinus had left the see, and fled to Rochester, as is before declared. The said Egbert also erected a noble library in York, whose example I wish other bishops now would follow.

Celulf, a king, made a monk.

Edbert, king of Northumberland.

About the beginning of the reign of this Edbert was Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, who collected a great synod of bishops and prelates A.D. 747, in the month of September, near to the place called Clovesho.[3] In the which synod assembled these decrees were enacted.[4]

A.D. 747.

Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury.

First, That bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.

2. That they should live in a peaceable mind together, notwithstanding they were in place dissevered asunder.

3. That every bishop once a year should go about all the parishes of his diocese.

4. That the said bishops, every one in his diocese, should monish their abbots and monks to live regularly: and that prelates should not oppress their inferiors, but love them.

5. That they should teach the monasteries which the secular men had invaded, and could not then be taken from them, to live regularly.

(1) The year *before*, according to M. Westmon. p. 139; and the Saxon Chron. A.D. 734.—Ed.

(2) This is hardly correct, *Farne* being the largest of the group of islands, now denominated from it the *Farne Islands*, upon the coast of Northumberland, and at no great distance from Lindisfarne. Raine's "St. Cuthbert, with an account of the state in which his remains were found," etc. (Durham, 1828), p. 21. Bede represents it in the same way; Hist. Eccles. iv. 27. Hegge, in allusion to the dietary change which Ceolwolf introduced, remarks, "A welcome man you may be sure to that monastery!" "Legend of St. Cuthbert," by Robert Hegg. See also Hoveden, "Annall." p. 418, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(3) "Clovesho" is supposed by some to be Cliff, near Gravesend, in Kent. Fuller's Church History, cent. viii. b. 2, § 21; Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit. tom. i. pp. 94—100. But Johnson thinks that this must have been "Abbyndon in Berks, of old written Sheafs-ham, perhaps for Cleofs-ham" (See "Ind. Nom. Loc." at the end of "Chron. Sax."); and not Cliffe in Kent, on account of the insalubrity of the climate, etc. "Collection of Eccles. Laws Canons," etc. vol. i. an. 673, § 7. Bishop Gibson is of the same opinion, and argues from the book of Abbington, which says, that it was anciently written "Shovesham," probably a corrupt reading for "Clovesham;" and adds, "Hic sedes regia: hic, cum de regni præcipuis et arduis tractaretur negotiis, concursus fiebat populi." An annual synod was appointed to be held at this place on the Calends of August by the seventh canon of the council of Thetford, suprà p. 356. It is no doubt of importance to remark, that Foxe has represented the decrees to be in number thirty-one, whereas, in Wilkins and in Labbé, tom. vi. col. 1573—85, the thirtieth finishes the list. Guil. Malmesb. has numbered them in the same way as Foxe, p. 197, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(4) Ex Malmesb. lib. "De Gestis Pontif. Anglo."

Ecclesiastical History.

6. That none should be admitted to orders, before his life should be examined.

7. That in monasteries the reading of holy Scripture should be more frequented.

8. That priests should be no disposers of secular business.

9. That they should take no money for baptizing infants.

10. That they should both learn and teach the Lord's Prayer and Creed in the English tongue.

11. That all should join together in their ministry after one uniform rite and manner.

12. That in a modest voice they should sing in the church.

13. That all holy and festival days should be celebrated at one time together.

14. That the Sabbath-day be reverently observed and kept.

15. That the seven hours canonical every day be observed.

16. That the rogation-days, both the greater and lesser, should be observed.[1]

17. That the feast of St. Gregory, and St. Augustine our patron, should not be omitted.

18. That the fast of the four times should be kept and observed.

19. That monks and nuns should go regularly apparelled.

20. That bishops should see these decrees not to be neglected.

21. That the churchmen should not give themselves unto drunkenness.

22. That the communion should not be neglected of the churchmen.

23. Item, that the same also should be observed of laymen, as time required.

24. That laymen first should be well tried before they entered into monkery.

25. That alms be not neglected.

26. That bishops should see these decrees to be notified to the people.

27. They disputed of the profit of alms.

28. They disputed of the profit of singing psalms.

29. That the congregation should be constituted after the ability of their goods.

30. That monks should not dwell among laymen.

31. That public prayer should be made for kings and princes.

Boniface, an Englishman, archbishop of Mentz.

These decrees and ordinances being thus among the bishops concluded, Cuthbert the archbishop sendeth the copy thereof to Boniface; which Boniface, otherwise named Winfrid, an Englishman born,[2] was then archbishop of Mentz, and after made a martyr, as the popish stories term him.

Ethelbald, king of Merceland.

This Boniface, being (as is said) archbishop of Mentz in the time of this aforesaid synod, wrote a letter to Ethelbald, king of Merceland; which Ethelbald was also present in the same synod, of whom Bede maketh mention in his history, calling him proud Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon kings in his time. First, this Ethelbald, after the departing of Celulf into his monkery, invaded and spoiled the country of Northumberland. Moreover, he exercised mortal and horrible war a long space with Cuthred, otherwise of some named Cuthbert, king of West-Saxons: furthermore he, with other Saxon kings, so impugned the Britons, that from that time they never durst provoke the Saxons any more. At length the said Cuthred, refusing the intolerable exactions[3] of proud Ethelbald, doth encounter with him in battle; where, notwithstanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adjoined, of the Mercians, of the East-Saxons, of the East-Angles, and of the men of Kent; yet the said Cuthred, through God's power, and the means of a certain valiant warrior,

(1) The rogation-days had not then that superstition in them which they had afterward.

(2) At Crediton, in Devonshire, about A.D. 680. He was archbishop of Mentz A.D. 745—755. L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

(3) Hoveden, "Annales," p. 408; Matth. West. p. 140; Sax. Chron. by Ingram, p. 67, Lond. 1823.—Ed.

called Edelhim, a consul, overthrew the pride of Ethelbald, after a sore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald, notwithstanding, repairing his power again the next year after, renewed battle with the foresaid Cuthred; in the which battle Ethelbald (after he had reigned one and forty years in Mercia) was slain by one Beornred, who after reigned in that dition but a small time. For Offa, nephew to the said Ethelbald, expelled the said Beornred, and succeeded king in that province of Mercia, where he reigned nine and thirty years; of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jesus speeding therein our purpose) to be declared, as place and time shall require. In the mean season, not to forget the before-mentioned letter of Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, sent unto this Ethelbald; I thought the same not unworthy here to be inserted (at the least the effect thereof), not so much for the author's sake, as for that some good matter, peradventure, may be picked thereout for other princes to behold and consider.

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Edelhim, a strong and valiant warrior.

Pride overthrown.

The copy and tenor of the Letter of Boniface,[1] Archbishop of Mentz, and Martyr of God (an Englishman), sent to Ethelbald, King of Mercia, freely and yet charitably admonishing him of his Adulterous Life, and Oppression of Churches.

Regi et filio charissimo, et in Christi amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ ecclesiæ perpetuam in Christo charitatis salutem. Confitemur coram Deo, qui novit an vere atque ex animo dicam: quia quando prosperitatem vestram, et fidem, et bona opera audimus, lætamur: quando autem aliquid adversum vel in eventu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum, de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audivimus enim quod eleemosynis intentus, furta et rapinas prohibes, et pacem diligis, et defensor viduarum et pauperum es, et inde gratias Deo agimus. Quod vero legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxu et adulterio et cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile et damnabile. Nam et famam gloriæ vestræ coram Deo et hominibus confundit, et inter idolatras constituit, quia templum Dei violasti. Quapropter fili charissime pœnitere, et memorare oportet, quam turpe sit, ut tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus sis libidinis servus. Audivimus præterea quod optimates pene omnis gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas uxores deserant, et adulteras et sanctimoniales constuprent. Quod quam sit peregrinum ab honestate, doceat vos alienæ gentis institutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia ubi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, sub conjuge fuerit adultera, manu propria stangulatam cremant, et supra fossam sepultæ corruptorem suspendunt, aut cingulo tenus (vestibus abscissis) flagellant eam castæ matronæ et cultellis pungunt; et de villa in villam missæ occurrunt novæ flagellatrices, donec interimant. Insuper et Vinuli,[2] quod est fœdissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, ut mulier viro mortuo se in rogo crementis pariter arsura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum castitatis habent, quid tibi convenit fili charissime, qui christianus et rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende et illud, quid si gens Anglorum (sicut in Francia, et Italia, et ab ipsis Paganis nobis improperatur) spretis legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria deficit, nasciturque sit ex ea commixtione gens ignava et Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam pessundet: sicut Burgundionibus et provincialibus, et Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum est nobis, quod multa privilegia ecclesiarum et monasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo provoces. Sed recogita quæso quam terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, ejusdem culpæ

Nihil factum quod non factum prius.

(1) Malmesbury, p. 28; and in Wilkins' Concil. tom. i. pp. 87—90, more at length.—Ed.
(2) In Malmes. "Winedi;" in Wilkins "et apud Persas."—Ed.

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conscios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædecessorem tuum, stupratorem sanctimonialium et ecclesiasticorum privilegiorum fractorem, splendide cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus malignus arripuit: et sine confessione et viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti et legem Dei detestanti, animam extorsit. Osredum quoque regem Deiorum et Berniciorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænatum egit, ut regnum et juvenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoque princeps Francorum, monasteriorum multorum eversor, et ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in usus proprios commutator, longa torsione et verenda morte consumptus est.

And a little after:

Quapropter fili charissime, paternis et obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinèm tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim boni regi salubrius, quam si talia commissa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sapientiam. Ideo, fili charissime, ostendentes consilium justum, contestamur et obsecramus per viventem Deum, et per filium ejus Jesum Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva sit vita præsens, et quam brevis et momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis: et quam ignominiosum sit ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere, et præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas et in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celsitudinem tuam, et in bonis moribus proficere, optamus.

The corrupt life of nuns noted.

In this epistle here is to be seen and noted, first, the corruption and great disorder of life which alway, from time to time, hath been found in these religious houses of nuns; whose professed vow of co-acted chastity hath yet never been good to the church, nor profitable to the common-wealth, and least of all to themselves. Of such young and wanton widows St. Paul in his time complaineth,[1] which would take upon them the wilful profession of single life, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxury, deserved worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it been for these lascivious nuns not to have refused the safe yoke of christian matrimony, than to entangle themselves in this their superstitious vow of perpetual maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keep! Secondly, No less are they also to be reprehended, who maintained these superstitious orders of unprofitable nuns and of other religions. In the number of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwise called Winfrid; who, although in this epistle he doth justly reprehend the vicious enormities both of secular and of religious persons, yet he himself is not without the same, or rather greater, reprehension; for that he gave the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious orders of such lascivious nuns and other religious, and restraining the same from lawful marriage. For so we find of him in stories, that he was a great setter-up and upholder of such blind superstition, and of all popery. Who, being admitted by pope Gregory II. archbishop of Mentz, and endued with full authority legantine over the Germans,[2] brought divers countries there under the pope's obedience, held many great councils, ordained bishops, builded monasteries, canonized saints, commanded relics to be worshipped, permitted religious fathers to carry about nuns with them a-preaching. Amongst all others he founded the great monas-

The popish acts and doings of Boniface archbishop of Mentz.

(1) 1 Tim. 5.

(2) Boniface was first patronized and sent forth by Gregory II.; again by Gregory III., who made him a titular bishop, gave him the metropolitan's pall, and appointed him legate of the holy see: he was made archbishop of Mentz by pope Zachary. L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

tery of Fulda[1] in Germany, of English monks, into the which no women might enter but only Leoba and Tecla, two English nuns. Item, by the authority of the said archbishop Boniface, which he received from pope Zachary, Childeric, king of France, was deposed from the right of his crown, and Pepin, betrayer of his master, was confirmed, or rather intruded in.[2] From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registered in the pope's decrees, Dist. 40, cap. "Si Papa." Which in a certain epistle of his is this: that in case the pope were of most filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himself, and of the whole of Christianity, in such sort, that he led innumerable souls with him to hell, yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again.

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The monastery of Fulda in Germany builded by Boniface.

Childeric deposed, and Pepin intituled.

In the time of this archbishop, pope Gregory II. also Gregory III. and pope Zachary, and before these also pope Constantine I., wrought great masteries against the Greek emperors Philippicus and Leo IV., and others, for the maintaining of images to be set up in churches.[3] Of whom Philippicus lost both his empire and also his eyes: Leo for the same cause likewise was excommunicated of Gregory III. This Gregory III.[4] (so far as I can conjecture) was he that first wrote the four books of Dialogues in Greek (falsely bearing the name of Gregory I.[5]); which books, afterward, Zachary his successor translated out of Greek into Latin. Item, the said Gregory III. first brought into the mass-canon the clause for relics, beginning "Quorum solennitates hodie in conspectu," &c. Item, he brought into the said canon the memorial, the offering and sacrifice for the dead; like as Zachary brought in the priests' vesture and ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantine also, was the first that gave his feet to be kissed of the emperors.[6] But to turn again into the course of our English story.

Images in churches. Philippicus for holding against images lost his empire and his eyes, A.D. 713.

In the time of this Edbert, king of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sebright reigned in West-Saxony, a man of so cruel tyranny to his subjects (turning the laws and customs of his forefathers after his own will and pleasure), that when he was somewhat sharply advertised by one of his nobles, an earl called Cumbra, to change his

Sigebert king of West-Saxons.

(1) A.D. 744. . Centuriatores Magdeb. cent. viii. cap. 10. coll. 448 and 485, edit. Basil, 1624.—Ed.

(2) Baronius, as quoted by Labbé, (Concil. Gen. tom. vi. col. 1493) will fully support this statement, and the passage would be worth citing for its lively style, had we room. See "Mariani Scoti Chronicon," col. 395, edit. 1559; and Bellarmin. "de Rom. Pont." lib. ii. cap. 17.—Ed.

(3) In 727 Leo the Isaurian, surnamed Iconomachus, began to oppose the worship of images in the church: and a rupture commenced between this Greek emperor and the see of Rome, under pope Gregory II., which laid a foundation for the temporal power of the Roman prelate, which in a few years was effectually established.—Ed.

(4) Rather Gregory the *second*. "De Dialogis dubitatum est an Gregorii primi legitimus fœtus essent; et sane *Chemnitius* animadvertit Italicis prodigiis plenos esse, nec in orationis genere, nec in rebus ipsis cum Gregorii reliquis scriptis congruere: et fortasse sunt Gregorii illius qui a Græcis "Dialogus" est cognominatus, quod cognomen (ait Cedrenus ad an. Leonis 10) ob suas lucubrationes adeptus est; quas lucubrationes, dialogos istos fuisse verosimile est. Is autem fuit *Gregorius* secundus, qui vivebat an. 726. Baronius et F. Ducæus, qui ejus epistolas de imaginibus Græce et Latine ediderunt, annal. tom. ix. contendunt, Græcos, qui "Dialogi" nomen huic secundo tribuerunt, utrumque Gregorium 1 et 2 confudisse, et in eo fuisse deceptos; quod tamen nullo argumento vel levissimo probant. Fuisse opinionem quorundum virorum doctorum, autorem "Dialogorum" esse *Gregorium* 2, Possevinus etiam fatetur; quod firmatum videtur auctoritate Photii in biblioth. (cod. 252), qui "Zachariam Pontif. Rom. Gregorii διάδοχον ait curâsse, ut in linguam Græcam converterentur. At Zacharias fuit Greg. 2, immediatus διάδοχος." Rivet. "Crit. Sac." lib. 4, cap. 29. [Zachary, however, was the *immediate* successor of Gregory the *third*].—Ed.

(5) The Dialogues attributed to Gregory I. seem to be his genuine production: vide Oudin, "Comment. de Scripp. Eccles." tom. i. col. 1506; and "Alex. Natalis Hist. Eccles." vol. x. p. 93, edit. 1787. See Clarke's "Succession of Sacred Literature," vol. ii. p. 360.—Ed.

(6) ["Autorem citat Baronius Anastasium Bibliothecarium. (p. 93, edit. Mogunt. 1602.) Hoc primum est exemplum hujus submissionis, nondum injunctæ, sed sponte delatæ, ab illo Imperatore, quem *æternum opprobrium domus suæ* agnoscunt ipsi, qui hoc ejus factum laudant historici." Riveti "Jesuita vapulans," cap. 28, § 31.—Ed.]

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manners, and to behave himself more prudently toward his people; he there-for maliciously caused him to be put to cruel death. Whereupon the said king Sigebert, continuing his cruel conditions, by his subjects conspiring against him was put from his kingly dignity, and brought into such desolation, that, wandering alone in a wood without comfort, he was there slain even by the swineherd of the said earl, whom before he had so wrongfully murdered, as partly is above touched; whereby is to be seen the cruel tyranny of princes never to prosper well, without the just revenge both of God and man.

Sigebert slain.

Cruel tyranny with like cruelty revenged.

Kenulph king of West-Saxons, A.D. 748.

This Sigebert being slain, in his place succeeded Kenulph,[1] in the year of our Lord 748; who, with the agreement of the West-Saxons, was one of the chief doers against Sigebert his master. This Kenulph kept strongly his lordship against Offa, and against the power of all his enemies, till at length, after that he had reigned (as Fabian saith) one and thirty years, he, resorting to a paramour which he kept at Merton, was there beset, and likewise slain by the train and means of a certain kinsman of the foresaid Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton,[2] in revengement of king Sigebert's death.

Murder revenged with murder.

Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 755.

Moreover, in the reign of the foresaid Edbert, king of Northumberland, and in the eighth year of Kenulph, king of West-Saxons; Offa, after he had slain the tyrant Beornred, who before had slain Ethelbald, king of Mercia and uncle to this foresaid Offa, reigned king of that province.

Of this Offa are told many notable deeds; which, because they concern rather political affairs, and do not greatly appertain to the purpose of this ecclesiastical history, I omit here to recite; as his wars and victories against Edbert, king of the Northumbers, as also against Ethelred, king of East-Angles. Item, against Eadbert, king of Kent, otherwise called Pren, whom (as Fabian saith) he took prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Malmesbury witnesseth otherwise this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulph; as, Christ willing, hereafter shall appear. After these victories, Offa had such displeasure unto the citizens of Canterbury, that he [seized the] lands of Lambrith archbishop of Canterbury, and removed the archbishop's see (by the agreement of pope Adrian) unto Lichfield.[3] He also chased the Britons or Welshmen into Wales, and made a famous dike between Wales and the utter bounds of Mercia, or middle England, which was called Offdike,[4] and builded there a church, which long time after was called Offkirke. This Offa also married one of his daughters to Brightric that was a king of West-Saxons. And, for that in his time was variance between him and the Frenchmen, insomuch that the passage of merchants was forbidden; therefore he sent Alcuin,[5] a learned man, unto Charlemagne, then king of France, to commune the means of peace; which Charlemagne had, after that, the said Alcuin in great favour and estimation, and afterwards made him abbot of Tours, in France.

An untruth noted in the story of Fabian.

The primacy of Canterbury removed to Lichfield.

About the latter time of the reign of Offa, king of Mercia, Ethel-

(1) Roger Hoveden, p. 408, edit. 1601; and the Saxon Chron. A.D. 755.—Ed.

(2) "Cynewulf was desirous of expelling a prince called Cyneard, who was the brother of Sebright." Saxon Chron.; Fabian, p. 139.—Ed.

(3) The archbishop had invited Charlemagne to invade Britain, and withstand Offa. A slight transposition has been made in this sentence.—Ed.

(4) Called to this day "Offa's Dyke."—Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 84.—Ed.

(5) This Alcuin is commended for his learning next to Aldelm and Bede above all Saxons [He died at Tours, A.D. 804. Cave.—Ed.]

bert being then king of East-Angles (a learned and a right godly prince) came to the court of Offa, provoked by the counsel of his nobles to sue for the marriage of his daughter, well-accompanied like a prince, with his men about him. Whereupon the queen, conceiving a false suspicion, and fearing that which was never minded, that Ethelbert with his company, under the pretence and made-matter of marriage, was come to work some violence against her husband and the kingdom of Mercia; so she persuaded with king Offa and certain of her council that night, that the next day following Offa caused him to be trained into his palace alone from his company, by one called Guimbert; who took him and bound him, and there struck off his head; which forthwith he then presented to the king and queen. And thus the innocent king Ethelbert was wrongfully murdered, about the year of our Lord 793; but not without a just revenge at God's hands. For, as the story recordeth,[1] the foresaid queen, worker of this villany, lived not three months after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was fain to bite and rend her tongue in pieces with her own teeth. Offa, understanding at length the innocency of this king, and the heinous cruelty of his fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy church; and on the church of Hereford, in the remembrance of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great lands. Moreover, he builded the abbey of St. Alban's, with certain other monasteries besides. And so afterward he went up to Rome for his penance, where he gave to the church of St. Peter a penny through every house in his dominion, which was called commonly Rome-scot or Peter-pence, paid to the church of St. Peter; and there at length was transformed from a king to a monk, about the year of our Lord 794 (with Kenred king of Northumberland above-mentioned[2]); although some stories deny that he was a monk.[3]

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Vain suspicion and wicked counsel of a woman.

Cruel murder of Ethelbert, king of East-Angles, revenged.

Offa and Kenred of kings made monks at Rome.

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had reigned nine and thirty years, succeeded his son Egfert, who reigned but four months, of whom thus writeth the aforesaid Alcuin:[4] "This noble young man died not so much for offences of his own, as for that his father had spilled much blood to confirm him in his kingdom."

Egfert king of Mercia.

The father's fault punished in the child.

Next to which Egfert succeeded Kenulph in the said kingdom of Mercia; which Kenulph keeping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predecessor against the men of Kent, made war upon them, where he took Eadbert their king, otherwise called Pren, whom he bound and led prisoner to Mercia. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with princely clemency in the town of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same time a church, upon the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteen bishops, and of Cuthred, whom he had placed in the same kingdom of Canterbury before, and ten dukes, and many other great estates, king Kenulph brought the said Eadbert king of Kent out of prison into the church, where he enlarged him out of imprisonment, and restored him to his place again. At the sight whereof, not only Cuthred the aforesaid king

Eadbert king of Kent taken prisoner.

The church of Winchcombe builded by king Kenulph.

Eadbert king of Kent released out of prison.

(1) Ex Hist. Jornalensi et Malmesburiensi.

(2) Foxe here confounds Offa, king of Mercia, with Offa, king of *Essex*, who nearly a century before turned monk and went to Rome (see suprà, p. 318, note (10)), with Kenred, king of *Mercia* (see sup. p. 317, and infr. p. 376, 384).—Ed.

(3) Foxe has not inserted him in the list in p. 384.—Ed.

(4) "Non arbitror quod nobillissimus juvenis Egfertus propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione regni ejus, multum sanguinem effudit," etc. Alcuinus Osberto patricio; [in G. Malmes. p. 33.—Ed.]

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rejoiced, but also all the estates and people being there present made such an exclamation of joy and gladness, that the church (and not only the church, but also the streets) rang withal. At which time such bountifulness of gifts and jewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something given, according as to every degree was thought meet. Although Fabian[1] referreth this story to king Offa, yet causes there be why I assent rather unto Malmesbury[2] and to Polychronicon, which attribute the same to Kenulph the second king of Mercia after Offa.

A place of Fabian doubted.

A little before, in speaking of certain bishops of Rome, mention was made of pope Constantine I., pope Gregory II., pope Gregory III., and of pope Zachary who deposed Childeric, and set up Pepin the French king. Next after this Zachary, in order, followed pope Stephen II., to whom the aforesaid Pepin, to gratify again the see of Rome for this their benefit showed to him, gave and contributed to the said see of Rome the exarchate, or princedom, of Ravenna,[3] the kingdom of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities thereto adjoining unto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pepin, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsely hath been thought to be the donation of Constantine. For else, how could it be that the exarchate of Ravenna could belong all this while to the emperors of Constantinople, if Constantine, before, had given it and all Italy to the empiry of the see of Rome.

Pope Stephen the second.

The donation of Pepin falsely taken to be the donation of Constantine

Organs.

To this Pepin, as witnesseth Polychronicon,[4] was sent first into France the invention of the organs out of Greece, by Constantine V. emperor of Constantinople, A. D. 757.

Pope Paul I. Images again maintained by the pope against the emperor.

Next to this Stephen II. succeeded Paul I., who, following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunication against Constantine V. the emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking down images set up in temples. Notwithstanding this, Constantine, neglecting the pope's vain curses, persevered in his blessed purpose, in destroying idolatry till the end of his life. Then came to be pope Constantine II., a layman,[5] and brother to Desiderius the king of Lombardy; for the which cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a monastery, having his eyes put out.

Pope Stephen III.

The council of Constantinople (the seventh general) condemned of the

In whose stead succeeded Stephen III., who ordained[6] after, that no layman should be pope; condemning, moreover, the council of Constantinople (the seventh general)[7] for heretical, because in that council the worshipping of images was reproved and condemned. Contrary to the which council, this pope not only maintained the filthy idolatry of images in christian temples, but also advanced their veneration, commanding them most ethnically to be incensed. At this

(1) Part vi. chap. 151.—Ed.
(2) P. 33. Mat. Westmon. p. 150, and the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 794, call the released king "Eadbert."—Ed.
(3) Anastasii de vitis Rom. Pontiff. p. 126, edit. Mogunt. 1602; Labbé, tom. vi. coll. 1628.—Ed.
(4) Ex Polyc. lib. v. cap. 25.
(5) Anastasius de vit. Pontif. p. 131.—Ed.
(6) In a council held at Rome, April 12th, A. D. 769.—Ed.
(7) The council here referred to was held A. D. 754, under the auspices of Constantine Copronymus: it was attended by 338 bishops, who passed a strong sentence against image-worship: it was considered and called by the orthodox party the "Seventh General Council;" but the Romish church rejects its claims to be so considered, and sets up instead the second Nicene Council, held in A. D. 787 in favour of image-worship, as the true "Seventh." See Binii Not. in Labb. Conc. Gen. tom. vi. col. 1661.—Ed.

time Charlemagne, a little before mentioned, began to reign, by whom this pope caused Desiderius the Lombard king to be deprived.

Then in this race of popes, after this Stephen III. cometh Adrian I., who likewise, following the steps of his fathers the popes, added and attributed to the veneration of images more than all the others had done before, writing a book for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for laymen's calendars ;[1] holding moreover a synod at Rome against Felix and all others that spake against the setting up of such stocks and images. And as Paul I., before him, made much of the body of Petronilla,[2] St. Peter's daughter, so this Adrian clothed the body of St. Peter all in silver, and covered the altar of St. Paul with a pall of gold. This pope Adrian was he, whom we declared, in the former part of this treatise,[3] to ratify and confirm by revelation the order of St. Gregory's mass, above the order of St. Ambrose's mass: for unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 780, the liturgy of St. Ambrose was more used in the Italian churches. The story whereof, because it is registered in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Jacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same to this especial purpose, for the reader to understand the time when this usual mass of the papists began first to be universal and uniform, and generally in churches to be received.[4] Thus it followeth in the story by the foresaid authors set forth. Jacobus de Voragine, in the life of pope Gregory I., telleth a tale concerning this matter.

pope for condemning images.

The pope also ordained "gloria in excelsis" to be sung in the mass at St. Peter's altar by the cardinals.

Pope Adrian I.

Images maintained by the pope to be laymen's calendars.

The body of St. Peter clothed in silver.

"In times past," saith he, "when the service which Ambrose made was more frequented and used in churches than was the service which Gregory had appointed, the bishop of Rome, then called Adrian, gathered a council together; in the which it was ordained, that Gregory's service should be observed and kept universally. Which determination of the council Charles the emperor did diligently put in execution, while he ran about by divers provinces, and enforced all the clergy, partly with threatenings, and partly with punishments, to receive that order. And as touching the books of Ambrose's service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many priests that would not consent and agree unto the matter. Blessed Eugene the bishop, coming unto the council, found that it was dissolved three days before his coming. Notwithstanding, through his wisdom he so persuaded the lord pope, that he called again all the prelates that had been present at the council, and were now departed by the space of three days. Therefore when the council was gathered again together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the mass-books of Ambrose and Gregory should be laid upon the altar of blessed St. Peter the apostle, and the church doors diligently shut, and most warily sealed up with the signets of many and divers bishops. Again, that they should all the whole night give themselves to prayer, that the Lord might reveal, open, and show unto them by some evident sign or token, which of these two services he would have used in the temples. Thus they, doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the church doors, and found both the missals or mass-books open upon the altar: or rather, as some say, they found Gregory's mass-book utterly plucked asunder, one piece from another, and scattered over all the church.[5] As touching Ambrose's book, they only found it open upon the altar in the very same place where they before laid

The order of the Romish mass-book when it came in.

Note well the practice of prelates, in planting their popish mass.

(1) In "Epist. ad Car. M. pro Synodo Nic. II." apud Labbé, tom. vii. col. 960. This device is, however, much older than the times of Adrian, or even Augustine. See "Eusebii Præp. Evang." lib. iii. cap. 7.—Ed.

(2) Vide Martini Poloni Chron. col. 138, Basil, 1559; and the Lect. Var. on p. 128, prefixed to "Anastasii Hist. de vitis Rom. Pontiff," edit. Mogunt. 1602.—Ed.

(3) Suprà, p. 341.—Ed.

(4) Ex Durando [rationale Divin. Offic. lib. v. cap. 2, § 5.—Ed.] Nauclero [Chron. vo.. ii. gen. 28, p. 705, edit. Colon. 1579.—Ed.] Jacob de Voragine, in vita Greg.

(5) Atqui tamen ipsis commentum placet. Terent. [Andr. 1, 3, 20.]

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it. This miracle pope Adrian, like a wise expounder of dreams, interpreted thus; that as the leaves were torn and blown abroad all the church over, so should Gregory's book be used throughout the world. Whereupon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the service which Gregory had made, ought to be set abroad and used throughout the world, and that Ambrose's service should only be observed and kept in his own church of Milan, where he sometime was bishop.

Thus hast thou heard, brother reader, the full and whole narration of this mystical miracle, with the pope's exposition upon the same; which seemeth to be as true as that which Daniel[1] speaketh of, how the idol Bel did eat up all the meat that was set before him all the night. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practices of these night-crows, to blind the world with forged inventions instead of true stories. Albeit to grant the miracle to be most true and infallible, yet as touching the exposition thereof, another man beside the pope percase might interpret this great miracle otherwise, as thus: that God was angry with Gregory's book, and therefore rent it in pieces, and scattered it abroad; and the other as good, lay sound, untouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of this miracle with the exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregory's service only had the place, and yet hath to this day, in the greatest part of Europe; the service of Ambrose being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of pope Adrian for the setting up of the mass; by the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the reader, at least to understand how that commonly in christian nations abroad, as yet no uniform order of any missal or mass-book was received, as hath been hitherto discoursed.

Gregory's mass taketh place in Europe.

Now, from the popes to return again to the emperors, from whence we digressed: like as Pepin, the father of Charlemagne (as hath been before sufficiently told), had given to the papal see all the princedom of Ravenna, with other donations and revenues and lands in Italy; so this Charlemagne, following his father's devotion, did confirm the same; adding moreover thereunto, the city and dominion of Venice, Istria, the dukedom of Forojulien,[2] the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, and other possessions more, to the patrimony of St. Peter, making him the prince of Rome and Italy. The pope again, to recompense his so gentle kindness, made him to be intituled "Most Christian King," and made him "Patricium Romanum;" moreover, ordained him only to be taken for emperor of Rome. For these and other causes more, Charlemagne bare no little affection to the said Adrian above all other popes; as may well appear by this letter of Charlemagne sent to king Offa, what time the said Offa (as is above prefixed), sent to him Alcuin for entreaty of peace: whereto the aforesaid Charlemagne answereth again to the message of Offa in a letter, the contents whereof be these:—

Charlemagne beneficial to the see of Rome.

"Rex Christianissimus," intituled to France.

The tenor of a Letter sent by Charlemagne to King Offa,[3] answering to his request concerning the Treaty of Peace between them.

Letter of Charlemagne to king Offa.

Carolus Rex Francorum et Longobardorum, patricius Romanorum, viro venerando et fratri charissimo Offæ regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias

(1) See "Bel and the Dragon," in the Apocrypha.—Ed.
(2) Austriæ Civitas, or Cividad di Friuli, an ancient town of Italy, in the Venetian territory.—Ed.
(3) In G. Malmesb. p. 32.—Ed.

agimus Omnipotenti Deo de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei et salute animarum suarum beatorum apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non servientes, sed lucra sectantes, inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitime, et si in aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclament se ad nos vel nostros judices, et plenam justitiam jubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de dalmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel Ethelredi direximus in eleemosynam domini apostolici Adriani, deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem et dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed et de thesauro humanarum, rerum, quem Dominus Jesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per metropolitanas civitates; direximus vestræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum, et unum gladium, et duo pallia serica, etc.

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How the pope heareth the cry of poor widows and orphans.

The cause why this Charlemagne writeth so favourably of Adrian, partly is touched before; partly also it was because Caroloman his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha,[1] with her two children, came to Adrian, to have them confirmed in their father's kingdom; whereunto the pope, to show a pleasure to Charlemagne, would not agree, but gave the mother with her two children, and Desiderius the Lombard king with his whole kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the said Charlemagne, who led them with him captive into France, and there kept them in servitude during their life.

The Empire translated from Greece to France, A.D. 800.

Thus Charlemagne being proclaimed emperor of Rome, through the preferment of pope Adrian I. and pope Leo III. (who succeeded next after him), the Empire was translated from the Grecians about the year of our Lord 800 unto the Frenchmen, where it continued about one hundred and two years, till the coming of Conrad and his nephew Otho, which were Germans; and so hath continued after them among the Almains unto this present time.[2] This Charlemagne builded so many monasteries as there are letters in the row of "A B C;" he was beneficial chiefly to the church-men; also merciful to the poor; in his acts valiant and triumphant; skilled in all languages. He held a council at Frankfort, where was condemned the council of Nice, and [the empress] Irene, for setting up and worshipping images, etc.

A.D. 794.

Concerning which council of Nice, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall think the detesting of images to be any new thing now begun), thus I find it recorded in an ancient history of Roger Hoveden, called "Continuationes Bedæ:" his words

(1) This assertion seems incorrect; but this portion of the history is rather perplexed. According to the statement of Anastasius, Desiderius, king of the Lombards, made the application to Adrian, "ut ipsos antefati Carolomanni filios reges ungeret;" etc. (in Baron. Annal. an. 772, § 9) and the wife of Caroloman was Gilberga, not Bertha. (Pagii Crit. an. 770, § 7.) The mistake arose, apparently, from Bertha, the *mother* of Caroloman and Charlemagne, having travelled into Italy, her meeting Caroloman at Saluzzo, and effecting a reconciliation between the two brothers; but this occurred under the previous pontificate of Stephen III. The general statement of Pagi is: "Gravissimum fuit hoc anno Hadriano papæ cum Desiderio Longobardorum rege dissidium; hic enim, ut de Carolo Francorum rege, qui divortium cum filia ejus Desiderata fecerat, ultionem sumeret, Gilbergam Carolomanni regis conjugem, ejusque filios in fidem suscepit, eosque adversus Carolum regem per novum pontificem consecrari reges tentavit," etc. Crit. ad an. 772, § 2, and 770, § 3.—Ed.

(2) Conrad duke of Franconia was chosen emperor A.D. 911, Otho duke of Saxony having declined the honour on account of his great age: Conrad's authority, however, was not recognised in Italy. Conrad was succeeded in 919, by Henry I., son of Otho, just mentioned; and he was succeeded by his son Otho I., A.D. 936, who was crowned emperor at Rome by John XII. A.D. 962. Otho I. was evidently 'nepos,' i. e. *grandson* (not "nephew") to Otho duke of Saxony (not "Conrad"). See infrà, vol. ii. pp. 43, 71.—Ed.

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be these:[1]—"In the year of our Lord 792 Charles the French king sent a book containing the acts of a certain synod, unto Britain, directed unto him from Constantinople; in the which book (lamentable to be told) many things inconvenient, and clean contrary unto the true faith, are there to be found; especially for that, by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the East church, not so few as three hundred, it was there agreed, that images should be worshipped: which thing the church of God hath always abhorred. Against which book Albinus[2] wrote an epistle, substantially grounded out of the authority of holy Scripture, which epistle with the book the said Albinus, in the name and person of our bishops and princes, did present to the French king."

Images written against, as contrary to the true faith.

The bishops and princes of England against images.

Kings of Northumberland.

Edbert made a monk.

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to return again to the Northumberland kings, where we left at Edbert, which Edbert (as is before declared) succeeded after Ceolulph, after he was made monk. And likewise the said Edbert also, following the devotion of his uncle Ceolwolph and of Kenred before him,[3] was likewise shorn monk, after he had reigned twenty years in Northumberland;

A.D. 757.

leaving his son Osulph after him to succeed. About which time, and in the same year when Ceolulph deceased in his monastery, which was the year of our Lord 764, divers cities were burnt with sudden fire, as the city of Venta,[4] the city of London, the city of York, Doncaster, with divers other towns besides.[5] In the first year of his reign (which was the year of our Lord 757), Osulph being innocently slain, next to him followed Mull, otherwise called Adelwald, who likewise, being slain of Alcred, after he had reigned eleven years departed. After, Alcred, when he had reigned ten years, was expulsed out of his kingdom by his people. Then was Ethelbert, otherwise named Edelred,[6] the son of the foresaid Mull, received king of Northumberland; which Ethelbert or Edelred, in like sort, after he had reigned five years was expulsed. After whom succeeded Alfwold, who, likewise, when he had reigned eleven years was unjustly slain. So likewise after him his nephew, and the son of Alcred, named Osred, reigned one year, and was slain. Then the foresaid Ethelbert, the son of Mull, after twelve years' banishment, reigned again in Northumberland the space of four years, and was slain. The cause whereof (as I find in an old written story) was that, forsaking his old wife, he married a new. Concerning the restoring of whom, Alcuin writeth in this manner: "Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus. Nuper Edelredus, filius Edelwaldi de carcere processit in solium, et de miseria in majestatem, cujus regni novitate detenti sumus ne veniremus ad vos," etc. And afterward the same Alcuin again speaking of his death, writeth unto king Offa in these words: "Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra

(1) "Anno 792 Carolus Rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo libro (heu proh dolor), multa inconvenientia et veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam 300 vel eo amplius episcoporum unanimi assertione confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex authoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro ex persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit." Hoveden. [Page 405, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.]

(2) This Albinus was Alcuin above mentioned. (3) See suprà, p. 371, note (2).—Ed.

(4) Winchester.—Ed.

(5) Roger Hoveden, lib. contin. post Bedam. ["Rogerus de Hoveden, Eboracensis, Henrici II. domesticus, postea primarius theol. prof. in Acad. Oxon.; claruit a. 1198. Scripsit "Annalium Anglicanorum libros 2," ab a. 731 (quo desiit Beda) usque ad a. 1202." Cave.—Ed.]

(6) *Ethelred*, in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 774; which agrees better with what follows in the Latin quotations from William of Malmesbury.—Ed.

quod dominus Carolus amabiliter et fideliter sæpe mecum locutus est de vobis, et in eo habetis fidelissimum amicum. Ideo et vestræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, et per episcopales sedes regni vestri; similiter et Edelredo regi, et ad suas episcoporum sedes direxit dona. Sed heu proh dolor, donis datis et epistolis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos qui de Scotia per nos reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis, et nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam et perversam, et homicidam dominorum suorum, pejorem eam paganis æstimans, ut nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, et mali machinari, jam fecisset," etc.

THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND CEASETH.

Thus, as you have heard, after the reign of king Edbert beforementioned such trouble and perturbation was in the dominion of Northumberland, with slaying, expulsing, and deposing their kings one after another, that after the murdering of this Edelred abovespecified none durst take the government upon him, seeing the great danger thereupon ensuing. Insomuch that the foresaid kingdom did lie void and waste, the space of three-and-thirty years together; after the term of which years, this kingdom of Northumberland, with the kingdoms also of the other Saxons besides, came altogether into the hands of Egbert, king of West-Saxons, and his progeny; which monarchy began A.D. 827, and in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of the said Egbert; whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Of this troublesome and outrageous time of Northumberland people speaketh also the said learned man Alcuin, otherwise called Albinus, in the same country born, writing out of France into England, and complaining of the same in divers of his letters; as first to Offa, where he thus writeth: "Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, et in patriam reverti. Sed melius visum est propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, ubi nullus securus esse vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia sancta a paganis vastata, altaria perjuriis fœdata, monasteria adulteriis violata, terra sanguine Dominorum et principum fœdata," etc. Moreover, the said Alcuin, writing to the foresaid Edelred a little above mentioned, after the same tenor reporteth: "Ecce ecclesia sancti Cutberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa (omnibus spoliata ornamentis), locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior, paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et ubi primum, post decessum S. Cutberti ab Eboraco,[1] Christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseriæ et calamitatis cœpit initium," etc. Item, writing to Osbert a noble peer of the Mercians, complaining on the same matter, he saith: "Regnum nostrum Northumbrorum pene periit, propter intestinas dissensiones, et fallaces conjurationes," etc. Item, in another place the said Alcuin, writing to Adelard archbishop of Canterbury, complaineth moreover: "Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus insulæ nostræ, quæ prope trecentis et quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildæ sapientissimi Britonum, quod iidem Britones, propter

Alcuin, otherwise called Albinus.

Troubles of the kingdom of Northumberland, described by Alcuin.

(1) G. Malmesb., p. 26, according to the edit. 1601, says, "post discessum Sancti Paulini;" which is the correct reading in both respects, Paulinus having left York, and died in Kent. Bede, "Hist. Eccles. Angl." ii. 20; iii. 14.—ED.

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avaritiam et rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam judicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caveamus hæc eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona quam nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus est," etc.

How it rained blood in York.

Over and besides, the same author, Alcuin, writing unto the foresaid Edelred, king of Northumberland, maketh record of a strange sight which he himself did see, the same time, in the city of York,—it rained blood:[1] whereof his words which he wrote concerning the same, unto the said king Edelred, be these: "What signifieth the rain-blood which in time of Lent, in the city of York, the chief city of that dominion, and in the church of St. Peter the chief of the apostles, we ourselves did see to fall from the church top (the element being clear) out of the north parts of the temple," etc. This wondrous sight, testified by Malmesbury, is thought of Fabian to happen in the second year of the reign of Brightric,[2] (as with the time
A. D. 786. doth well agree), which was the year of our Lord 786, and is thought of some expositors to betoken the coming of the Danes into this land, who entered shortly after [; and again in] about seven years, in the ninth year
Brightric king of West-Saxons. of the reign of Brightric, king of the West-Saxons. Which Brightric, in defence thereof, sent forth his steward of his household with a small company, which shortly was slain: but by the strength of the said Brightric and the other Saxon kings, they were compelled to void the
Edelburga, daughter to Offa, poisoned her husband. land for that time, which was in the year 787.[3] To this Brightric king Offa, as is aforesaid, gave his daughter Edelburga, or Edburga, to wife, by whom he at length was impoisoned; besides certain other of his nobles, upon whom the said queen before him had practised the same wickedness. Who then, after that, fled over to Charlemagne,
Wickedness revenged. into France; where she, being offered for her beauty to marry either to him or his son, because she choosed rather his son, married neither the one, nor yet the other, but was thrust into a monastery; where she, then playing the harlot with a monk, was expulsed from thence, and ended her life in penury and misery.

Irene. In the mean time, while this Edelburga was thus working her feats in England, Irene, empress of the Greeks, was as busy also for her
A.D. 784. part at Constantinople: who first, through the means of pope Adrian, took up the body of Constantine V., emperor of Constantinople, her own husband's father; and when she had burned the same, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he disannulled images. Afterwards, reigning with her son Constantine the Sixth, son to Leo the Fourth (whom also we declared before to be excommunicated for taking away images), being at dissension with him, she caused him to be taken and laid in prison; who afterward through

(1) "Quid significat pluvia sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco civitate, quæ caput est totius regni, in ecclesia beati principis apostolorum vidimus, de borealibus partibus domus (sereno aere) de summitate minanter cadere? Nonne potest putari, a borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram?" Ex Historia Malmesburiensi. The text of Foxe differs slightly from the edition of Malmesbury (p. 258) which we have before us; and he must indeed have consulted a MS. copy; the first printed edition not having appeared till 1596, some years after Foxe's death.—Ed.

(2) Bertric or Beortric.—Ed.

(3) The first arrival of the Danes was in Wessex, A.D. 787, the third year of Brightric, and to this Foxe's account chiefly refers: the second was seven years after, in Northumberland, in the *tenth* year of Brightric, A.D. 794. See Polychronicon (referred to by Fabian) and Chronicon Sax.; also infrà, vol. ii. p. 5, margin. The words inserted in brackets make the text more correct.—Ed.

power of friends being restored to his empire again, at last she caused the same her own son to be cast into prison, and his eyes to be put out so cruelly, that within short space he died.[1] After this the said Irene empress, with the counsel of Tarasius bishop of Constantinople, held a council at Nice, where it was decreed, that images should again be restored unto the church; which council after was repealed by another council holden at Francfort by Charlemagne. At length she was deposed by Nicephorus (who reigned after), and was expulsed the empire; who, after the example of Edelburga above-mentioned, condignly punished for her wickedness, ended likewise her life in much penury and misery.

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Images restored by Irene. The second council at Nice, A.D. 787. Wickedness of Irene rewarded.

About the time when the foresaid Brightric was impoisoned by Edelburga his wife, died also king Offa, which was about the year of our Lord 795, or (as some say) 802. After which Offa (as is aforesaid) succeeded Egfert; then Kenulph: after whom succeeded Kenelm his son,[2] who in his younger age was wickedly murdered by his sister Quendrida[3] and Askebert, about the year of our Lord 819, and in the church of Winchcombe was counted for a holy martyr. After him succeeded his uncle Ceolulph, whom Bernulph in the first year of his reign expulsed, and reigned in his place. Who likewise, in the third year of his reign, was overcome, and expulsed by Egbert king of the West-Saxons, and afterward slain by the East-Angles. And the kingdom of Mercia also ceased, and came into the hands of the West-Saxons.

Kenelm king of Mercia innocently slain. Ceolulph and Bernulph, kings of Mercia. The kingdom ceaseth.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou seest, good reader) the confused and turbulent reigns of these seven Saxon kings, who, after the expulsion of the Britons, ruled and reigned asunder in sundry quarters of this land together, unto this present time of Egbert king of the West-Saxons, by whom it pleased God to begin to reduce and unite all these scattered kingdoms into one monarchical form of dominion. Wherefore, as in the aforesaid Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the commonwealth here in this land among the Saxons, so my purpose is (the Lord willing), with the same Egbert to enter a new beginning of my third book, after a brief recapitulation first made of such things as in this second book before are to be collected and noted, especially touching the monasteries builded, the kings who have entered the life and profession monastic; also queens and queens' daughters, who the same time professed solitary life in monasteries, which they or their ancestors had erected.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRECEDING STORY, CONCERNING THE SEVEN KINGDOMS OF THE SAXON KINGS, ABOVE MENTIONED.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, concerning the seven kingdoms of these Saxons, ruling all together in England, the course and order of their doings briefly described and discoursed unto thee, in such order, as the matter being so intricate, in such confusion and diversity of things incident together, would permit: following especially in this story hitherto the line of the Northumberland kings, as the

(1) "Scelus plane exsecrandum," observes Baronius (ad an. 796, § 8) "nisi (quod multi excusant) justitiæ eam zelus ad id faciendum excitasset, quo nomine eadem post hæc meruit commendari." —Ed.

(2) See Saxon Chronicle by Ingram, p. 86, and note 3.—Ed.

(3) G. Malmes. p. 88; and Fabian, p. 147.—Ed.

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other stories most follow the line of West-Saxon kings. The which seven kingdoms of these said Saxons, after they had untruly expulsed and chased out the Britons from their land, like as they never were in quietness among themselves (reigning thus together) till the time of this Egbert; so also, after the reign of Egbert, the whole realm being reduced into one regiment, no less were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continually from time to time, till the last conquest of William the Norman. Thus it pleased God (ever lightly[1]) to revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unjust dealings of men with just and like retribution. But of this let the christian reader consider, as God's grace shall work in him. In the mean time we, as much as in us did lie, satisfying the part of an historian, have thus hitherto set forth and declared concerning these seven foresaid kingdoms: first, the names and lineal descent of the kings severally by themselves, as by the table precedent may appear: then, what were the doings and acts of the same; how first being pagans, they were converted to the christian faith; what things in their time happened in the church; how many of them, of kings were made monks; how devout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwise in life, than afterward they declared themselves to be. Through which devotion of the said kings, first came in the Peter-pence or Rome-scots in this realm, as by Ina first in his dominion, then by Offa in his lordship, and afterwards by Ethelwulph were brought in and ratified through the whole realm: where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid kings and queens of the said Saxons the most part of the greatest abbeys and nunneries in this realm, were first begun and builded; as partly, by the names of some, here follow to be seen.

Unjust dealings of men justly rewarded.

Paul's church.

First, the church or minster of St. Paul in London was founded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sebert king of Essex, about the year of our Lord 604.[2]

The first altar and cross set up in England.

The first cross and altar within this realm was first set up in the north parts in Hevenfield,[3] upon the occasion of Oswald king of Northumberland fighting against Cadwalla, where he, in the same place, set up the sign of the cross, kneeling and praying there for victory.[4]

The church of Winchester was first begun and founded by Kinegils or Cynegils, king of the West-Saxons, having seven miles about it: after, finished by his son Kenwalc, where Wine of Englishmen was first bishop, A. D. 663.[5]

The church of Lincoln first founded by Paulinus bishop, A.D. 629.[6]

The church of Westminster began first by a certain citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an isle of thorns,[7] A.D. 614.

The common schools first erected at Cambridge, by Sigebert king of East-Angles, A.D. 636.

(1) "Lightly," *i. e.* commonly. Todd's Johnson.—Ed.
(2) Bede, ii. 3; Saxon Chron. A.D. 604.—Ed.
(3) Heofonfeld. Bede, iii. 2.—Ed. (4) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 12. an, 635.
(5) Guliel. Malms. lib. De Gestis Pont. Ang. [lib. ii. p. 241, edit. 1601. "Tandem rex, qui Saxonum linguam tantum noverat, pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ subintroduxit in provinciam alium suæ linguæ episcopum, vocabulo *Wini*, et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum." Bede Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. iii. cap. 7. See suprà, pp. 347, 348.—Ed.] (6) See suprà, p. 345.—Ed.
(7) Bede. [Fabian, part v. chap. 120.—Ed.]

The abbey of Cnobhersburg builded by Fursey the hermit, A.D. 637.[1]

The monastery of Malmesbury by one Meydulph, a Scot, about the year of our Lord 640: afterward enlarged by Agilbert bishop of Winchester.

The monastery in Gloucester, first builded by Osric king of Mercia,[2] as Cestrensis saith; but, as William of Malmesbury writeth,[3] by Wolfer and Ethelred, brethren to Kineburga abbess of the same house. A.D. 679.

The monastery of Melrose, by the flood of Tweed, by Aidan a Scottish bishop.

The nunnery of Heortheu, by Heiu, who was the first nun in Northumberland.[4]

The monastery of Hertsey[5] by Oswy king of Northumberland; who also, with his daughter Elfrida, gave possessions for twelve monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, A.D. 656.

The monastery of St. Martin in Dover, builded by Whitred king of Kent.

The abbey of Lestinghen[6] by Ceadda (whom we call St. Ced) through the grant of Oswald, son to St. Oswald, king of Northumberland, A.D. 651.

The monastery of Whitby, called otherwise Steaneshalch, by Hilda, daughter to [Hereric] the nephew of Edwin king of Northumberland, A.D. 657.[7]

Item, another monastery called Hacanos,[8] not far from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same year.

The abbey of Abingdon, builded by Cissa[9] king of South-Sax, A.D. 666.

Item, an abbey in the east side of Lincoln, called Icanno,[10] by St. Botulph,[11] A.D. 654.

The monastery in Ely, founded by Etheldred, or Etheldrida, daughter of Anna king of East-Angles, and the wife of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, A.D. 674.

The monastery of Chertsey in Southery, founded by Erkenwald, bishop of London, A.D. 674: thrown down by the Danes; after re-edified by king Edgar.

Item, the nunnery of Barking, edified by the said Erkenwald, bishop of London, about the same time.

The abbey of Peterborough, called otherwise Modehamsted, founded by king Ethelred,[12] king of the Mercians, A.D. 675.

(1) Bede Hist. Eccles. iii. 19. "Suffolciensium Burg-castell illud est." Usher. "Brit. eccles. Antiq." p. 501, edit. Lond. 1687. It is at this day called *Burgh-castell* in Suffolk, where the rivers Garien and Waveney mingle waters. "Cressy's Church-history of Brittany," book xv. chap. 6, § 11.—Ed.

(2) Higden calls him "Subregulus Merciorum:" he was nephew to Ethelred, king of Mercia, and his viceroy in those parts: probably he had much to do with superintending the building. See Tanner's "Not. Mon." Higden states that Kineburga was *Osric's* sister, and was by him made the first abbess: Foxe himself follows this statement in page 384.—Ed.

(3) G. Malm. p. 27, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. iv. cap. [23, and note. According to Capgrave, Bega, vulgarly S. Bees, was the nun's name. Cressy's "Church-history of Brittany," book xv. ch. 21, § 1. At Hartlepoole. Tanner. —Ed.] (5) Fabian, p. 119.—Ed. (6) Lastingham, near Whitby. Tanner. Bede, iii. 23.—Ed.

(7) This Hilda was first converted to the faith by Paulina, a godly and learned woman [Bede says by Paulinus, the bishop: lib. iii. cap. 23.—Ed.]: out of her monastery came five bishops.

(8) Hackness, a place in Whitby-Strand, thirteen miles from Whitby (according to Bede), and three from Scarborough. See Tanner's "Not. Mon."—Ed. (9) Fabian, p. 120, edit. 1811.—Ed.

(10) Or "Icanhoe." See "Saxon Chronicle," A.D. 654. Supposed by some writers to be Boston, *i. e.* Botulph's town: Cressy's "Church-history of Brittany," book xv. ch. 22, § 7.—Ed.

(11) Polych. lib. v. cap. 16.

(12) Foxe says "Ethelbald," erroneously, as his own date shows: see Tanner.—Ed.

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Bardney abbey, by Ethelred king of the Mercians, A.D. 700.

Glastenbury, by Iva or Ina king of the West-Saxons; and after, repaired and enriched by king Edgar, A.D. 701.

Ramsey in the time of king Edward, by one Ailwin a nobleman, A.D. 973. King Edgar builded in his time forty monasteries; who reigned, A.D. 901.

The nunnery of Winburne builded by Cuthburga sister to Ingilsus, king Ina's brother, A.D. 717.[1]

The monastery of Sealesey by the isle of Wight, by Wilfrid archbishop of York, A.D. 678.

The monastery of Winchcombe by Kenulph king of the Mercians, A.D. 797.

St. Alban's builded by Offa king of the Mercians, A.D. 755.

The abbey of Evesham by Egwin, bishop [of Worcester,] A.D. 691.

Ripon in the north by Wilfrid, archbishop, A.D. 709.

The abbey of Ethelingey,[2] by king Alured, or Alfred, A.D. 891.

The nunnery of Shaftesbury by the same Alfred, the same year.

Thus ye see what monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly converted to the christian faith, within the space of two hundred years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to God-ward, according to the leading and teaching that then was, so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these foresaid kings; first, that they which began to erect these monasteries and cells of monks and nuns, to live solely and singly by themselves out of the holy state of matrimony, had foreseen what danger, and what absurd enormities might, and also did, thereof ensue, both publicly to the church of Christ, and privately to their own souls: secondly, that unto this their zeal and devotion had been joined like knowledge and doctrine in Christ's gospel, especially in the article of our free justification by the faith of Jesus Christ; because of the lack whereof, as well the builders and founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. For albeit in them there was a devotion and zeal of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend, yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christ's gospel; forsomuch as they did these things seeking thereby merits with God, and for remedy of their souls, and remission of their sins, as may appear testified in their own records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this chart (if it please thee, gentle reader) of king Ethelbald's donation, given to churches and religious persons; which Ethelbald was the builder (as is said[3]) of Peterborough. The words of his record and instrument be these.

Two things to be wished in them that first builded monkish monasteries.

The article of free justification not known.

The Donations and Privileges granted and given by King Ethelbald to religious men of the Church.[4]

Plerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerint,

(1) M. Westmon, an. 720.—Ed. (2) Matt. Westmon. p. 176, edit. 1601.—Ed.
(3) See suprà, p. 381, note (12).—Ed.
(4) Ex chronicis Guliel. Malmesb. lib. i. [p. 29. Where the document slightly differs from that which Foxe here gives: some trifling emendations have therefore been made from Malmesbury.—Ed.]

fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur, nisi authoritate literarum, testamento chirographorum, æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ et remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse prævidi, ut eam pro bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptra regiminis largitus est, ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem, me vivente, concedo, ut omnia monasteria et ecclesiæ regni mei a publicis vectigalibus, et operibus, et oneribus absolvantur; nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli relaxari unquam possunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum et agrorum, et in captura piscium, ne munuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo serviant, etc. *Ecclesiastical History.*

By the contents hereof may well be understood (as where he saith, "Pro amore cœlestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, et absolutione delictorum," etc.) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was, who, lacking no zeal, only lacked knowledge to rule it withal; seeking their salvation not by Christ only, but by their own deservings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehension of them, but rather to put us in mind and memory, how much we, at this present, are bound to God for the true sincerity of his truth, hidden so long before to our fore-ancestors, and opened now unto us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to have such works, and to lack our faith; and us to have the right faith, and to lack their works. And this blind ignorance of that age, thus above pre-noted, was the cause not only why these kings builded so many monasteries upon zealous superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of princely regiment, gave themselves over to monastical profession, or rather wilful superstition. Concerning the names and number of which kings that were professed monks, is sufficiently in the story before declared: the names of whom we showed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred years. Such was then the superstitious devotion of kings and princes in that age; and no less also to be noted in queens and kings' daughters, with other noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite:[1] as Hilda, daughter to [Hereric] the nephew of Edwin king of Northumberland, abbess of Ely: Ercongota with her sister Ermenilda, daughters of Ercombert king of Kent, which Ercongota was professed in St. Briget's order in France: Item, Ethelberga, wife and queen to Edwin king of Northumberland, and daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, which was also in the same house of St. Briget made a nun: Item, Etheldreda, whom we term St. Eldred [or Audrey], wife to Egfrid king of Northumberland, [and daughter of Anna, king of East-Angles]; who, being married to two husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but would needs live a virgin, and was professed nun at Ely.[2] Sexburga, [another] daughter of king Anna, and wife of Ercombert king of Kent, was abbess at Ely. Werburga was the daughter of Wolfer

A brief catalogue of queens and kings' daughters which, leaving their estate, were made nuns.
Hilda.
Ercongota.
Ermenilda.
Ethelberga.
Etheldreda.
Sexburga.
Werburga.

(1) Several inaccuracies have been corrected in the following list.—Ed.
(2) See p. 89. Saxon Chron. p. 49.—Ed.

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king of Mercians, and made nun at Ely. Kinedreda, sister of king Wolfer, and Kineswida her sister were both nuns professed. Elfrida, daughter of Oswy king of Northumberland, was abbess of Whitby: Elfleda, [another] daughter of king Oswy, and wife of Peda son of king Penda, likewise enclosed herself in the same profession and vow of Romish chastity.[1] Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, all three daughters of Merwald,[2] king of West-Mercians, entered the profession and vow of nunnish virginity. Kineburga wife of Alfrid king of Northumberland, and sister[3] to Osric king of Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was professed abbess of the monastery in Gloucester. Likewise Alfrida wife to king Edgar, and Editha daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfride her mother, etc. All which holy nuns with divers more the Romish Catholics have canonized for saints, and put the most part of them in their Calendar, only because of the vow of their chastity solemnly professed. Concerning which chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and less to swear for them. But whether they so kept it or not, if this gift of chastity which they professed were given them of God, worthy small praise was it in them to keep it: and if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said by some others, which sufficiently have painted out to the world the demeanour of these holy votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

Kinedreda and Kineswida. Elfrida. Mildreda. Milburga. Milguida. Kineburga. Elfleda. Alfrida. Wulfrida. Editha.

Likewise remaineth that, as we have declared the devotion of these noble women, who professing monastic life, have cast off all worldly dignity and delights: so we should also entreat of such noblemen, who among the Saxon kings in like zeal of devotion, have given over themselves from the world (as they thought) unto the contemplative life of monkish profession. The names of whom as in the catalogue of the Saxon kings before is described, be these, to the number of nine.

A Table of such Saxon Kings as were after made Monks.

Kings made monks.

1. Kinigilsus, or Cynegils, king of West-Saxons.
2. Ina, king of West-Saxons.
3. Ceolulf, king of Northumberland.
4. Edbert, king of Northumberland.
5. Ethelred, king of Mercia.
6. Kenred, king of Mercia.
7. Offa, king of East-Saxons.
8. Sebbi,[4] king of East-Saxons.
9. Sigebert, king of East-Angles.

Of which kings and their doings what is to be judged, look, gentle reader, before.

By these histories it is apparent, what mutations, what perturbations, and what alterations of state have been in this realm of Britain, first from British kings, to Romans; then to British again; afterward to the Saxons. First, to seven altogether reigning; then to

(1) Bede (lib. iii. cap. 21, 24) calls these two daughters of Oswy respectively "Eanfleda" and "Alhfleda."—Ed.

(2) Malmsb. and Higden; who also describe Merowald as brother to Wolfer and Ethelred. Hence Foxe is mistaken p. 317, note (10).—Ed.

(3) Rather "aunt." See above, p. 381, note (2).—Ed.

(4) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. iv. cap. 11.—Ed.

one, etc. And this alteration not only happened in the civil government, but also followed in the state ecclesiastical: for, as in the Britons' time, the metropolitan see was in London, so in the Saxons' time, after the coming of Augustine, it was removed to Canterbury: the catalogue and order of which metropolitans, from the time of Augustine to Egbert, is thus, as in the history of William of Malmesbury it is described.[1] *Ecclesiastical History.*

The Names and Order of the Archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine, to the time of King Egbert.

A.D.		Years	A.D.		Years
596	1. Augustine	16	634	5. Honorius	25
604	2. Laurentius	5	654	6. Deusdedit	9
619	3. Mellitus	5	668	7. Theodore	22
624	4. Justus	3			

Hitherto from Augustine all the Archbishops of Canterbury were Italians and Foreigners.

A.D.		Years	A.D.		Years
693	8. Berctuald[2] (English)	37	768	13. Lambright or Lambert[4]	27
731	9. Tatwine	3	793	14. Ethelard[5]	13
735	10. Nothelm	5	803	15. Ulfred	28
742	11. Cuthbert[3]	17	830	16. Feologild[6]	3 months
759	12. Bregowine	3	830	17. Celnoth	41

During the course of these seventeen archbishops of Canterbury, in Rome passed in the mean time four and thirty popes, of whom partly heretofore we have declared.

And thus much touching the time of the seven kingdoms of the Saxons, ruling together in England, from the reign of Hengist unto Egbert, the first king and monarch of the whole land, after the expulsion of the Britons.

Now remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in the next book following, to prosecute the order of such kings, as, principally reigning alone, had this realm in their possession, from the time of Egbert king of West-Saxons, to the coming of William, the Norman conqueror; comprehending therein the rest of the next three hundred years, with the acts and state of religion, as in that space was in the church: wherein may appear the declining time of the church, and of true religion; preparing the way to Antichrist, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this mean

(1) The dates of the accession of the archbishops are taken from Richardson's Godwin "De Præsulibus, &c."—Ed.

(2) In his time the monastery of St. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witred, and his brother, kings of Kent.

(3) This Cuthbert after his death forbade all funeral exequies or lamentation for him to be made; William of Malm. de Vitis [Pontiff. Angl. p. 198.—Ed.]

(4) [He is named in Florence of Worcester "Iainbertus" (p. 574), and "Eanbert" in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 763.—Ed.] In his time king Offa translated the metropolitan see from Canterbury to Lichfield by the grant of pope Adrian, being overcome with apostolical argument, as saith Flor. Historiar.; that is, with money. [The words in this historian are: "nam verisimilibus apost. sedem argumentis tam diu fatigaverat, sicut pro variis occupationibus de facili Rom. Pontifices trahuntur ad consensum, obtinuit quod petebat," etc. p. 143, edit. Francof. 1601. William of Malmsbury speaks more plainly, p. 198; and the account in Wilkins (Concill. Mag. Brit. tom. i. p. 152) will fully support the interpretation of Foxe.—Ed.]

(5) This Ethelard by his epistles to pope Leo III., obtained the metropolitan see [to be restored] again to Canterbury. [Ethelard also went in person to Rome.—Ed.]

(6) Flor. Wigornien. p. 681.—Ed.

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END OF BOOK THE SECOND.

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