

THE ORDER AND MANNER

OF

THE EXAMINATION

OF

DR RIDLEY,

HAD THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1555,

BEFORE THE QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

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FOX'S PREFACE.

FIRST, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St Mary's Church at Oxford, about the 12th day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the 28th of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, legate à latere, to John White bishop of Lincoln, to Dr Brooks bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr Holyman bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition¹, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would

The effect of the cardinal's commission sent down to Oxford.

[¹ The Commissioners doubtless meant by this expression, the reign of Edward VI, and the latter part of that of Henry VIII. Ed.]

now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions; that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Ridley and Latimer cited to appear.

Wherefore, the last of September¹, the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Master Dr Ridley, and anon Master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Master Latimer was kept back until Dr Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoons as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

The words of the bishop of Lincoln to him, for not putting off his cap.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as

[¹ Monday, Sept. 30, 1555. See Nicolas' tables. Ed.]

we do, that is my lord cardinal's grace, legate à latere to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage [and therewith Master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer), you shall cause us to take the pain to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

To whom Master Ridley making his petition for licence, answered:

Ridley:—"As touching that you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's grace: for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace: but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome, [and therewith put on his cap,] whose usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession profess the verity in

Answer of Ridley to him.

Ridley reverenceth the person of the cardinal, but not his legacy.

Ridley doeth not reverence to the pope.

not reverencing the renounced authority contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings express the same, I have put on my cap; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."

Lincoln :—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (which look for no such honour of you), neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent [at which word Master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Master Ridley put on his]; and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

Ridley :—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

White bishop of Lincoln re-
plieth.

Putting off
caps at the
naming of
the pope.

The usurped
supremacy
of Rome de-
fied.

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is an officer of the University) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ in this manner:

Ridley's cap
plucked off
by force.

Lincoln :—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time), if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself; you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do.

Nay, the
faith of
Christ may
be proved to
have been at
Rome in Ti-
berius's
time, before
Peter came
there.

"Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of "only faith" began to spring, the

Though the
country of
Rome be not
strange, yet
the doctrine
of Rome is
strange.

Another untruth in bishop White, for "only faith" is no new doctrine.

These words of Ridley are falsely reported.

The bishop of Lincoln persuadeth Ridley to return to the pope's church.

council, willing to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him (I then being in my lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you); and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also.' If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter), hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross you as effectually and as catholically spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised, before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times, did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St Augustine¹, who writeth in this manner: 'All the christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome'.'] Here you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome.

¹ "Dubitatur utrum forma verborum hæc sit Augustini." [Some doubt may well be expressed, as the tendency of the language contradicts the 22nd canon of the Council of Milevis, to which Augustine had himself subscribed: "Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur." See Concilia, Studio Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1543; but the passage intended for citation is, no doubt, that in Augustine's treatise "Contra Epist. Parmen." lib. i. cap. iii. sec. 5, and its application to the bishop of Rome is here aided by the addition of Romanæ Ecclesie. Ed.]

² "Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris Romanæ Ecclesie subjectus est."

What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

Ridley:—"My Lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation; in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

"First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and, together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Then Peter said, 'I say, That thou art Christ, the Son of God.' To whom Christ answered, 'I say, thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church³;' that is to say, upon this stone—

[³ "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam." "Upon this stone." Compare Tindal's Works, p. 357. Nowell's Con-

Answer of Ridley.

Three points noted in the bishop of Lincoln's oration.

The see of Rome founded upon Peter.

Confirmed by old doctors.

Ridley once of the same see.

The church not builded upon Peter.

not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle, a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

“Now, as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered: and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England the bishop

futation of Dorman, p. 445, &c. Jewell's Answer to Harding, p. 165, 184. Fox's Acts, p. 1637, &c. all (with others which might be cited) concurring in this interpretation. Ed.]

The church builded upon faith, not upon any person.

The words of Christ to Peter expounded.

Faith the foundation of the church.

Lineal descent of the bishop of Rome.

Why the bishops of Rome have been more esteemed than other bishops.

of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled]. Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

“Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St Gregory, ‘He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.’

“Now, whereas you say St Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, All the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St Augustine's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called Mare Mediterraneum, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St Augustine saith, ‘All the christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the

The prerogative that the doctors give to the see of Rome.

So long as it continued in sound doctrine, it was worthy to be revered.

The bishop of Rome proved to be Antichrist.

The place of Augustine answered.

Four patriarchs in the church in his time.

How countries beyond the sea were subject to Rome.

see of Rome'.¹ If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St Augustine saith, 'All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one²; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics: neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

Rome may be mother of churches, and yet not supreme head of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your lordship said) from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my lord of Winchester and I

¹ "Totus orbis christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris Ecclesie Romanæ subjectus est."

² "Both once one." The see of Oxford was erected out of part of the ancient diocese of Lincoln, A. D. 1542. See Richardson's Godwin. Ed.]

had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such like unseemly terms; for the which causes I, to rebuke the unreverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

Ridley falsely charged to preach transubstantiation at Paul's Cross.

Ridley mistaken in his sermon.

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him, said:—

"Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St Augustine saith, that the whole christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, 'In transmarinis et longe remotis terris,' only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that 'totus mundus' is more than Europe."

Lincoln replieth.

Ridley:—"Indeed, my lord, if St Augustine had said, 'simpliciter totus mundus,' and not added 'in transmarinis,' it had been without limitation; but in that he said, 'totus mundus in transmarinis partibus,' 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by 'totus mundus.'"

Ridley answereth to the words of Augustine.

The bishop, not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying :—

“ Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof ; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles ; and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me : wherefore I will return thither again.

“ Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is ‘ catholica,’ ‘ catholic,’ which is deduced of *κατὰ ὄλον*, that is ‘ per omnia :’ so that Christ’s church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God’s love be ye not singular ; acknowledge with all the realm the truth : it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown ; for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries ; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword ; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God’s quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head : and as the king and the queen their highnesses do, in all worldly affairs, justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ’s body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yielded ?

“ Wherefore, Master Ridley, you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their majesties’ honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope’s

Lincoln returneth to his oration.

And why then do you alligate it to the city of Rome ?

Two powers ; the keys and the sword.

England, how subject to the king, and how to the pope.

Ridley exhorted to submit himself to the pope.

holiness to be supreme head of Christ’s church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of his holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire ; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal’s grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body ; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours ; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen’s highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm due for heretics.

“ Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider your state ; remember your former degrees ; spare your body ; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly brought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God’s sight ; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church ; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us), but that is the temporal judge’s office ; we only declare you to be none of the church ; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

“ But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church.”

Fear of punishment set before him.

But that office you yourselves have assigned unto them.

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

Answer of Ridley to Lincoln.

He meaneth, in which no general error can be finally established.

The church tied to no place.

The [Roman] catholics do bind the church to a certain place, and that only to Rome. The protestants bind the church to no one certain place, but follow the confession of the word. Great part of Christendom infected with the church of Rome.

Ridley:—"My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is everywhere founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity¹.' In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it

[¹ Quid igitur faciet Christianus Catholicus, si se aliqua Ecclesie particula ab universalis fidei communione præciderit? Quid utique, nisi ut pestifero corruptoque membro sanitatem universi corporis anteponat? Quid si novella aliqua contagio non jam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item providebit ut antiquitati inhæreat, quæ prorsus jam non potest ab ulla novitatis fraude seduci. Vincentius Lyrinensis, cap. iv. Ed. Baluzii. Cantab. 1687.]

was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also that Christ, after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread; which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind: and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies; for you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, 'a suffocato et sanguine,' that is, from things stifled, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

The Bohemians required that, and were shent for their labour.

Great reasons of the Romanists to prove the communion under one kind.

Argument:—The church did abrogate the precept of the apostles of strangled and bloodings: ergo, the church likewise hath authority touching the ministrations under both kinds.

Ridley:—"My lord, such things as St Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, 'Do this,' that is, that which he did, 'in remembrance,' which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

Answer:—The precept of the apostles was but for a time, and for a purpose, by little and little to win the Jews.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

Lincoln:—"So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according

to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St Mary's Church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

Articles, jointly and severally ministered to DR RIDLEY and MASTER LATIMER, by the Pope's Deputy.

'In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolnensis, Iacobus Glocestrensis, et Iohannes Bristollensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum, miseratione divinâ S. Mariæ in Cosmedin, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum Cardinalem "Polum nuncupatum," sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum, autoritate sufficiente delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitate contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes,) specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet

[¹ In the name of God, amen!—We, John Bishop of Lincoln, James Bishop of Gloucester, and John Bishop of Bristol, delegated by the most reverend Lord Reginald "surnamed Pole," by divine mercy Cardinal Deacon of St Mary in Cosmedin of the holy Roman Church, legate of our most Holy Father the Pope, and of the Apostolic See, to the most serene sovereigns of England, Philip and Mary, and to the whole realm of England,—with sufficient authority to inquire concerning a certain matter of inquisition of heretical pravity against Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley claiming to be respectively bishops of Worcester and London; for this cause being especially delegated with power of inquiring against either of them, we do [accordingly] accuse and specify against them jointly and severally as follows. Ed.]

inquirendo proponimus, et articulamur conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur².

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

The Examination of DR RIDLEY upon the said Articles.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln:—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively or negatively."

² The articles here follow in Latin in the First Edition of Fox, page 1362, and will be found here in Appendix II.

Ridley :—"Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln :—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

Ridley :—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and license to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort, the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."

Then spake Dr Weston, one of the audience:

Weston :—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley :—"No, master doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds, and the high priests', which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln :—"Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley :—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit

The high priests had not power to put Christ to death, but they had power to commit him to Pilate, neither would they suffer him to absolve Christ.

Weston shooteth his bolt.

The protestation of Ridley.

you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your lordship will give me leave, I will shew the causes which move me thereunto."

Lincoln :—"No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley :—"I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln :—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears." Ridley not to speak.

Ridley :—"Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln :—"Well, Master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

Ridley :—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism." How the body of Christ may be said to be really, and how not really, in the sacrament.

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley :—"My lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it

Two questions under one. The papists and protestants, in granting the presence, do agree: only in the manner of being, they differ. How Christ may be in the sacrament, and how not.

is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead; only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectually Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

What change is in the sacramental bread.

Ridley:—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually representeth his body; that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no

Bread and wine not changed.

mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Ridley:—"That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth: with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost; and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: in like sort, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

Comparison between the communion and baptism.

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holy Ghost," as he did by the bread, "This is my body."

Difference put between the communion and baptism.

Then Master Ridley recited St Augustine, who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

Ridley:—"Christ, as St Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his; and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

Answer to the third article.

Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass is a derogation to Christ's passion.

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln :

Unbloody sacrifice.

Lincoln :—“ Indeed, as you allege out of St Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross : yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven ; the which is no derogation of Christ’s passion.”

Answer to the fourth article.

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which Master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false ; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly ; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said :

Ridley assigned to appear again the next day.

Lincoln :—“ To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St Mary’s church ; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article [for it was long before he was understood], if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require : but if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it.”

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Master Ridley, and sent for Master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

Here followeth the Second Day’s Session.

The next day following (which was the first day of October), somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St Mary’s church ; and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop’s feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience : for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After Master Ridley’s appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following :

Ridley’s appearance before the deputies.

Lincoln :—“ Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear ; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you ; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal’s grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning : for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his grace ; but in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope’s holiness [with that the bishop and all then present put off their caps, but Master Ridley moved not his] you said you neither could nor would by any means be induced to give him honour ; but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to

The words of Master White, bishop of Lincoln, to Ridley, about his cap.

Capping again at the name of the pope.

cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley refused to put off his cap to the pope, or to them which come from the pope.

Ridley :—"I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), neither for contempt of your lordships or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln :—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following:

The former examination of Ridley. The words of the bishop of Lincoln.

Lincoln :—"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper and ink, yea any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you [and therewith he put off his cap], not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and

in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St Augustine's meaning, in that you would have 'totus mundus' to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world: whereas, indeed, the process of St Augustine's words, will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not 'totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis,' &c., but first 'totus mundus Christianus Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est:' 'all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, 'in transmarinis partibus,' 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

The place of St Augustine again repeated, 'Totus mundus.'

But Master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

"I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called 'Mare Mediterraneum,' cast between Europe and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand."

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St Augustine. After long disceptation, the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St Augustine might be known by the consent of other the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But Master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, were none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the

How the catholics use to allege the doctors.

[¹ America was discovered by Columbus Aug. 4, 1498, but was not for some time regarded as a fourth quarter of the world. Fox, about 1566, makes the following remark, "The world being divided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the others." (Ed. 1836, vol. iv. p. 88.) Ed.]

doctors by some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

A place of Cyril alleged by Melancthon.

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against Master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common Places¹; and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before²: wherefore he passed it over.

"Argumentum a contrario sensu ex Cyrillo contra Judæos." Altars be erected in Christ's remembrance in Britain: Ergo, Christ is come. Altars be now plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come. Answer: This argument is not "a sensu contrario" for erecting of altars in the antecedent, and plucking down altars in the consequent, be not contrary. In the antecedent, Cyril meaneth the table, or else the celebration of the Lord's supper in his remem-

"Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: Ergo, Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, 'Altars are plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come.' A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

Dr Ridley smiling answered, "Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altare,' in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word 'altare,' not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name: Ergo, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: Ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be except itself be past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come

[¹ The "Loci Communes rerum Theol., seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ," first published at Wittenberg, 1521 (of which the second in 1522 has been consulted), does not mention the name of Cyril or any other under the head "De cœna Domini." They seem to have been written at first without alleging testimonies: these were afterwards added. Ed.]

[² This refers to a "proclamation set out by the King and Queen for the restraining of all books and writings tending against the doctrine of the Pope and his church": it is dated, Hampton Court, June 13, 1555. It is given by Fox (Ed. 1836, vol. vii. p. 127), and by Wilkins (Concilia, tom. iv. p. 198). Melancthon's name is specified in the proclamation, among many others. Ed.]

and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, [or] more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lincoln:—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive: and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley:—"Your lordship's unreverend terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln:—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles;" and eftsoons he read the first article in manner above specified. "Now, Master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then Master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure: therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln:—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

brance. In the consequent, by plucking down of altars, is meant the taking away of places and monuments serving not to the Lord's supper, but to idolatry, whereby the true table of the Lord's supper, in his remembrance, may be erected again.

Bishop White blasphemously calleth the board of the Lord's supper an oyster table.

The articles read again to Ridley; he not suffered to read his own.

With that Master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding Master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying that, except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertion.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Lincoln:—"In the first part, Master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

Ridley:—"No, my lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it."

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

First article.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Master Ridley's answer to it. Then Master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Master doctor Weston being prolocutor.

Second article.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Master Ridley to turn.

Gloucester:—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.'

The words of exhortation of Brooks to Ridley.

"But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the 'væ' and 'woe' which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit;' then, for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how, I pray you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for the con-

firmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

“It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church; with whom God promised to remain to the world’s end; to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost, which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church.”

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade Master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom Master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, “Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit;” but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in himself, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said Master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Master Cranmer; for at what time he was a young scholar, then was Master Cranmer a doctor; so that he confessed that Master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:—

Gloucester:—“Why, Master Ridley, it is your own confession; for Master Latimer, at the time of his disputation,

confessed his learning to lie in Master Cranmer’s books, and Master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing.”

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God’s word; and therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to shew his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Dr Weston, who sat by, and said, “Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already.” Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his license; but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And eftsoons Master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

Lincoln:—“Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I assure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than ‘dolentes et gementes:’ for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you.”

Whereunto Master Ridley answered, “I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdensome to your soul.”

Lincoln:—“Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive

The determination of the church is only that, whereupon our catholic men do ground their faith.

A brief answer of Ridley to bishop Brooks’s tale.

Ridley could not for his conscience yield to the pope’s doctrine.

Weston shooteth his bolt.

Ridley limited no more but forty words to speak.

Note, reader, the extreme dealing of the papists.

the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you, hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before¹, we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this:

"That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; Secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration; Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead; and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol,) did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently, both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical orders; declaring moreover the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

A Communication between DR BROOKS, and DR RIDLEY, in the house of MASTER IRISH, the 15th day of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the mean season upon the 15th day in the morning and the same year abovesaid, Dr Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr Marshal, with divers other of the chief and heads of the same uni-

[¹ Fox refers to the degradation of Hooper previously related. Ed.]

versity, and many others accompanying them, came unto Master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs, against their wills, proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

No mercy to be had without consenting to iniquity.

"But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

"My lord," quoth Dr Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

Answer of Ridley to Dr Brooks. O worthy champion of Christ's church.

Gloucester :—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley :—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning

With that their caps went off, but Dr Ridley held on his cap.

the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

Ridley commanded to silence, when otherwise he could not be convinced.

And here Dr Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered; and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley :—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

Gloucester :—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley :—"Not I, truly."

Gloucester :—"But you must."

Ridley :—"I will not."

Gloucester :—"You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley :—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Gloucester :—"Will you not do it upon you?"

Ridley :—"No, that I will not."

Gloucester :—"It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Ridley :—"Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; 'the servant is not above his master.' If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants!"

Ridley refuseth to put on the surplice.

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play; insomuch that bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr Ridley answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Ridley inveigheth against the bishop of Rome and his foolish apparel.

Gloucester :—"Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr Brooks; "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well!" So they proceeded in their doings; yet nevertheless Dr Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

Master Edridge giveth counsel, that Ridley should be gagged.

Degrading of Ridley.

When they came to that place where Dr Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

Ridley would not let come in his hand the chalice and wafer-cake.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At which words Dr Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" And as they put upon him the mass gear, so they began with the uppermost garment,

Ridley degraded from preaching.

in taking it away again reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

All the glittering of antichrist's kingdom consisteth in apish toys.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr Ridley said unto Dr Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then Master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but Master Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Master Ridley said,

A praise of Bertram's book upon the Sacrament.

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better."

Note the charity of papists.

This bishop was doctor Bonner.

Then he read the same¹; and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done." And with that he read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them."

Ridley's sister put from her lease by Bonner.

Ridley:—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

Gloucester:—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it; and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley:—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience herein; and God's will be done."

Gloucester:—"I will do what lieth in me."

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Master Ridley in praising God burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime; for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But Master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed;

Ridley could not with any notorious crime be charged.

[¹ This supplication will be found among the letters. Ed.]

and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure¹, bade Dr Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

The behaviour of DR RIDLEY at his Supper, the night before his suffering.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper the same night at Master Irish's (who was his keeper), he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married:" and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say; with all her heart:" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful,

[¹ Fox, in his first edition, has a note, "this was one Master Warner, as I remember." This note, in subsequent editions, was expunged, and it would appear with reason; for the Dr Warner in question was probably the warden of All Souls. (See Wood's Fasti, in his Athenæ Oxonienses.) Dr Warner was warden before the reign of Mary, and afterwards; for he was a Protestant, and was on that ground deprived of his office during the reign of Mary. It is therefore hardly likely that such a man would have used the words here attributed to him. Ed.]

Ridley biddeth guests to his marriage.

Mrs Irish, a great papist before, weepeth for Dr Ridley.

yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," &c.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

Ridley without care at his death.

The behaviour of DR RIDLEY and MASTER LATIMER, at the time of their death, which was the 16th of October, 1555.

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college, the place of execution was appointed; and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let^a the burning of^a hinder them, the lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred² likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side the honour they sometime had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows; disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that

Ridley and Latimer brought together to the stake.

[² "With a tippet of sables." Edit. 1563. Ed.]

Behaviour
of Ridley
and Latimer
at the stake.

occasion. Then Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other; where first Dr Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced and kissed him; and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed; and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Dr Smith
preaching at
the burning
of Ridley
and Lati-
mer.

Then Dr Smith, of whose recantation in king Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St Paul, "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby¹." Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Ecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places

Dr Smith
raileth
against the
martyrs.

Christ's
congrega-
tion bur-
dened with
diversity of
opinions.

¹ "Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio." 1 Cor. xiii.

of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr Ridley said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom Master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Master Ridley, "No," quoth Dr Marshall. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying Master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Ridley ready
to answer
Smith's ser-
mon, but
not suffered.

Marshall,
vice-chan-
cellor of
Oxford,
stoppeth
Ridley.

Ridley com-
mitteth his
cause to
God.

Latimer's
words when
he could not
be suffered
to answer
Dr Smith.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his

own charges to provide him necessaries, which, from time to time, he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

Ridley giveth away his apparel and other gifts to the people.

He gave away besides divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; and to divers of my lord Williams' gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases¹ of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Latimer at the stake in his shirt.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped unto his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly² see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain; and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I will give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Ridley thanketh God for his martyrdom, and prayeth for England.

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr Ridley's, and Master Latimer's middle: and as he was knocking in a staple, Dr Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course."

[¹ Pieces, or roots. Ed.]

[² Lightly—easily or commonly. Ed.]

Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I will take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother?" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

Gunpowder given to the martyrs.

In the mean time Dr Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say, the bishop that now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Ridley's suit to the lord of Thame, for leases of poor men.

Bonner taketh away the leases from poor men, granted before by Ridley.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

The church lightened by the martyrdom of saints.

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum." And after repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had

Latimer's prayer and martyrdom.

stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeared) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God), he shewed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Ridley long
in burning.

The death
and martyr-
dom of
Ridley.

The lament-
ing hearts
of the people
at the mar-
tyrdom of

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding

the horrible sight; for I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

these two
saints.