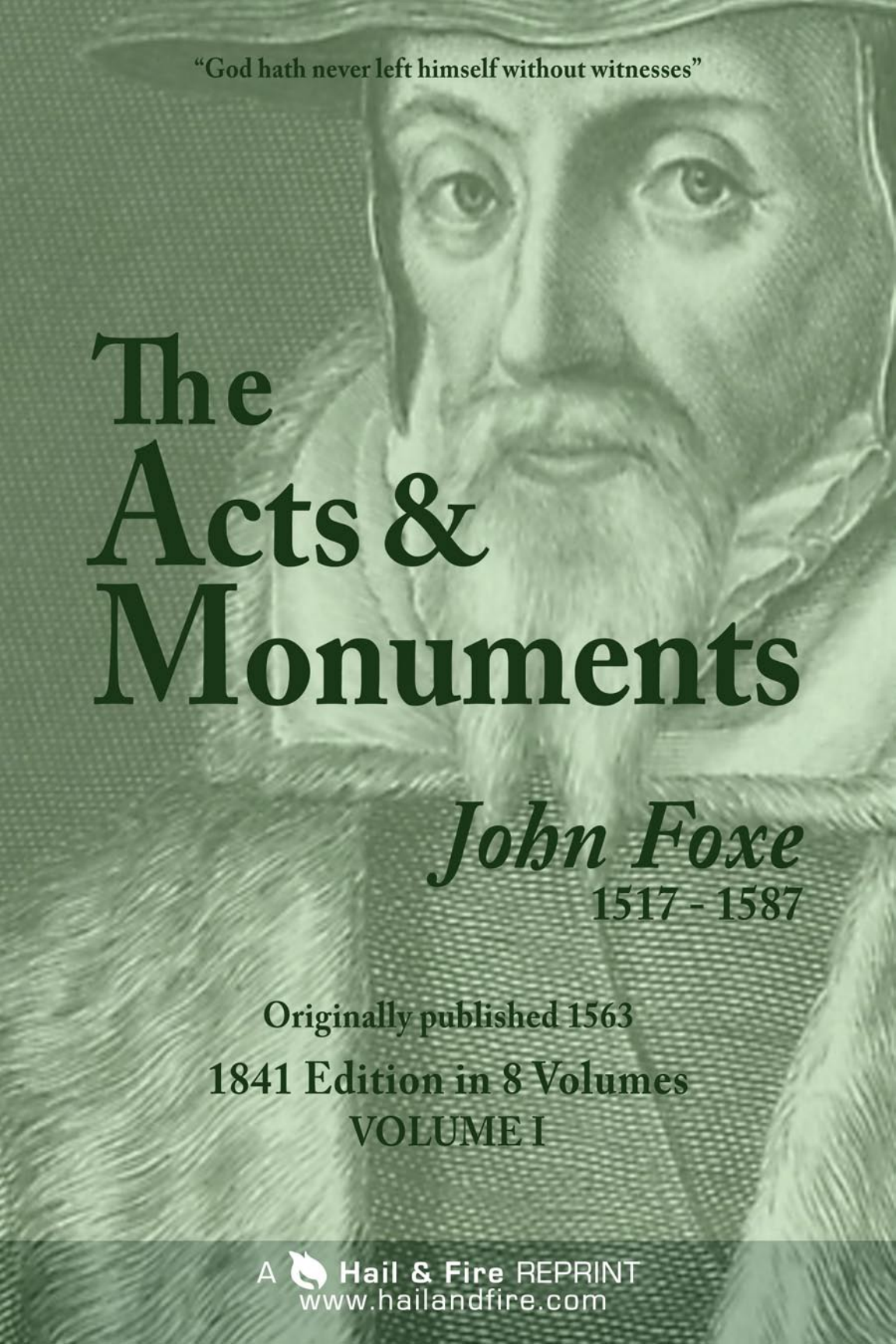


"God hath never left himself without witnesses"

The Acts & Monuments

John Foxe

1517 - 1587

Originally published 1563

1841 Edition in 8 Volumes

VOLUME I

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Category: Religion, Christian, Protestant Martyrology

John Foxe
English Protestant and Martyrologist (1517 - 1587) who recorded the persecutions of those who were pursued, tortured, condemned and martyred for the faith of the Gospel, especially in the early era of the Reformation and under the Catholic Inquisition.

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TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

VOL. I.

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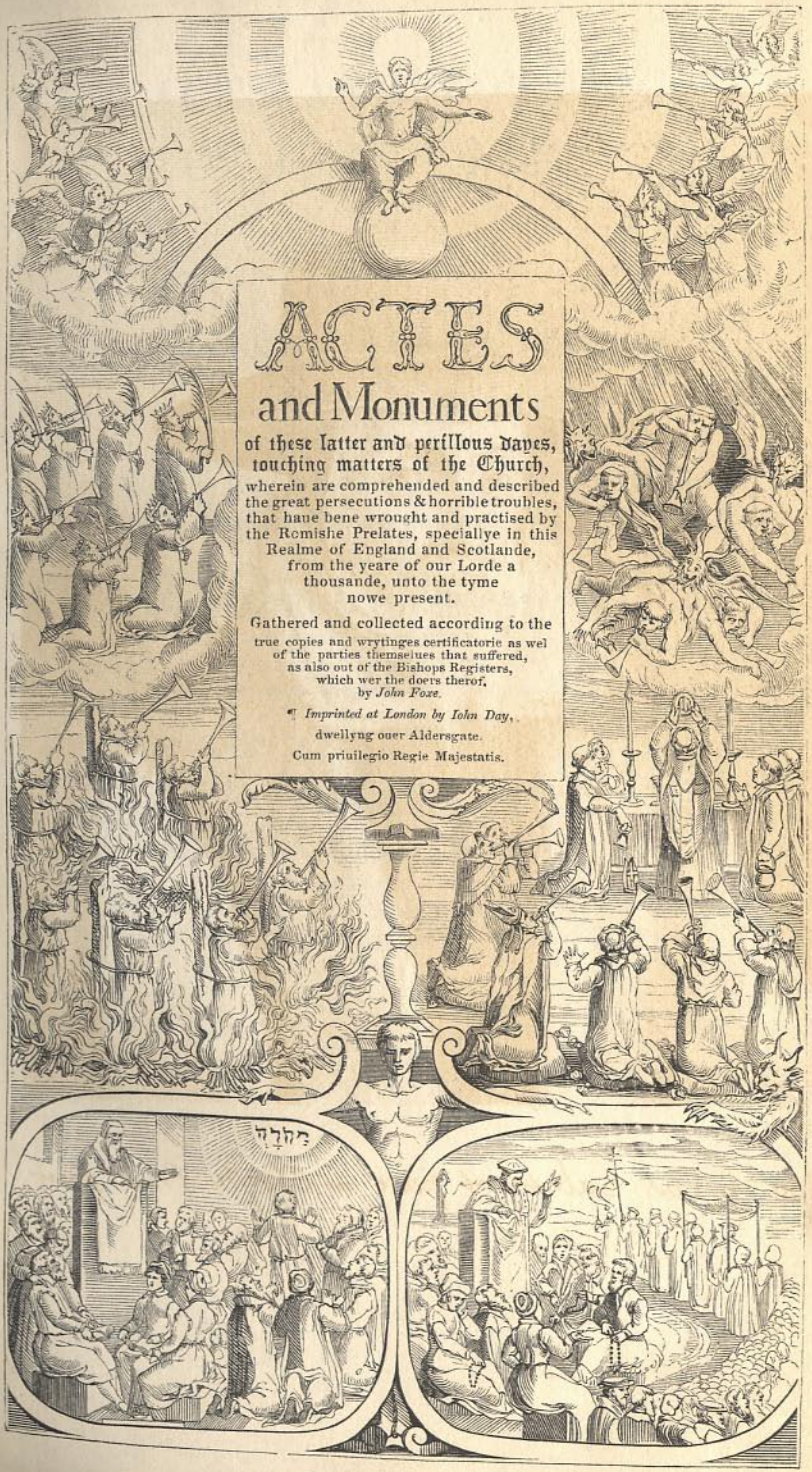


Joa. foxus Salutē et pace in Christo, sine fine.

Published by R.B.Seeley & W.Burnside, London, 1841.

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TO HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

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

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

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

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

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

Your Majesty's most faithful,

And very devoted Subject and Servant,

STEPHEN REED CATTLEY.

FULHAM,
December 15th, 1836.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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

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TO ——— ——— ESQ.

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

My Dear Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Acts i. 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Bull of pope Clement III. 1188.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) Beattie.

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

(1) Guizot, p. 362.

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

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

(1) See Guizot, p. 430.

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

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

(1) See the Memoirs of Madame du Barry, and other compilers of the same kind. So much of the contents of these works are to be depended upon, that the profligacy of the higher classes must be believed in spite of Mr. Burke's palliation.
(2) Guizot's Civilization of Modern Europe, p. 27.

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

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

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

(2) Miller's Philosophy of Modern History.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Nos breviter ostendamus hæreticos incorrigibiles ac præsertim relapsos posse et debere ab ecclesia ejici, et a sæcularibus potestatibus temporalibus pœnis atque ipsa etiam morte mulctandi.—Bellarm. de Laicis III. 21. sec. ii. tom. II. p. 548. Edit. Par. 1613.
Bellarmine concludes the chapter in these words—Denique hæreticis obstinatis beneficium est, quod de hac vita tollantur.

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Bp. Hall's Works, vol. ix. p. 396, Pratt's Edition.

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

(1) Preface to Ecclesiastical Biography.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(1) Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Judges xiv. 8, 9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours,

GEORGE TOWNSEND.

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LIFE OF JOHN FOXE,

&c. &c.

PART I.

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

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

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

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

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SECTION I.

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

A.D. 1517 TO 1545. — ÆT. 28.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* 31 Henry VIII. c. xiv.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) In quâ domo uxorem postea duxit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Foxe remained at Reigate with his pupils throughout the whole reign

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

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

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

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

The brief information of Daye deserves more attention than it might

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

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

(2) Godwin, de Præsulibus, p. 236.

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

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

(1) Bingham, book xiv. c. 4. sec. 4.

(2) Burnet's Reformation, Collection of Records to Book I. pt. ii. No. 2. Leslie's Care of the Regale and Pontificate, pp. 39, 41.

(3) Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 222.

(4) This date is according to the Book of Ordination of 1550, now in St. Paul's. "Deacon, June 23d, 1550. (Foxus) Master John Foxe, Master of Arts, residing in the House of the Duke of Norfolk, born at Boston, in the Diocese of Lincoln, by Letters Commendatory in that behalf (in eal. parte) laudably bestowed." Copy from Ordination Book.

"1550, 25 Junii, Mag. Joh. Fox, A.M. moram trahens cum Domina Ducissa Suffolc. oriundus apud Boston, Linc. Disc. ordinatus Diaconus per Nichum. Lond. Epum. Reg. Ridley."—Lansdowne MSS. 982, p. 103.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Troubles at Frankfort.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION III.

FOXE'S RESIDENCE ABROAD.

A. D. 1554 TO 1559.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) November 12th, 1554.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grindal to Bishop Ridley.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tuus Jo. Foxus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) *Ad Edmundum Grindallum*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Your lovynge frende,
T. CANT."

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

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

(1) A priest of Lorraine.

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

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

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

Grindal to Foxe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, tuus."

"Argentina V. calend. Jan. 1557."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Spelling of the MS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Holinshed, p. 1143.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) November 24th, 1556.

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

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

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

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

(1) November 29th, 1556.

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

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

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

(2) Feb. 4, 1555.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) "*Ad Lectorem.*

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

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

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

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

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

(5) "*Grindal to Foxe.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, tuus."[a]

"Argentinæ, raptim 19 Decemb. 1558."

(a) Life of Grindal, p. 31.

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

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

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

"The mightie comforte of the Holie Ghost for salutation.

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

(1) Hallam's Literature of Europe, vol. ii. p. 509, London, 1859.

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

"Youre brother to power,

"JOHNE KNOX."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"JOAN. FOXUS."

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SECTION IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

" Your pupil, " THOMAS NORFOLK.[2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Your in Christ, "JOHN FOXE."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Tuus scholasticus amantissimus. . . "THO. NORFFOL."

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

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

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

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

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

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

" T. H."[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

" JOHN FOXE." [2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"THOMAS DOLLMAN."[2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Your assured frend,

"JOHN NORWICH." [1]

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

(1) Harl. MSS. No. 416, art. 109, p. 175.

(2) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 44. Oxford Edit.

(3) "Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo tertio. Shipton prebendæ institutio.

"Ultimo die mensis Maii anno Domini prædicto, prænarratus Reverendus pater dominum Johannem Foxum clericum ad canonicatum in ecclesia sua cathedralis Sarum, et prebendam de Shipton in eadem per mortem naturalem Petri Vannes clerici ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, juxta præsentationem Serenissimæ in Christo principis et dominæ, dominæ Elizabeth, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defensor, &c. veri et indubitati ejusdem prebendæ patroni, admisit. Ipsumque canonicum et prebendarium et de eisdem in persona Johannis Randall procuratoris sui legitime constituti instituit et investivit cum suis juribus et pertinentibus universis prestitis primitiis per eundem procuratorem in antejam dicti Johannis Fox prebendarii sic instituti juramento corporali juxta formam statuti in ea parte editi &c. Necnon de legitima obedientia dicto Domino Episcopo et successoribus suis commisitque sibi cura sive onusque vel quod dicto canonicatui et prebendæ incumbit. Et scriptum fuit Decano et Capitulo pro ipsius installacione et inductione."—Register of Bishop Jewel in *anno suprà*.

In addition to this the following entry appears in the Chapter Register of Salisbury:—

"Die lunæ vij. ultimo die mensis Maii Anno Domini 1563 in domo capitulari ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sarum Magistris Parry, Presidente, Lancaster, Chandler, Proctor, et Bradbrydge, Canonicis residentibus, ac Stephano Cheston, Roberto Ryve, Ric. Reade, Johnne Fawley, et Roberto Mody Canonicis prebendatibus, et capitularibus congregatis et capitulum facientibus, dictus Magister Jacobus Pctor (Proctor) procurator Magistri Johannis Fox prebendarii prebendæ de Shipton exhibuit procurationem

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

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

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

Among other fallacies frequently maintained by those who object to the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) June 14, 1547.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Soames' Elizabethan History, chap. i.

(3) Strype's Grindal, p. 175. Soames, p. 76.

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

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

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

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

(2) "Salutem. Literæ tuæ, mi D. Foxe, fuerant mihi longe gratissimæ unarum libello de papistarum tyrannide, quam tamen obiter tantum inspicere hîc licuit: domum reversus diligentius percurram, suspicor enim, te, licet nomen non adjeceris, operis ejus autorem. Pro utroque ingentes tibi gratias ago, et quam suavissimas litteras animi tui erga me testes notissimas et elegantissimum libellum ad me miseris. Quod si etiam libellum de statu Belgico misisses, rem adhuc mihi gratiorem fecisses, non quod illo carere diutius nequeam, sed quod verear ne omnino aliquando pereat, non indignus alioqui quin legatur et in lucem etiam aliquando prodeat. Libenter aliquid librorum ad te misissem, hoc tempore a me excusorum, si recipere eorum curam quisquam voluisset; vix effeci ut literas reciperent. Sed proximis nundinis, citius fortasse curabo. Bene vale, doctissime Foxe, et de recognoscendis aliquibus martyribus tuis quæso serio etiam cogita. Franckofordiæ, Sept. 1, 1562.
—Harl. MSS. No. 417, Art. 43, fol. 108. b. "JOAN. OPORINUS tuus ex animo."

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yours, "JOHN NORWIC."[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Oxo. Tuus Lau. Humfred.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"JOHN HALLE."[1]

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

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

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

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

The letter is dated July 6, 1568, and signed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yours in the Lorde to command, WILLM PLAYFERE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Ephes. i.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Gal. i. 9.

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

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

"Yours to commande, "GEORGE NORTON."

"To the worshipful Mr. Foxe, these."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Those infatuated men who are reviving ancient errors, and enforcing

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

(2) Uti nuperrime excusa sunt Londini.

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

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

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

The decrees to which I refer are these—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) See Lawrence's Bampton Lectures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Convocation's Submission.

We your most humble subjects, daily oratours, and beadsmen of your *clergy of England*, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of; and doubting nothing but that the same shall continue, and daily increase in your majesty;

I.

First do offer and promise, *in verbo sacerdotii*, here unto your highness, SUBMITTING ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will *never from henceforth enact, put in use, promulge, or execute* any *new canons*, or constitution provincial, or any *new ordinance* provincial or synodal, *in our convocation or synod, in time coming* (which *convocation* is, always hath been, and must be assembled only by your high commandment or writ), unless your highness by your royal assent, shall *license* us to *assemble* our *convocation*, and to *make, promulge*, and execute SUCH *constitutions* and *ordinances* as *shall be made in the same*, and thereto give your *royal assent* and *authority*.

II.

Secondarily, That whereas divers of the constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which *hath been heretofore enacted*, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your highness'

The Parliament's Recital.

Whereas the king's humble and obedient subjects, the *clergy of the realm of England*, have not only knowledged according to the truth, that the *convocations* of the same *clergy* is, always hath been, and ought to be assembled only by the king's writ; but also, SUBMITTING themselves to the king's majesty;

I.

Have promised in *verbo sacerdotii* that they will never from henceforth presume to *attempt, alledge, claim*, or *put in use*, or *enact*, promulge, or execute any *new canons, constitutions, ordinance*, provincial or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the convocation, unless the *king's* most *royal assent* and *license* may to them be had to *make, promulge*, and *execute* the same, and that his majesty do give his most royal assent and authority in that behalf.

II.

And whereas divers constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which *heretofore hath been enacted*, and be thought not only to be much prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, and repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm, but

Enactment upon the Recital.

Be it therefore now enacted by authority of this Parliament, according to the said SUBMISSION and PETITION, of the said clergy,

I.

That they or any of them from henceforth shall not presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in use, any constitutions or ordinance provincial, or synodals, or any other canons, nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any SUCH canons, constitutions, or ordinance provincial, by whatsoever name or names they may be called in their convocations in time coming, which always shall be assembled by authority of the king's writ, unless the same clergy may have the king's most royal assent and license to make, promulge, and execute SUCH canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial or synodal, upon pain of every one of the said clergy doing contrary to this act, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment and make fine at the king's will.

II.

And forasmuch as such canons, constitutions, and ordinances, as *heretofore hath been made* by the clergy of this realm, cannot now at the *session* of this present parliament, by reason of shortness of time, be viewed, examined, and determined by the king's high-

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The Convocation's Submission.

subjects, your clergy aforesaid is *contented* if it may stand with your highness' pleasure that it be committed to the examination and judment of your grace, and of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporality, and other sixteen of the clergy; all to be chosen and appointed by your most noble grace; so that finally, which soever of the said constitutions, ordinances, or canons, provincial or synodal, shall be thought and determined by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, not to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, the same to be abrogated and taken away by your grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be seen by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, do stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, to stand in full strength and power, your grace's most royal assent and authority once impetrate and fully given to the same.

The Parliament's Recital.

also overmuch onerous to his highness and his subjects, the said clergy hath most humbly BESOUGHT the king's highness, that the said constitutions and canons may be committed to the examination and judgment of his highness and of thirty-two persons of the king's subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of parliament of the temporality, and other sixteen to be of the clergy of this realm, and all the said thirty-two persons to be chosen and appointed by the king's majesty. And that such of the said constitutions as shall be thought and determined by the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them worthy to be abrogated and annulled, shall be abolite, and made of no value accordingly. And such other of the same constitutions and canons as by the said thirty-two or the more part of them, shall be approved to stand with the laws of God, and consonant to the laws of this realm, shall stand in their full strength and power, the king's most royal assent first had and obtained to the same.

Enactment upon the Recital.

ness and thirty-two persons, to be chosen and appointed according to the PETITION of the said clergy, in form above rehearsed, be it therefore enacted by authority aforesaid, that the king's highness shall have power and authority to nominate and assign at his pleasure the said thirty-two persons of his subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the clergy, and sixteen to be of the temporality of the upper and nether house of the parliament. And if any of the said thirty-two persons so chosen happen to die before their full determination, then his highness to nominate other from time to time of the said two houses of parliament to supply the number of the said thirty-two. And that the said thirty-two by his highness so to be named, shall have power and authority to view, search, and examine the said canons, constitutions, and ordinance provincial and synodal, heretofore made; and such of them as the king's highness, and the said thirty-two, or the more part of them, shall deem and adjudge worthie to be continued, kept, and obeyed, shall be from thenceforth kept, obeyed, and executed within this realm, so that the king's most royal assent under his great seal be first had to the same. And the residue of the said canons, constitutions, and ordinance provincial which the king's highness and the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them, shall not approve or deem worthie, to be abolit, abrogate, and made frustrate, shall from thenceforth be void and of *none effect*, and never be put in execution within this realm.

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

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

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lifetime of Henry VIII., a fresh act was passed with the same object in 1549. Commissioners are said to have been named shortly afterwards in pursuance of its provisions; but if this was the fact, they seem to have made little progress in the business, for a new commission was issued in October, 1551, to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers; of whom eight were selected to gather and put in order the materials. "But the matter," says Strype, "was in effect wholly entrusted by the king to Cranmer, the archbishop, who associated to himself in the active part of the work, Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon." And this account is confirmed by the numerous corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer and Peter Martyr, which may still be seen in a MS. copy of the projected code preserved in the British Museum.[1] The commission (attached to the edition of the work, 1640,) is dated Nov. 11, 1551, and seems to have superseded that of October, for the sole purpose of substituting the names of Goodrich, bishop of Ely, William May, and Richard Goodrich, for those of Ridley, Traheron, and Gosnold. A reason may easily be found for the introduction of the bishop of Ely into this commission, as it had recently been determined, on the disgrace of lord Rich, to raise him to the office of lord chancellor. The code was completed by these commissioners, but not early enough to obtain the force of law before the death of king Edward.[2]

The premature death of king Edward having thus rendered the design abortive, an attempt was made in the year 1571 to revive the plan. The parliament having met in April, seven bills for the regulation of the church were brought under discussion. Mr. Strickland was the principal speaker. He reminded the house, that the book of the Reformatio Legum still existed, and was now in the hands of Mr. Norton, a member of that house; and that Mr. Foxe, the martyrologist, had newly published the same.[3] Parker had probably selected Foxe to edit the book, or he had perhaps directed his attention to it, on account of the uncertainty of the law on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline. It is certain that he had been engaged upon it for some time previously to its publication, as appears by a letter to Cecil in favour of Daye the printer, and another from Lawrence Humphrey to himself, dated 1566. The book was printed, and placed in the possession of the members of the house. The materials had been left by Sir John Cheke, Haddon, Cranmer, Coxe, Peter Martyr; by Taylor and May, the civilians; and by Lucas and Goodrich, common lawyers, who had been employed upon it in 1551.[4] If any name would have commanded its adoption, it would have been that of Foxe as its editor, for his popularity was now at its height. But the members of the House of Commons who desired to bring the book again into notice, belonged to the puritan party, which was now beginning to obtain influence; and it was found then, as it is now, that the most useful and undoubted truths which can be submitted to the approbation of a

(1) Harl. MSS. 426, and Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns, vol. i. p. cviii.
(2) Documentary Annals, by Cardwell, vol. i. pp. 95, 96, note, 1839.
(3) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 66, folio edition.
(4) Strype's Cranmer, book ii. c. 26.

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community, are regarded neither for their usefulness nor their truth, but are valued or despised, according to the estimation of the party which may propose them. So useful were the principal laws of the Reformatio Legum considered by bishop Burnet, that he earnestly desired their enactment.[1] Elizabeth, however, jealous of their supposed encroachment on her supremacy, told the Commons, that she had seen their articles,[2] and liked them well, but would do something of herself. This unjustifiable interference again put a stop to the proceedings. The subsequent canons of the convocations, in 1571; of James the First, in 1603; of archbishop Laud, in 1640, which excited so much opposition, have not supplied the omission; and the canon law of England still requires the alterations and revision which might recommend the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline to the convocation, which must eventually once more assemble, and to the government, which will receive with respect the decisions of that convocation. The book, however, was published by Foxe, under the direction of archbishop Parker.[3]

The work was deemed to be of so much importance by our ancestors, and it has been considered by many, even in the present day, to be a system so valuable both as to doctrine and discipline, and to possess, also, so much claim to our veneration as one of the best digests of canon law, that I shall venture to insert here a brief abstract of its contents. The doctrine of Toleration, it must be remembered, was not then known. The only improvement which was now made in the proposed laws which were to regulate the formation and publication of opinions, was a diminution in the severity of punishment: and these provisions would be justly considered in the present day to be utterly abhorrent to the spirit of Christianity, as it was propounded by our blessed Saviour, and is rightly understood in modern times. The church of Christ in England understands well its high privilege and duty—first to persuade, and then to suffer. It never can fulfil its office as the imitator of Christ, by believing that it may teach, and punish. The abstract of the Reformatio Legum, is given both by Collier and Soames.

The whole compilation is digested under fifty-one heads, and is concluded by a supplementary chapter upon the rules of administering justice.

The first head asserts the doctrine of the Trinity, and denounces the penalty of death, with confiscation of goods, against such as should

(1) "God grant," he exclaims, "that a day may come, in which that noted design, so near being perfected in king Edward's days, may be revived and established."—History of His Own Time, ap. fin.

(2) See Dr. Winchester's Dissertation on the Seventeenth Article, Oxford edit. 1773, p. 47.

(3) Ex Officinâ Joh. Daii, 1571, Mense Aprilis. Dr. Winchester cites an edition of 1641, which he calls the *second*. Dissert. on the 17th Art. ut supra p, 52. The real second edition, which I possess, is dated 1640, "typis T. H. et R. H. impensis Laurentii Sadler habitantes in Parvâ Britannia, &c." But there are certainly copies which bear another notification, with the date 1641, viz. "impensis Societatis Stationariorum." One of these is in the Lambeth Library. It is the same book with a different title-page. Todd's Declaration of our Reformers on Free-will, Original Sin, Grace, &c. London, 1818. Preface, pp. 15—18. See also Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 57; Oldmixon, pp. 185—418; Biog. Brit. vol. iv. p. 420, art. Cranmer; Short's Sketch, vol. i. p. 406; Le Bas' Jewel, p. 187; Collier, vol. ii. pp. 326—333, where he gives an epitome of the work; Nares' Life of Burghley, vol. i. p. 338, vol. ii. p. 572; Lingard, vol. iv. p. 462; Burnet, Ref. vol. iii. p. 226; Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 97, Oxf. ed.; Strype's Parker, vol. ii. p. 62; Soames' Elizabethan Rel. Hist. p. 148. Among the commissioners for drawing up the code in Edward's time, John Alasco was numbered. Krasinski's Ref. in Poland, vol. i. p. 264.

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deny the catholic faith. The canonical books of Scripture are enumerated, those termed apocryphal being omitted; but these are pronounced useful for edification, though not for the proofs of any doctrine. It is declared that ecclesiastical authority is subjected to Scripture; that the first four general councils are to be received, and that the works of the fathers are to be highly respected, but that the decision of no council or father is to be admitted, unless found in unison with Holy Writ.

In the second place, certain opinions upon the Trinity, the Saviour, the Scriptures, original sin, justification, the mass, and purgatory, are pronounced heretical. Thus our reformers boldly retorted the charges of Romanists upon themselves, and ranked religious opinions incapable of proof from Scripture, among heresies. They also censured such as taught the unlawfulness of the magistracy, the community of goods or of wives, the universal right of assuming the pastoral office, the merely symbolical nature of sacraments, the unlawfulness of infant baptism, the impossibility of salvation to the unbaptized, transubstantiation, the unlawfulness of marriage, especially in the clergy, the papal power, and apologies for a vicious life drawn from predestination.

The third and fourth divisions relate to the punishment of heresy and wilful blasphemy. Prosecutions for these offences were to be instituted in the diocesan courts, with liberty of appeal to the archbishop, and from him to the king. Persons accused were to stand committed until trial, in default of giving security for their appearance when called upon. If they refused to appear after a lawful citation, they were to be excommunicated and committed. In case of recantation, they were publicly to renounce their heterodoxy, to swear against a relapse, and to profess their belief in the contrary doctrine. If after conviction they should refuse to do these things, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm. If a clergyman were convicted of heresy, his recantation was not to recover his preferment for him.

The fifth division asserts that Baptism and the Lord's Supper alone are properly sacraments; directs the imposition of hands in consecrating bishops, and ordaining inferior ministers, the public solemnization of marriages, the confirmation of such as are capable of giving an account of their baptismal vow, and the visitation of the sick by parochial ministers.

The sixth imposes punishment at the ordinary's discretion upon persons admitting the practice of idolatry, witchcraft, and the like. Restitution also was to be made to any who might have been injured by these practices. Those who might refuse to submit, after conviction of such offences, were to be excommunicated.

The seventh respects preachers, of whom two sorts were to be allowed: one licensed to particular parishes, the other to a whole diocese. Bishops were to take care that both sorts should be sufficiently examined before a license was conferred, and to summon the itinerants before them, once in every year, in order to learn from them what parts

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of the diocese most needed spiritual direction. All preachers were to avoid novelties of doctrine or expression, needless questions, and superstitious conceits. Laymen, especially persons of consideration, are charged to be constant in attending sermons; and any who should disturb a preacher in the exercise of his duty were to be repelled from the church and communion, until they should have given him satisfaction.

The three following divisions relate to the intercourse between the sexes. Marriages were to be celebrated in the church after banns asked on three following Sundays or holidays, and were to be invalid unless solemnized according to the form in the book of Common Prayer. Seducers were to be excommunicated, unless they married their victims: or if that were impracticable, they were to confer upon them the third part of their goods, maintain the fruit of their amour, and undergo a discretionary punishment. The marriage of minors, unless allowed by parents or guardians, was to be invalid; but if the parties applying for such consent should encounter any unreasonable difficulty, they were to have the liberty of appealing to the ordinary. The impediments to marriage are enumerated, and that state is declared free to all; but it is recommended, that in contracting it, a great disparity of years should be avoided. Polygamy is condemned as contrary to the first institution of marriage recorded in Genesis. Forcible marriages are pronounced null. Women are recommended to suckle their offspring, and preachers are directed to censure the contrary practice. The prohibited degrees are settled according to the Levitical law; and spiritual kindred, or the imaginary relationship derived from baptismal sponsors, is declared no bar to marriage. Adultery was to be punished in clergymen by the forfeiture of their benefices, banishment, or imprisonment for life, and the confiscation of their goods for the use of their wives and children, if they had any, if not, for that of the poor. A layman convicted of this crime was to restore his wife's portion to her, and to augment it by the half of his own fortune. Adulteresses were to forfeit their jointures, and also their pecuniary advantages accruing to them from marriage; besides being banished or imprisoned for life. The innocent party was to have the liberty of marrying again: but if there appeared a reasonable hope of amendment on the offending side, it was recommended that a reconciliation should be attempted. The criminal was to be restrained from a new marriage. Separations between married persons were not to be allowed until a divorce had been legally pronounced. This remedy was conceded in cases of adultery, desertion, long absence, deadly enmities, and cruelty. But mere separation from bed and board is pronounced unreasonable, and contrary to Scripture.

The next three divisions concern the clergy. Bishops were to be very particular in examining the qualifications of all coming for holy orders. Patrons were to consider their rights as a trust, not as a source of unworthy gain. Simoniacal contracts were to void the benefice, disqualify the clerk from holding another, and deprive the patron of that turn.

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Before admission to livings, clergymen were to be examined by the archdeacon, with the assistance of triers appointed by the bishop. Pluralities were to be wholly forbidden in future. Residence was to be strictly enforced, unless reasonable grounds for exceeding it could be shown to the bishop. Within two months of institution a clerk was to fix himself upon his benefice. Bastards, unless eminently qualified for the sacred function, were to be excluded from ordination; but on no account was a patron's presentation to a benefice of his own illegitimate son to be accepted. Natural infirmities, unless such as incapacitate the party from duly officiating, were not to disqualify for orders. Among such disqualifications, however, is placed highly-offensive breath. Before institution, clergymen were to swear that they had made no simoniacal contract, nor would make any, nor abide by any made for them, and that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the church; also that they would adhere to the received doctrine and discipline, that they would renounce the pope, and acknowledge the king as supreme earthly head of the national establishment.

The fourteenth division provides, that persons injured in character by slanderous reports, or acquitted in a court of justice merely from insufficient evidence, were to come forward and clear themselves, or be excluded from the church. Such individuals were to make an affidavit that they were innocent of the crime imputed to them, and to bring, as compurgators, men of their own particular condition, and of unblemished fame, to swear that they considered this affidavit truly sworn. Those who suffered in reputation from frequenting any particular house, were to be inhibited from going thither. Duelling and superstitious ordeals of every kind, were forbidden.

Under the three following heads are arranged various regulations for the management of ecclesiastical property, and of capitular and collegiate bodies. The eighteenth division discovers a picture of rapacity in the patrons of benefices, amply sufficient to account for the extreme poverty which overwhelmed many clergymen in those days. Some mercenary trustees, for the spiritual advantage of a parish, appear to have presented a clerk under an agreement that they were to have all the profits of a benefice, a paltry stipend alone being promised to the degraded presentee. Others bargained, that their clerk should retain the tithes, but give up the glebe; others reserved the parsonage-house for their own use; but the bulk of these unworthy traffickers appear to have agreed that they should receive an annual pension from preferments in their gift. All these contracts were pronounced void: and whenever the ordinary should have reason to suspect the existence of such, he was to delay institution, until the presentee should clear himself of the imputation by the prescribed forms of canonical purgation. Any such agreement discovered after a clerk was in possession of a benefice, was to render him liable to ejection from it, and incapable of ever taking another.

The nineteenth regulates public worship. In cathedral and collegiate

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churches the common prayer was to be said every morning; to which the litany was to be added on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the communion-service on holidays. The evening prayer was to be said every day, and all persons maintained by the revenues of the church were to be constantly present at these services, unless they could fairly excuse their absence. In these large churches the communion was to be administered on every Sunday and holiday, and the bishop, together with all inferior members of the establishment, was to receive it. The service was to be performed in a plain manner, without needless refinements in the music, so that the people might understand it, and join in it. Sermons were to be preached only in the afternoon, lest they should draw the people from their own parish churches. In these, unless the parish were very large, was to be no sermon, except in the morning. In the afternoon, an hour was to be spent in explaining the catechism. After evening prayers, the minister was to consult with his principal parishioners upon relieving the poor, censuring scandalous livers, and exercising penitential discipline. Persons desirous of receiving the communion were to come on the day before its administration, to the minister, in order to give an account of their consciences, and their belief. Divine service was not to be said, or the sacraments administered in private houses, without necessity, unless in the families of peers, or in other very large establishments.

The twentieth concerns the ecclesiastical order. Unmarried clergymen were not to retain as housekeepers any woman under sixty years of age, unless their own near relations. A rural dean was to be chosen every year for each deanery, who was to lay the behaviour of both clergy and laity within his district before the diocesan. The archdeacon was always to be a priest resident within the archdeaconry, who was to visit twice in every year, and to report the results of his observation to the bishop, within three weeks after his rounds were completed. Deans were to reside constantly at their cathedrals, unless excused by the bishop, and were to take care that every thing within their jurisdictions should be properly conducted. Prebendaries were to read in their respective cathedrals some portion of Scripture, thrice in every week, or at all events, they were to procure some divine to do this for them. The bishop was to preach in his cathedral; not to ordain either at random, or for reward; to receive complaints against irregular clergymen, and to deprive such persons, if necessary; to reconcile quarrels between his clergy; to visit his diocese once at least in every three years, and to overlook the moral conduct of all classes of persons within the limits of his authority. He was to admit into his family serious and sober people alone; to make his house, as did the primitive prelates, a kind of seminary for the instruction of his diocese; his wife and children were to be moderate in apparel, and correct in demeanour; and every thing likely to draw down upon him an imputation of levity, luxury, or pride, was to be carefully avoided. He was to reside within his diocese, unless when called away

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by urgent affairs of church or state; and when disabled by age or infirmity from discharging the duties of his function, a coadjutor was to undertake his business. The archbishop was to visit his whole province once a year, if practicable; he was to perform the diocesan's duties during the vacancy of a see, to receive appeals, to inspect the management of his suffragans, reconcile their quarrels, and deprive them, if necessary. Any disagreement arising between him and them was to be decided by the king. He was also to convene provincial synods, to which all his suffragan bishops were bound to come, or to send their proxies. The bishops were to convene diocesan synods annually at the beginning of Lent, at which were to be examined all religious controversies, and clerical irregularities. Every clergyman present was to be asked for his opinion upon any difficult question, and the bishop was to report the judgment of the most learned, but to decide the point himself.

The four following divisions relate to churchwardens, universities, tithes, and visitations. The twenty-fifth division prescribes rules concerning testamentary matters. The privilege of making a will is denied to married women, slaves, children under fourteen years of age, insane persons, and those who are deaf and dumb, unless there is sufficient reason to believe that they understand what they are doing; also to heretics, to persons under sentence of death, or of imprisonment, or banishment for life; to those who refused to part with their kept mistresses until just upon the point of death; to libellers, strumpets, panders, and usurers. Individuals thus proscribed were, however, allowed to bequeath money to charitable uses. With respect to disinherison, a father was not to inflict this penalty upon his son, unless the latter had assaulted him, had purposely done him some signal injury, had subjected him to a judicial process out of mere malice, had been engaged in any dangerous practice against either of his parents, had debauched his mother-in-law, had calumniated or nearly ruined his father, had refused to be his bail, or had hindered him from making his will.

The twenty-sixth division treats of ecclesiastical censures; concerning which it is laid down as a general rule, that where no particular punishment is assigned, offences are to be visited at the judge's discretion. Commutation of penance was not to be allowed unless in extraordinary cases, on the occurrence of which, the money paid was to be distributed among the poor. In case, however, of a relapse into fault, no pecuniary penalty was to screen the guilty party from undergoing personally, the exposure appended to his transgression.

The twenty-seventh and two following divisions treat of suspension, sequestration, and deprivation. This last penalty, when awarded against a bishop, was to proceed from the metropolitan, assisted by two bishops, whom the crown was to nominate for the purpose of trying the cause.

Under the thirtieth head it is asserted, that the power of excommunication is scripturally conferred upon the church, for the avoiding of great

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scandals. By it guilty persons were to be cut off not only from the public worship and sacraments of God, but also from the ordinary intercourse of society, until they should have repented of their evil courses. But as this penalty is extremely severe, it was to be inflicted only on great emergencies, and never upon a whole society, forasmuch as guilt could hardly attach to such a body in all its parts, and it is not reasonable that innocence should be confounded with criminality. When the ordinary had thoughts of excommunicating any person, he was to send for the minister of the offender's parish, together with two or three clergymen of reputation, and a justice of the peace in his neighbourhood. After mature deliberation by this assemblage, the sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced, engrossed, and a copy of it delivered to the party affected by it, on his demand. It was then to be certified to his parish and neighbourhood, and read in his church on the following Sunday, when the clergyman was to animadvert upon his offence, in order that all intercourse with him might be broken off. If, after these severities, the offender continued unmoved during forty days, the excommunication was to be certified into chancery, and a writ issued for his imprisonment. If his caption were delayed by the corrupt connivance of the sheriff, or any other officer, that person was to be amerced in treble the costs of the process, for the benefit of the poor. A continuance of such delay was to render public functionaries liable to double the same fine. A pardon from the crown after a capital conviction, was not to excuse any person from undergoing ecclesiastical censures. When, after excommunication, an individual became penitent, he was to dress himself according to the ordinary's direction, and present himself at the door of his parish-church. There the minister was to receive him with words combining reproof and encouragement. The penitent then, either kneeling, or lying prostrate, was to confess his unworthiness, and implore God's grace to protect him from a relapse. This being done, he was to be led to a conspicuous place, for the purpose of acknowledging his offence to the congregation, of entreating their pardon, and their consent to communicate with him again, and of praying to God that his ill example might not prove injurious to others. It was now to be inquired of the people whether they were willing to readmit this repentant sinner among them, and on the affirmative answer being given, the priest was to lay his hand on his head and absolve him. He was then to embrace him, salute him on the cheek, and lead him to the communion-table; where an hymn was to be sung, and a thanksgiving offered for his recovery.

The remaining divisions of this work are devoid of general interest, being chiefly directed to the regulation of ecclesiastical courts. The whole compilation bears evident marks of a mind well acquainted with the antiquities of the christian church, and estranged from the ordinary habits of secular thinking.

The rejection, or rather the non-enactment of these canons has been

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imputed by various writers to various causes. Mr. Hallam considers that as the code is founded on the principle current among the clergy, "that a rigorous discipline enforced by church censures, and the aid of the civil power, is the best safeguard of a christian commonwealth against vice"—its severity never would have been endured in this country: and that this was the true reason why they were laid aside.[1] Mr. Hallam is right in the supposition that they would not have been long or eventually endured on this account, for they are more severe in many respects than the Laudean canons of 1640, the enforcement of which excited so much clamour against their author: but it may be considered very doubtful whether they would not have been welcomed by the people, if they had passed into laws, in the reign either of Henry, Edward, or Elizabeth; however they might have been changed or moderated in the progress of the theory of toleration. Bishop Hurd published three volumes of Dialogues on many interesting subjects; and he had intended to have added to them, one, on the subject before us, the effect of transferring supremacy in religious matters.[2] He has not written this projected essay; but in his Sixth Dialogue on the Constitution of the English Government, he imputes the rejection of these canons to the preference of the crown to the old canon law, as the more influential supporter of the royal prerogative; and that if the crown submitted a body of new laws to the parliament, the parliament would form them altogether in the genius of a free church and state; as Burnet, also, supposes they would have done; and would perhaps assume a share in the supremacy itself.[3] Hurd derived the idea from Warburton, whose letter was written in 1755; as he not only uses in his essay the very expression to be found in his friend's letter; but in a subsequent letter,[4] he says, "I thank you for your fine observation on the neglect to reform the ecclesiastical laws: it is a very material one, and deserves to be well considered. The true cause of their being passed by, after so much attention had been paid, and so many learned persons employed on the subject, cannot be now ascertained.[5]

One expression in the Reformatio Legum has given rise to a controversy whether the punishment of death for heresy was intended to be continued. They extended the name and penalties of heresy to the wilful denial of any part of the authorized articles of faith. Burnet affirms that these penalties were laid aside. Collier and Lingard affirm the contrary. It is difficult to decide this question also. Those who denied the truth of any one article of faith, might certainly be delivered over to the secular power: yet infamy, and civil disability, seem in one passage[6] to be intended, only, excepting in the case of the total denial of the christian religion: for, if a heretic were to be burned, as a matter

(1) Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 109. 4to edit.
(2) Warburton's Letters to Hurd, letter lxxxi. p. 192.
(3) Hurd's Dialogues, vol. ii. p. 309, 310. 5th edit. 1776. Burnet, Reform. Part 1, p. 330, ap. Hurd.
(4) lxxxii. p. 194.
(5) See Hallam's Note. Hallam also refers both to Warburton and Hurd.
(6) c. 10. De judiciis contra Hæreses.—Hallam.

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of course, it would seem needless, as in this chapter, to provide that he should be incapable of making a will, or of being a legal witness. Dr. Lingard, on the contrary, affirms that the heretic, by the new code of laws, was to suffer death for heresy.[1] He exults in the supposition that the reformers also were persecutors to the death for opinions; and seems to imagine that the guilt of persecution being attributable to the reformers, as well as to the church of Rome, the crime is also equal, and that the former are consequently to be condemned equally with the latter. They would indeed have been equal in guilt and crime, if they had continued to punish opinions with death: but while the church of Rome retains all the objectionable canons, which commits the heretic to the secular arm, the church of England has expelled every such law from its statute and ecclesiastical code. When we are taunted with having once imitated a bad example, we reply that we now follow it no longer. Can the church of Rome say the same? How long—it has been, and is said—how long must the warfare between the protestant and papist continue? We answer in one word. It must continue, till Rome changes! "It was the lot of Mary," says Dr. Lingard, "to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted, the papal authority. It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII., would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the anabaptist, and preparing to burn the (Roman) catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death: the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer and Socinus. By the new canon law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy; and it was ordained, that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts, should be excommunicated on conviction, and, after a respite of sixteen days, should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment of death. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature; by the accession of Mary the power of the

(1) The following is the disputed passage:—"Cum sic penitus insederit error, et tam alte radices egerit, ut nec sententiâ quidem excommunicationis ad veritatem reus inflecti possit, tam consumptis omnibus aliis remediis, ut extremum ad civiles magistratus atlegetur puniendas."

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sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time, Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents." In the note appended to these remarks, the words of the obnoxious chapter are cited, and much acute reasoning is exercised to prove that sir James Mackintosh[1] is wrong in making a distinction between the infliction of punishment and the privation of life, and that Cranmer, by the word puniendus, meant the punishment of death. We may wisely adopt the conclusion of Mr. Hallam, and avoid forming a decided opinion on the matter; and we may remember the justice of Mr. Soames' remark, that those who framed the Reformatio Legum, lived in an age of fierce intolerance; and they remark, in vindication of their own severity, that blasphemers were stoned under the Mosaic law. Had no extraordinary rigour too been denounced in cases outraging the catholic faith, it is scarcely doubtful, that the Romish party would have represented our reformers as indifferent to the vital interests of Christianity. Nor, whatever may be now thought of death as a punishment for glaring offences against true religion, will serious men generally deny, that such transgressions are properly visited by (some) civil inflictions. It is most important that youth and ignorance should be shielded from exposure to the contact of such baneful opinions as undermine the best principles. The moral discipline proposed for England in the Reformatio Legum is obviously unsuited for a national church. It is derived from the earliest records of ecclesiastical antiquity, and is adapted only for a community very limited in extent. From such a society every member might be excluded who should be found unwilling to exemplify the christian character in all respects. Any attempt, however, to render a community so regulated co-extensive with a numerous people, would lead at once to intolerable tyranny, and would quickly fail altogether.[2]

Some light may be thrown on this controversy, and on the manner in which John Foxe anticipated, in some measure, the axioms of a future age on the subject of toleration, by a brief analysis of his learned preface. He commences by showing the utility and necessity of laws which shall promote the establishment of religious truth in principle, and outward discipline in practice. Such laws should be enacted with prudence. They should not breathe cruelty, as those of Draco or Phalaris, or the persecuting bishops of Rome. They should not be too numerous, lest the number of their enactments be rather burthensome than useful.

If all were Christians, laws would not be required; but now, the universal experience of mankind, whether in ancient or modern times, proves their necessity. "No nation, no state," he observes, "was ever so savage and barbarous, as not to have some laws, by which, if every vice was not driven away, at least some decency of manners was retained. Even our own England has not wanted her laws and statutes, wisely framed by our most prudent ancestors. This is proved by the laws of Ina,

(1) History of England, vol. ii. p. 318, note. (2) Soames' Reformation, vol. iii. p. 722, 723.

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Edward, Athelstan, Eadmund, Edgar, Alured, Ethelred, Canute, and those under the auspices of other princes. These laws prevailed for a time. Afterwards, a comedian entered the stage, about to play his own production, and he was the bishop of Rome; who, having gotten rid of all others, was to have the whole stage, and every character appropriated to himself. At first leaving to the secular magistrates what appeared to appertain to secular affairs; but all the rest, which pertained to morals, he transferred to himself and his ecclesiastics, by a most ingenious device, whilst he gave out that he was the vicar of Christ upon earth, and the hereditary successor of the apostolic office. This he impressed upon rulers and magistrates by little and little, and thus secured opportunities of attempting greater things. Nor was his daring deficient on any occasion. Proceeding, therefore, in the comedy undertaken, after he had acquitted himself thus satisfactorily in the prologue, he applies himself to the rest of the acts, which he undertakes with no tardiness. First of all, with respect to kings and supreme monarchs, he endeavours, by little and little, to lessen their authority; then to raise his own on an equality with theirs; afterwards to surpass it; and, as a climax, to subject them to himself. When he had succeeded in this, he still proceeded onwards. He, who first walked with the humble sandal, now struts in the lofty buskin, and, from a bishop, comes out a tragic king. At length, the ecclesiarch swells to such a pitch, that he who at first was wont to receive laws from others, and be ruled by them, now, the scene being changed, himself imposes laws upon them, and prescribes those enactments for the world which we now designate the canon law. In which law, his presumption knows no bounds, so that he adds law to law, decrees to decrees, and to these again decretals, and others to others; neither is there any end of it, until, at last, he has so crammed the world with his *Clementines*, *Sextines*, *intra* and *extra-vagantes*, *provincial constitutions* and *synodals*, *small glosses*, *sentences*, *chapters*, *summaries*, *rescripts*, and *infinite rhapsodies*, that even Atlas himself, who is said to have sustained the whole heavens, would have sunk under this burthen.

"Thus he proceeded, till he seized upon both swords, and all became worse, till, under the present pontiff (Leo X.), the ecclesiastical state is so governed, that there is almost *nothing upright in religion, nothing sound in morals, no freedom for conscience, no sincerity in worship, neither is there any thing in his laws, except what pertains to certain useless ceremonies, or absurd dogmas, or to increase the privileges of the ecclesiastical order*. And if there should be the appearance of justice, or an inspection of morals, yet exemption may be purchased. To such a pitch had this proceeded, that from such tribunals all political authority was driven away, and the business of the courts was centred in, I know not what, canonists and officials, the greater part of whom, living by litigation, looked more to their own advantage than to rectitude of virtue and morals.

"Such a state of things," says Foxe, "required correction, and

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Henry VIII. appointed a commission of thirty-two to revise the laws. The king's wish was praiseworthy, so were the endeavours of those appointed, but the attempt was unsuccessful."[1]

He then proceeds to relate the details respecting the mode of compiling the Reformatio Legum; and concludes by passing no opinion on the severity or the policy of the enactments. The time had not arrived when the union of laws, on the part of the state, to uphold that which the state believed to be the best form of worship, faith, and discipline, and to uphold also, at the same time, the duty of toleration, could be understood. The best and wisest of that, and many subsequent generations, were unable to fix the limits to authority, and to understand the origin of all civil power, as divine in its source, but human in its details. The double sceptre, over soul and body, had been claimed by the foreign bishop. It was now transferred to the temporal prince. Non-resistance to the pope had long been an axiom in the universal law of Europe. Opposition to this axiom was death. Non-resistance to the king succeeded, as a political axiom, till a future age modified the principle, by making the legislature, or the king, with his represented people, the sovereign of the state, and not the king as an individual person; and John Foxe did not, in this instance, advance beyond his age. He concludes his preface, therefore, as if he was conscious that some of the enactments were too severe; but he could not provide, or he dared not suggest, a remedy. "The word of God," he adds, "is alone to be taken as our guide in worship, and in matters of religion." He eulogizes the memory of Edward, and trusts that Elizabeth will consent to the enactment of the laws which had been proposed to, and sanctioned by, her brother and her father; and he concludes by apologizing for his boldness in editing the volume. The result is known. The queen forbade the commons to proceed, and the design fell to the ground.[2]

The next transaction of a public nature in which we find the name of John Foxe was the execution of his constant friend and patron, the duke of Norfolk.[3] In September, 1568, the duke was appointed one

(1) Mr. Hallam is incorrect in 'representing the origin of the new code of ecclesiastical law from the two curious entries in the Lords' Journals of the 14th and 18th of November, 1549. Const. Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 109, 4to. edit. and note.

(2) It was said of bishop Pearson, that the dust of his writings was gold. The remark may be applied to bishop Warburton. I extract from his letters, to which I have above alluded, his brief theory of the causes of the prevalence of the notion, that non-resistance to the sovereign was the duty of all christian people. Factious and rebellious opposition to any government, even the most cruel and tyrannical, is certainly expressly forbidden to all Christians; but the bold, yet courteous, submission, by expostulation or petition, or by any other legal mode, of desiring a change of the principles or enactments of unchristian or oppressive laws, is at once a christian privilege, and a bounden duty. Liberty, secured by wise laws, is the uniform result of true religion: the following is the extract to which I allude. "After the Reformation the protestant *divines*, as appears by the homilies, composed by the wisest and most disinterested men, such as Cranmer and Latimer, preached up non-resistance very strongly; but it was only to oppose popery. The case was this. The pope threatened to excommunicate and depose Edward. He did put his threats in execution against Elizabeth This was esteemed such a stretch of power, and so odious, that the Jesuits contrived all means to soften it. One was, by searching into the origin of civil power, which they brought rightly (though for wicked purposes) from the people; as Mariana, and others. To combat this, and to save the person of the sovereign, the protestant divines preached up divine right. Hooker, superior in every thing, followed the truth. But it is remarkable, that this non-resistance, which, at the Reformation, was employed to keep out popery, was, at the Revolution, employed to bring it in. So eternally is truth sacrificed to politics!"—Warburton's Letters. Letter LXXXIV. p. 200. *Second edition.*

(3) On Tower-hill, June 2d, 1572.

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of the commissioners to hear the accusations against the queen of Scots; and at that time the intrigue for their marriage commenced. The duke, when on the scaffold, declared himself to be a protestant; and this was so well known, that, though the earl of Westmoreland, his brother-in-law, promoted the scheme, it was condemned by the earl of Northumberland and others, on the express ground, that the duke was not considered a good Roman catholic.[1] It appears to me most probable, that the duke of Norfolk, who lost his third wife[2] in the year preceding his being made one of the commissioners, was deeply interested in the beauty and sufferings of the queen, and was totally ignorant of the extent to which she had pledged herself, both to the cardinal of Lorraine and the pope, to exert her utmost efforts, by all the means in her power, to restore the church of Rome in Scotland, and to lay down her life in that cause.[3] He did not even suspect, probably, the deep-laid schemes by which the foreigner was endeavouring to re-establish the old superstition. He confessed that he deserved to suffer because he had broken his promise to the queen. He confessed, too, that he had conversed with the papal emissary Ridolphi; but that he never consented to the political projects of the pope, nor to the invasion of England. "With respect, also," he said on the scaffold, "to my conscience and religion, I know that I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess, that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who seeth above, knoweth it. For myself, God is my witness, I have always been a protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all, I utterly renounce the pope, and all popedom; which thing I have always done, and will do to my life's end. And to that which is the chiefest point of our belief—I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant."[4] Whether this confession is fully to be believed, we know not; but every circum-

(1) "It was misliked that she should bestowe herself in marriage with the duke, for that he was coumpted to be a protestant." See the Confession of the Duke of Northumberland in the very interesting Memorials of the Rebellion in 1569, by sir Cuthbert Sharp. 1840. Appendix, p. 192. See, also, 192, 201, 208, 210.

(2) Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, was three times married; first, to Mary, second daughter of Henry Fitz Allen, earl of Arundel, by whom he had issue, Philip, earl of Arundel. She died 25th August, 1557, being then but sixteen years of age. (Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 324.) She was of a highly cultivated mind, and translated from Greek "Certain Ingenious Sentences, collected from various Authors." It was dedicated to her father. He married again, in 1560, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, lord Audley, of Walden, widow of Henry, youngest son of John, duke of Northumberland. She died in 1563-4, in child-birth of William Howard, afterwards of Naworth, in Cumberland, and ancestor of the present family of the Carlisles, of Castle-Howard. There were two other children alive at her death. He married, for his third wife, Elizabeth Leyburne, daughter of sir James Leyburne, widow of Thomas, lord Dacre, of Gillesland, March, 1566. She also died in child-birth, having been married to him but one year.

(3) The letters are given in Le Plat, "Profiteor," she says to the cardinal of Lorraine, "et affirmo, me victuram, et morituram etiam in obedientia antiqua catholicæ, et Romanæ ecclesiæ, quam ego reputo esse caput," etc. Le Plat, vol. v. p. 660. The letter is dated Edinburgh, 30th January, 1563.

The next is to pope Pius IV., and is dated Edinburgh, in the same year. She says, "Ut tandem dignis modis sanctam agnoscant catholicam, ecclesiam, Romanam, in ea obedientia, in quâ nos mori, atque vivere, ut devotissima filia possumus: nullis certe facultatibus, quæ sunt in nostra potestate, et ne vitæ quidem propriæ parcemus." Ibid, p. 661.

(4) See the Confession of the Duke of Norfolk, Strype's Annals, fol. edit. vol. ii. Appendix xii. p. 28.

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stance related of his character, and developed in the history of Mary, render it worthy of credence. He acted, however, with the greatest imprudence. He was influenced by the earl of Leicester, who betrayed him. The advice of Cecil was not heeded; and he must have been aware that the promoters of the marriage were ever the most bitter enemies of the queen; nor can any reason or motive whatever justify a religious protestant for upholding the supporters of the spiritual supremacy of a foreign prelate against his own sovereign. During the rumours relative to the intended marriage, Foxe addressed to the duke the following letter.

"May it please your grace, ther is a great rumor with us here in London, and so farr spread, y^t^ it is in every man's mouth almost, of your marriage with the Scottish Queene: which rumor, as I trust to bee false, for I would be very sorry that it should be true, for two respects. The one for y^e^ good will I beare to you, the other for y^e^ love I beare to y^e^ common wealth, for y^t^ I see noe other, and many besides mee doe see noe lesse, butt y^e^ day of that marriage when soever it beginneth, will end with such a catastrophe as wilbee ether ruinous to your selfe, or dangerous to y^e^ tranquillity of y^e^ realme; the peace wherof standing for long amongst us through y^e^ great mercy of God, God forbidd it should nowe beginn to break by you. Your grace knoweth what enimies wee have both within and without: against whome wee have always trusted and doe yet trust, next under God and the queene, to have you a sure Scipio unto us: to y^e^ contrary wherof, thes rumors cannot perswade mee, butt y^t^ as you have vertuously begunn, soe by y^e^ Lord's grace you will constantly continue still. Howbeit since y^t^ noise and clamor of y^e^ people maketh me somewhat to muse, and bycause true love is always full of feare, I beseech you lett mee say to you what I thinke in this matter. That in case you take this way to marry with this lady in our Queene's days, it will in y^e^ end turne you to noe great good. I beseech you therfore for God's sake bee circumspect and marke well what they bee, y^t^ sett you on this worke, and wherunto they shoote. Ther ys noe greater cunning in these days, then to knowe, whome a man may trust. Ensamples you have enough, within y^e^ compasse of your owne days, wherby you may learne, what noble men have bin cast away by them, whom they seemed most to trust. Remember I pray you the ensample of Mephibosheth, wherof I told you being yong; howe first hee was underfoote, then again"[1] . . . . . .

The letter is unfinished, which is much to be regretted. The duke, it would appear, was not in London, being, in all probability, still at Kenninghall, as his last duchess had not been dead a year. The incidents of his trial and execution are well known, as well as the fact, that, after Leicester had betrayed him to the queen, and procured her pardon for the share he had in the conspiracy, the queen commanded the duke to make a full confession, which he did, and Elizabeth made

(1) Harl. MSS. 416, art. 97, fol. 154. See also Wright's Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. pp. 324—326.

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use of it against him. During his confinement, he made application to speak with some persons, and also to receive spiritual comfort from his old master Foxe. Sir Henry Skipwith, under-lieutenant of the Tower, writes to sir William Cecil on the occasion.

"Right hon." he says, "may it please you to understand, that the Duke of Norfolk hath required me to wryt to you, for one cause more then he hathe required S^r^ Peter Carewe to saye to you, which is, to desyre your Honor as his last request that you will helpe him to speke with Dix and Hassat, and I to here what he saiethe to them, or whom els shall please her Majestie, or your honors to appoint. I think yt be for his detts. He also longethe muche for Mr. Foxe his olde schole-master, to whom he much desyres to performe that faithe which he first grounded him in & sure I fynd him little altered, but lyveth now in such order as he before dyd, determyned and verie well settled towards God, as ever I sawe any. And thus with my most humble dutie to your honor I take my leave: from the Tower this xviith Jan. 1571-2.

"Yf yt pleased you so to lyk of yt, the soner he were satisfied of this yt were the better in my opinion; because he might settle himself hollye towards God and frome the world."[1]

The duke was executed 3d June, 1572, and attended to the scaffold by sir Henry Lee, by Nowel the dean of St. Paul's, and by John Foxe, with other gentlemen.[2] After his address to the people was concluded, he spoke to sir Henry Lee; and after taking off his gown and doublet, embraced Mr. Nowel, bowing to him even to the ground; and with him also he spoke apart. It is not said that he conversed with Foxe. He had however written to his children, before his execution, and addressed it specially to "Phillip and Nan." In that memorial, when disposing of certain presents, he mentions his request that "twenty pounds a yeare be allowed to Mr. Foxe." We do not, however, know whether this pension was ever paid.[3]

Many other letters in the Harleian collection, illustrate the influence of Foxe at this time. They are addressed to him in Grub-street; and must, therefore, though no date appears on them, have been written after 1572. A letter from Foxe to one of his neighbours, who had so built his house as to darken Foxe's windows, is curious as a specimen of religious expostulation, for an injury which possibly he could not afford to remedy by law.[4]

About the end of this same year, Foxe was applied to for the exertion of his interest with Dr. Pierce, in favour of a young man anxious to obtain a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, so that he might be no longer a burden to his father. The letter is from the young man himself.

"I have before troubled you ynoughe and to muche: yet consyderinge the singuler benefite that your letters maye procure me, I ame

(1) Orig.—State Paper Office. (2) See Strype, ut suprà.
(3) Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 402, note. The entire letter is given pp. 402—412. It is the Harl. MS. 787. art 104, folio 112.
(4) Harl. MS. 416, art. 83, folio 136.

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enforced (through meare neade) to write these fewe lynes unto you, gevinge you most hartyest thankes for your gentlenes bothe to my father and me (whiche indeede should have ben in latine after a simple sorte but for the shortenes of time) desyringe you for Godes sake to write your letters to Doctor Pierce in my behalfe, that he would be so good unto me as to electe me scholer of Christchurche at this election. Nowe is the time yf ever I shall come in, for by reporte Mr. Doctor Pierce shall bring in iiij scholers and everye Cannonne ij, there be so manye places voyde. I thinke therefore throughe your letters (consideringe his promise made to my father that I should be the thirde that he would chose in) he will remember me yf he shall electe 4. I beseche you therfore that you would by your earneste letters put him in mynde of my case, that surely, unlesse I maye gett in by his meanes, all that my father hathe bestowed upon me shalbe to noe purpose, for I shalbe put to some other trade, because my father of himself is not able to kepe me at the universyte any longer, he hathe done for me alreadye more than he was well able consyderynge his povertye. At my firste comminge to Oxforde Mr. Doctor Cooper then beinge deane promised to bringe me in scholer, and because that at the firste election he coulde not, sendynge for my mother, promised to geve me iiij markes every yeare tyll suche tyme that he could electe me, but nowe these iiij markes beinge taken awaye, by reason of his absence, I am enforced to chardge my father, whome I have chardged to muche alreadye. Yt is therfore hyghe tyme that I shoulde (unlesse I did meane altogether to forgo the universitye) seeke some further ayde, wherby my father myghte be eased of this burthen, and I by suche meanes styll applye my learninge. These thinges have moved me to trouble you with this my requeste for your letters, and because that bothe in writinge and in sendinge them I thoughte it not conveniente or mete to trouble you, I have desyred on (one) of my frendes the bringer heareof to be readye (yf yt shall please you to write) to receave them and bringe them to the carriars. Thus with my hartye prayers for you, I cease to trouble you any further, desiringe the eternall God to protecte and kepe you in all your doinges. From Oxforde the xx of November, 1571.

"Yours to commaunde at all tymes, "THOMAS TORPORLEY."[1]

"To the worshipfull and his singular good frende Mr. Foxe dwellinge in Grubb Street this be given with speed from Oxford."

Foxe appears at this time to have been generally consulted by those who were most deeply interested in the discussions or controversies of the day. He had, some years before, been requested to answer certain questions respecting the sacraments. Application was now made to him, for his opinion on the lawfulness of sponsors.

(1) Harl. MS. 416, Art. 121, folio 189. Dean Cooper was consecrated bishop of Lincoln in Feb. 1570, and translated, in 1583, to Winchester.—Godwin, pp. 302, 239. Wood. Ath. Ox.—There is no mention made of Dr. Pierce in Wood; but he must have been successor to Dr. Cooper, as Torporley's letter directs Foxe to make application to him.

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"Mr. Fockes after my harty comendacyons this shalbe to thanke Gode for youre benevolles and lovynge leter in Chryste jesus, sent unto me, whiche leter hathe mynistred unto me greate comfort in the meretes of jesus Chryste, desyerynge youe, even for the same jesus Chrystes sacke to praye unto god for me, that the comforte and faythe whyche I nowe have in the swete and comfortable promyses of jesus Chryste, maye dayly more and more be incresed in me, that I maye growe from emparfeccyon to parfeccyon, from weecknes to strength, and that god maye gyve me a thanckefull harte for his great mercys and provydence in kepynge me in all my troubles from all the weckede and mallyshyous asaltes of the spirytall enemye Sattan, for he hath gone about to desayve me by spiritall craftynes in heavenly thynges; God be thanked for his mercyes that hathe kepe me from consenttynge unto him. Oh that my mouth myght be filled with the prayses of God that I myght synge of his honour and glorye all the dayes of my lyfe; and further more this shallbe to shewe you that my troubles are not so ended that nowe I feell nothynge of them. But greate and manyfowled are the troubles whiche manye tymes, I have yet, yea even in the same trouble whech hath been most troublsom unto me, but I thanke my God that hath gyeven me more strength to bare then in tymes paste I have felt. The Lord increase it for his great mercye sacke. I will not at this tyme, nayther can I as nowe expreese all the thynge that hathe troublede me, but on thynge I beseche you exprese your mynde unto me, yf you have any convenyeant tyme to wryt unto me, and that as tuchynge baptysinge with godfathers and godmothers, for that hathe bene troublesom unto me, and many ther be in the contrye aboute us that hathe ben greatly troublede for not usynge them. The causes whye they are not used are these, fyrst for that by Godes word ther is no exsample so to doo; seconly, for that the vowes demanded of the childe cannot of the standers by be parformed; and thurdlye for that of manye they are supurstecyously howlden as thynges appartayninge to the sacraments, and for that as some thynke, is a seremony brought in to the churche by the byshope of Rome, and for these causes not to be usede. And my desyer ys to knowe howe by the worde of God they maye be usede, whether the word be eyther with them, or not agaynst them. In those thynges I beseche you shewe me your mynde yf you convenyently can, and chuse levynge at this tyme anye further to trouble you. I woulde have writen more unto you yf I did not wante wordes to exprease my mynde. I praye God gyeve you the assestance of his Holy Spyryte to the increase of youre comforte and joyes in Chryste Jesus, whyche that it maye lycke wyes be increased in me, I beseche you praye for me, and God willynge I will not forgete you in my prayers. Oh praye, I beseche you, for the increase of my faythe. From Byckinghall in Suffucke the 4 daye of January, 1572.

"Your in Jesus Chryst, "FRANCIS BAXTER."[1]

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 122, fol. 191.

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The following letter was written in defence of a narrative in his Acts and Monuments. Foxe having been accused by Thomas Thackham, of Reading, of having inserted into his history a calumny against him in the relation of the troubles and death of Julius Palmer,[1] Thackham drew up his own account of the transaction, and gave it to Foxe, who sent it to Mr. Parry, a grave minister in Gloucestershire, desiring him to inquire diligently into the truth of the matter; the result was the accompanying letter bearing witness to Foxe's accuracy, and testifying against Thackham.

"Right reverend and beloved in the Lord, I have receaved your letters together with Thackham's answer, which I perceave you have well perused, and do understand his craftye and ungodlye dealing therein, that I may not say fond and foolish, for he doth not denye the substance of the storye, but only seeketh to take advantage by some circumstancyes off the tyme and place, wherein yt may be ther was an oversyght for lacke off perfect instructions or good remembrance at the begynnyng. He confesseth that he delyvered a letter of Palmer's owne hand to the maior of Readinge, which was the occasyon off his imprisonment and death. Onlye he excuseth hym selfe by transferring the cryme *a seipso in martire*. Briefly his whole end and purpose ys to geve the world to understand that the martir was gyltie as well of incontinencye, as also of wylfull casting away of hym selfe. O impudent man. The wyse and godly reader may easylye smell his stinkinge hart. He careth not though he [out]face[2] the godlye martir and the whole volume of martirs, to sa[ve] (as he thinketh) (it is torn in the MS.) his own honestye and good name. Howbeyt I d[oubt][3] not but God wyll confound him to his utter shame, and reveale hys cloked hypocrisie to the defence of his blessed martir and the whole storye. Though many of them be dead that gave instructyons in tymes past, and now coulde have borne witnesse, yet thankes be to God ther want not alyve that can and wyll testyfye the trueth herein to his confusyon. No dyligence shall be spared in the matter, as shortly, I trust you shall understand. In the meane while Thackham need not be importunate for an answer. He reportethe hym selfe to the whole towne of Readinge; therefore he must geve us some space. The God of trueth defend you and all other that mayntayne his trueth from the venemous poyson of lyers. Vale in Christo qui ecclesiæ suæ te diu servet incolumem. From Beverston in Gloc̃.shire. Maii vith.

"Yours in the Lord, "THOM. PARRYE, Minist."

To the right reverend in God, Mr. Ihon Ffoxe, preacher of the ghospell in London, be thes, at Mr. Daie's the printer, dwellyng over Aldersgate, beneath S. Marten's.[4]

A letter of John Moyer of Corsley, dated the 18th May, the same year, to Mr. Perry, verifies also the truth of Foxe's statement respecting Thackham.[5] The whole account is given in Strype.[6]

(1) Acts and Mon. vol. viii. pp. 201—219.
(2) Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. v. p. 585.
(3) Strype writes "cannot."
(4) Harl. MS. 416, art. 57, fol. 100.
(5) Acts and Mon. vol. viii. pp. 721, 722.
(6) Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. v. pp. 574—585, and vol. vi. pp. 430—434.

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That Foxe was now held in great esteem by his ecclesiastical superiors, is evident from the many attentions he received from them. Before Parkhurst was removed from Norwich, he invited him to pay him a visit, from which Foxe excused himself in consequence of ill health; yet confessing that there was none of the episcopal bench from whom he had received more kindnesses, or to whom he would come with more delight. He also states that he was compelled to put off the bishop of Lincoln, who had even sent a servant and horse for him, but he was obliged to send both away empty.[1]

We have frequently observed, in reply to the charge that the church of England has persecuted as well as the church of Rome, and therefore that the cruelty of the latter is to be forgotten, because of the same error in the former, that the great difference between the two churches in this matter consists in this—that the church and state of England have rescinded all claims to persecution, and made the duty of toleration an axiom in christian government: while the church of Rome has not rescinded one decree, or canon; one papal bull, one conciliar, or pontifical law, which affirms the right of the church to govern conscience, without conviction; and to punish, coerce, and compel, even by death, the resisters and oppugners of that authority. The charge of persecution against the protestant church of England has been defended by the conduct of Elizabeth to some wretched sectarians in the year 1575. In the beginning of that year a conventicle of Dutch anabaptists was discovered in Aldgate; of whom twenty-seven were seized and committed. Four recanted. Some were so firm in their opinions, that neither instruction nor punishment could make any impression upon them. They were, however, treated mercifully, and banished, without any farther punishment. This encouraged others, and it was at length thought necessary to proceed to greater extremities. Foxe interceded for two of these when under condemnation; and while he expressed his hatred of their principles, he strongly reprobated the putting them to death. "I have never," says he, "been annoying to any, but now I am compelled to be importunate even to the queen herself, not on my own account, but on that of strangers. I understand there are in this country, not English, but strangers, Belgians, brought to judgment for wicked opinions. They have been condemned to death by burning. In this case there are two

(1) "Quo' majore desiderio animus mihi illustrissimam pietatem tuam cæterosque istic amicos mihi jam non diu visos revisere, Antistes imprimis observande, ac in Christo reverende, hoc molestius mihi accidit, hoc tempore non licere quod libeat tantopere. Nam alioqui mentiar si quisquam sit hodie Episcoporum omnium qui vel impensius debere me pro acceptis beneficiis profiteor, vel quem lubentius eram adituras. Sed præter cæteras remoras et difficultates accedit insuper valetudinis debilitas quæ vix permittit tam longinquæ profectioni me committere. Consimilem etiam legationem misit ad me nuper clarissimus episcopus Lincolniensis per famulum et equum ultro oblatum, ad ædes suas accersens amantissime; cui tamen et famulum et equum rursus vacuum remittere coactus sum. Et tamen si ferat ita voluntas Domini experias, atque etiam annitas sedulo, frætus Christi domini nostri gracia ac patrocinio, temporis aliquid ociosi posthac dispicere, in quo et reverendam tuam celsitudinem cupidissime saluturus simul et meipsum, si volet Dominus, refocillaturus adveniam. Interea Dominus Jesus pro exhausta sua misericordia te cum grege universo multa pace lætum et florentem custodiat. Ad DD. episcopum Norwicensem, ut videtur."—Harl. MS. 417, art 34, fol. 105.

This bishop of Lincoln was Thomas Cowper, who had been fellow of Magdalen. He was elected probationer in 1539, and perpetual fellow in 1540. He was made dean of Christ Church in 1566, dean of Gloucester in 1569, and consecrated bishop of Lincoln in 1570, February 24.—Anth. Wood, vol. i. p. 265. Godwin de Pres. p. 302.

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things to look at, one pertains to the heinousness of their errors, the other to the rigour of their punishment." He wonders that any Christians could fall into such errors: but such is human infirmity without divine grace; and he is thankful that no Englishman has fallen into them. "They ought," he says, "to be restrained; but to consign them to the flames is more after the Roman example, than a Christian custom. I would not countenance their errors, but I would spare their lives, because I myself am a man; and that they may repent. He beseeches the queen to spare their lives, because there are other modes of punishment into which their condemnation can be commuted—banishment, close imprisonment, bonds, perpetual exile, reproaches, stripes, or even gibbets. But this one thing I deprecate, that the fires of Smithfield, which have slumbered so long under your auspices, should now by you be rekindled. Wherefore, spare them a month or two, so that means may be tried for their conversion." [1]

The exertions of Foxe, in favour of these persons, were not confined to the queen alone; he addressed the lord treasurer and other counsellors, as well as chief justice Monson, and also the individuals themselves. In the former of these, after stating that the business upon which he was about to address related not to himself, he mentions the unhappy anabaptists, and their detestable madness, in whose case the bishop of London had decided, after great care and diligence, as he ought to have done. All were agreed that some punishment should be awarded them in consequence of their errors, but they were not agreed as to its kind. Some, chiefly papists, exclaimed, To the stake, to the stake! Others of more clemency, did not think it requisite to proceed to such extremity under the Gospel, which had been exercised under the influence of Rome: and had rather resort to some other remedy for the healing of wounds, than the destroying of men for ever, and which would unite the rigour of law with the mercy of the gospel. But, we know not, how you, who are secular, will exercise your power, unless from the prescript of law, which if you do, I will first vehemently desire you, and appeal chiefly to your prudence, that you should consider how far you are allowed by public enactment, or the authority of law, to condemn to fire and flames those who have erred only in doctrine. Because if you appeal to the law passed under Henry IV. (for you have no law for burning), that enactment has not sufficient force, because in the framing of it, the common consent of all was wanting, without which every parliamentary enactment is void. Although that law did once much prevail, yet I understand that in the beginning of the reign of her gracious majesty it was repealed; and even if not so, I have proved from authentic public

(1) Vide Appendix for the letter. "A reprieve," says Collier, "being granted, and Fox's expedient being tried without success, the forfeiture of their lives was taken." (Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 549.) The same is mentioned by Fuller, who adds "that though queen Elizabeth constantly called him her *Father Fox*, yet herein was she no dutiful daughter, giving him a flat denial." Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 105. Heylin's Hist. of Presb. p. 280.) Both Collier and Fuller notice the letter; the former saying it was "written in a very handsome christian strain"—the latter pointing to it as an answer to the charge brought against Foxe that he was not a Latin scholar, and therefore nick-named him John Lack Latine: this will prove that they were so many Lack Truths, as it shows his fluent and familiar language. (Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 106.) He refers to another which will be found in another place under the year 1581.

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records in my Acts and Monuments (where I answered Alan Cope in the life of Lord Cobham), that it has no precedent." He proceeds to say, as in his address to the queen, that the fires of Smithfield should not again be roused; and begs them not to proceed to extreme punishment which the law will not justify, as so doing they would be establishing more than papistical tyranny. He begs them also to consider that he is a suppliant, not an adviser.

To the individuals he writes that he had brought their case before the queen, and her council without effect. He says that by their pertinacity they appear to fight not only against the will of God, but against his plain word, the pious and sacred institution and true faith of all Christians; raise foolish factions, produce scandals, bring in deadly errors, injure the church of God in no small degree, and afford matters to enemies and papists to insult and calumniate. "And by the error of your doctrine you offend not the church of God only, but even God himself, when you acquiesce not in his word, nor bow to his truth, nor seek for his Holy Spirit promised in the Scriptures, but cultivate certain fanatic conceptions, nay, rather deceptions, of your own minds; and while you contend so obstinately about the humanity of Christ, ye in the mean time hold not rightly or care not for your own salvation and remission of sins through the humanity of Christ, proposed to us by faith only." He then proceeds to argue against their opinion, and concludes by exhorting them to look again and again to what they are about; "for it is sufficiently apparent that for long you have disturbed the church by your great scandal and offence. May the Lord Jesus by the most holy guidance of his Spirit open the eyes of your mind, and draw your hearts to the knowledge of his truth. Amen."

Foxe, after this, addressed himself to the lord chief justice, to whom, as he says, was left the decision of the case. He sent him copies of his letters to the queen and the council, and informs him that he had written to them in their own language. He uses the same argument as he had done to the lord treasurer, Burghley, reprobating the punishment of death, and advocating milder measures; for, says he, we often fall into diseases which kindness does more to cure than harshness, and a day's delay sometimes effects more than the hand of the medical attendant; but now I speak of those diseases which require spiritual medicine rather than corporal, since erring faith can be compelled and taught by no one; and many die true believers, who had long lived in heresy. He entertained hopes that they might be brought to the true faith if delay were granted, and hopes he would decide in such manner as that all should perceive his desire to mingle mercy with justice, that not only the language, the writings, the histories of all good men might testify his clemency, but that even the unhappy persons themselves, being converted, might thank him.[1]

These writings prove how much of the spirit of the Gospel Foxe had

(1) See Appendix.

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imbibed, and that how much soever he condemned the errors into which these persons had fallen, yet he still knew that the Scripture breathed the same intentions as its divine Author expressed to his disciples, when they were desirous of inflicting punishment upon the heads of the Samaritans, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them." (Luke ix. 55, 56.) Every effort was useless. The sentence of death by burning was executed: and the murder of these poor anabaptists is as disgraceful to the memory of Elizabeth, as the other martyrdoms were disgraceful to her sister Mary.

It may be doubted, however, whether the refusal of the application thus made by John Foxe to the queen, did not proceed from political rather than religious motives. She wished to intimidate the puritans by reminding them that the law for burning the opponents of the religion of the sovereign, was still in existence. I have examined the writ, by virtue of which they were burnt: and am sorry to say that it is worded as the old writs for burning the episcopal, and other protestants in the reign of Mary.[1]

It was in this year that the sermon preached on Good Friday, 1570, at Paul's cross, was printed. Its more extensive dissemination was entrusted to Andrew Weckel at Frankfort; who acknowledged the receipt of it, this year, stating, that he thanked Foxe for his good opinion of him; and that he would follow the advice he had given him; and would take such counsel with his friends, as the utility of the church seemed to require, and the aspect of the times would allow.[2]

The third English edition of his Martyrology appeared in the year 1576: and few events subsequently occurred, which can be deemed interesting, to a modern reader. These may be included under those which relate to his son—to his controversy with Osorius—to some other long-forgotten publications, to his general character; and to the anecdotes which illustrate it, collected by his son.

However great might have been the success of the labours of the martyrologist, his domestic and family affairs never appear to have been in a very satisfactory condition. His eldest son, who was born at Norwich, and educated in London, was entered at Magdalen College, Oxford. On this occasion, his father wrote to his old and dear friend

(1) It is in Rymer, vol. xv. p. 741. "Vobis præcipimus" is the ending, quod dictos Johannem Peters, et Henricum Turwest—apud West Smithfield, in loco aperto et publico—coram populo igni committi—ac in eodem igne realiter comburi faciatis, &c. &c. Dean Nowel, and the bishops of London and Rochester, I grieve to say, were on the commission which condemned them.

(2) Libellum tuum de Christo crucifixo accepi (clarissime Foxe) tibique propter honorificam nostri existimationem tuam gratias ago, quod me eum esse arbitratus sis, cujus fidei et diligentiæ illius publicationem mandare et tradere volueris. Siquam talem superioribus annis expectationem et famam concitavimus, est quod, Deo gratias agamus, qui opellam nostram sua benedictione secundare non recusavit, tum etiam tam præclara bonorum de nobis sententia calcar non leve jam currentibus in posterum addet ut eodem pede porro pergamus. Hæc habui quæ nunc tibi significanda ut te quoque velle ostendisti existimavi. Nam ipsum quidem Libellum vix inspicere, per eas quæ nunc pene nos obruant occupationes adhuc licuit. Faciam autem libentissime quod mones, et consilium quale et ecclesiæ utilitas postulat et temporis hodierni ratio permittere videbitur, cum amicis capiemus. Tabulas enim quas ex gravissimo naufragio, servare et colligere licuit, ad eum usum adhiberi decrevi, quem Dei gloriæ promovendæ et ecclesiæ Christi ædificandæ profuturum sentiam. Bene ac fideliter vale. Francofurti, xj Sept. 1575.

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 33, fol. 105. Tuus ex animo, ANDR. WECHELUS.

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Laurence Humphreys, and tells him that he has sent his little Foxe to him, that he may become an academic, and make merchandize in that most celebrated mart, Oxford,—not that he should increase in riches, but that he might store his mind with the sciences, and cultivate his talents. He begs him to take his son under his especial care, and to extend that kindness to him which he had done to many others, if not for the merits of his father (which are nothing) or for his kind offices (*muneribus*) which are none, at least for his own sake. Perhaps, he proceeds, I may appear too importunate, thus loading with duties a friend engaged in so many and so great public and private affairs: but to this necessity, a sharp spur compels me. He requests that his son may be admitted into their college, and suitable rooms attributed to him, and a proper tutor appointed. Whatever else may be wanting to defray his expenses, he himself would meet it, as well as he could.[1]

His son was elected a demy. Two years after, however, he went to France without acquainting his father with his intention. Foxe being anxious for his welfare, and not knowing the reason of his leaving Oxford, wrote to a friend abroad complaining of the manner in which his son had acted. Necessity, he says, compels him to write, and request his friend to assist him in his search for his son, whom he had educated to the best of his power, and who had made some progress: but he had left his college, never having consulted either president or tutor, leaving his books and letters behind, his parent ignorant of his proceedings, all his friends and relatives in sorrow. He knows not in what land he is, and conjectures from the letter of a merchant, that he is at Paris. Still he supposes his wants may drive him to his excellency, in which case he implores him to assist in the recovery of his fugitive son. His name Samuel, and his stature for his years somewhat large. With these marks, he again implores him, if he should discover him, to let him know where he can find him.

The letter is full of deep feeling and anxiety for the welfare of his son;[2] who appears to have returned soon after, and to have been again kindly received by Dr. Humphrey. He was elected a probationer in 1581.[3]

We cannot now ascertain the circumstances of this case. In the life of Foxe by his son, we are told that when the young man on his return

(1) Salutem. Fretus divino ope, tum secundum Deum pietate provocatus, mitto ad vos Foxulum meum, ut fiat Academicus, atque ut istic mercaturam faciat in nobilissimo hoc emporio vestro, non ut opibus ditescat, sed ut ingenuis artibus animum pascat, et ingenium excolat. Qua in re quo magis mihi opus est præsidio tuo (præses celeberrime) hoc impensius Laurentianam hanc tuam (hoc est) vere fraternam charitatem appello, ut qui ea facultate a Deo donatus sis, ut possis, ea deinde præditus natura ut velis quam plurimis prodesse, inter cæteros illos tam multos, quos juvisti hactenus, nostri quoque cura partem aliquam tuæ charitatis occupet; si non pro meritis nostris (quæ nulla sunt) aut muneribus quæ nusquam sunt, ut pro ingenita saltem illa candidissimi pectoris tui, quæ nullis desse solet, pietate. Nimium forte impudens videri possim, qui amicum tot tantisque tum publicis tum privatis actionum turbis satagentem sic gravo officiis. Sed huc necessitas, acre telum, adegit, ut necessario hoc abs te postulam. Quod enim postulo ejusmodi est, ut opera, et beneficio tuo liceat istic apud vos filium meum sedem aliquam, et tutorem (ut tibi commodissimum videbitur) adipisci. Cætera quæ desunt ex ære meo et demenso, ipsemet sufficiam, quoad potero.

Ad Laur. Humfredum Præsidem Collegii Magdalenensis.

Harl. MSS. 417, art. 55, fol. 112 b.

(2) It is in the Harl. MSS. 417, art. 69, fol. 116 b. See Appendix.

(3) Strype's Annals, vol. vi. p. 515. Oxford Edit.

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from the continent presented himself to his father in a "foreign and somewhat fantastical garb," he addressed him, "Who are you?" "Sir, I am your son Samuel." "Oh, my son!" said the father, "what enemy of thine hath taught thee so much vanity?" This anecdote must be true, as it is related by his son to whom the words were spoken. We may infer from it, that the young man was guilty only of the fondness of a more gay and fashionable appearance than his father approved; but it is possible, also, that the same attachment to the external was deemed inconsistent with the gravity required by his college from their fellows. We find that his son was expelled from Magdalen, on a charge of popery, in the same year in which he had been restored. The discipline of the college at this time is said to have been very strict: so much so that by many it was deemed to be puritanical.

We learn from Fuller that the charges against him were vague and indefinite. He was accused of an inclination to popery, and by the power of the puritanical party was expelled from college. A letter still remains, in which Foxe addresses the president of the college in the most grateful terms for the kindness which his son had received from him. He tells him, that if he had himself been president of Magdalen, and the president had been father to his son, neither of them could have wished, that the duties of their respective offices could have been better performed.[1] Yet Foxe, on his son's expulsion, does not seem to have made application for his restoration to Dr. Humphreys. He addressed a bishop in behalf of his son, whom he did not defend as faultless, but urged that he was dismissed without previous admonition, or any cause assigned, and the harshness of this proceeding, rather arose from internal dissensions in his college, and opposition to their president, than to freedom from faults greater than those they censured in his son. The letter is penned in a very able manner, and he speaks in it in moving terms of his own age and poverty.[2]

His son was restored to his fellowship by the royal mandate. It is, consequently, difficult to suppose that he was a papist, or a puritan. He was probably at this time a strict conformist to the services; and being of frank or thoughtless habits, was offensive to his puritan coadjutors. Not one word, or fact, can be found which sanctions the charge of his attachment to popery.

The poverty of which Foxe complained continued, we must believe, till his death. Some years after his son's restoration to his fellowship, the martyrologist endeavoured to make provision for him, by obtaining for him a lease of the prebend of Shipton. This could not be done without the consent of the crown, and his diocesan. The following letter of bishop Piers informs us, that the bishop had obtained the lease, to transfer it as Foxe requested.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, etc. I have receyved yo^{r} Gr. lre the xiiij of this p^{r}sent monthe in the behalfe of Mr. Foxe his sonne

(1) Harl. MSS. 417, art. 19, fol. 99 b. (2) See the Appendix.

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for the p^rbend of Shipton, the graunt wherof allreadie her Ma^tie hath made unto me, because yt is a p^rbend belonging to the church of Sarum in respect whereof I doe lay claime unto yt, I thoughte good to procure the disposition of yt into my owne handes. Nev^rthelesse readie I am to the uttermost of my power, to pleasure that good man, Mr. Foxe. And to this point his sonne the bearer herof and I are growne. First because he thinketh some blemishe to be in the lease, for want of a confirmation of the deane and chapter before the death of Mr. Randall, to whom the lease was made. I have promised him to confirme either the same lease againe, or a newe one if this doth mislike him. For he uppon whom I meane to bestowe the p^rbend is my domesticall chaplaine, and to marie my neece verie shortlie. At my com̃andmēt I am sure in this matter, and hath alreadie promised the p^rformance herof before me unto Samuell Fox. I have moreov^r promised him to bestowe some other p^rbend uppon his yonger brother as soone as anie falleth voyd, after he is capable of it. And in the meane season to geve him some exhibicon quarterlie toward his maintenance in the universitie. And this I trust will satisfie yo^r Gr. and Mr. Foxe, if not, uppon the understandynge of yo^r Gr. further pleasure geven, I shalbe content to yeld further to his better contentment. Mr. Walvard as yett continueth with me, the same man as he was. Thus I leave you to God's m^rciful tuicon. From my house in Sury the xiiij of Julie, 1586.

Yo^r S^r to com̃and in Christ, Jo. Sarum.[1]

This is addressed to Dr. Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury. The application was successful. The provision for his son was procured,[2] and the lease continued in the family. Samuel Foxe possessed it at his father's death, 1587; and in the 35th of Elizabeth, made a grant of the tythe of Shipton to Richard Wisedom, enjoining him to the observance of the covenant relating to the poor. This covenant refers to the clause in the original grant in the lease respecting the entertainment of the poor, viz.: "And furder y^t the said Samuell Foxe his executors and assignes shall and will every Sunday and festivall day during the said terme, invite entertaine and have to his table at dinner and supper two couple of honest and neediest persons (being dwellers within the said parish) allowing to them sufficient meate and drinke for their relief. To the intent good hospitality may be kept and mainteyned within the same mansion place.

* * * * *

"This first lease made by Foxe to his sonne, Samuell Foxe, has been the patterne of all the leases renewed since, which have been alwayes exactly transcribed in the same generale words and covenants, without the least alteration of that sort, and particularly this article relatyng to the poure ever preserved entire.[3]

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 136, fol. 208.
(2) See the letter of Foxe to Lord Burghley in Strype, Annals, vol. vi. p. 350, Oxford edition, and Life of Whitgift, vol. i. p. 485.
(3) Harl. MS. 419, art. 60.

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" Samuel Foxe died in 1629, about Christmas, and left his lease, and tenant-right of the said parsonage of Shipton, etc. to his son Thomas Foxe, master of arts, and fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and doctor in physic, who enjoyed it, by renewing, above thirty years, and in his time made severall short leases of the tythe of Shipton, etc. to one Thomas Skay, yeoman, who from time to time held the said tythes of Shipton, etc. above twenty years, being tied to the very same words and covenant conferming the poor's entertainment, as appears by the leases plainely and particularly by the last lease made by the saide Thomas Foxe to Thomas Skay, bearing date the 7 of June, 1660. And heer it is observable that Thomas Skay was by all his leases bound to the very words of entertaining 2 couples of poor people every Sunday and festivall day at the parsonage house in Shipton still and no where else, without the least obligation of paying any sume of money to any other place upon that account.

" On the 20th of November, 1662, Doct. Thomas Foxe died, and left his present lease and executoriall right of the said parsonage of Shipton, with all its members and appertinences, to his only daughter and sole executrix Dame Alice Willys, wife to sir Richard Willys, of Shipton in the county of Oxon, knt. and bart." [1]

We learn from the letter of bishop Piers that Foxe was now (1586,) in a declining state of health. This appears also from another letter addressed at the same time from Mrs. Foxe to her son; and which confirms the account of the state of poverty in which, in spite of all his intense labours, Foxe was still placed.

" Samuell we have us comended unto you desyringe the Lorde Jessus to blesse youe. Conserninge the Boucke which you wryghte for, the Boucke of Marters, youre father wolde have youe to wryte to the fellowe of Salsberye to knowe yf he wyll staye tell the Boucke comme forthe, which is halfe dun all redye, and wylle a gret dell, and for the cronycle yt wyll not be longe before you comme hether youreselfe for I promyse youe I have no money for I have borred x^{li} all redye, and for the boucke which youe wold have of youre fathers, I cannot fynde yt in his stoudye. As for youre father he is so weicke y^{t} he cannot gooe into his stoudye, therfore I praye youe to praye for him, we wer with youre Aunte Randall for the letter of attorneye, and she wyll not doo yt withowte her Brothers Harryes counsayle and he is not at home as yet. But her she hathe sente youe a letter. No more to youe. But the Lorde Jessus blesse youe and us all. Amen.

" Your lovinge mother, " AGGNES FOXE."

Foxe adds a postscript to this letter:—

" Samuell I marvell that you were so unwyse to blabbe out any thyng of y^{e} bok of y^{e} Apocalypse to Doct. Humfrey. Such is my weaknes now, and hath been this moneth, y^{t} I can nether eate, sleape, nor wryte, nor goo up yett to my study, wherby y^{e} boke standeth yett at a stay, in

(1) Harl. MS. 419, art. 60, fol. 171.

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pryntyng. The Lord knoweth how I shall goo forward eyther for fynyshyng y^e^ boke or dedication therof. Wherof I pray you to make no wordes to any person. Pray to y^e^ L. Jesus for me. He graunt you hys blessyng. Amen."[1]

Though the third edition of the Acts and Monuments had now been published, Foxe still continued to collect fresh materials for a new and improved edition. He continued to attend also to the duties of the ministry, and the management of a laborious correspondence. He was influential in the conversion of a Spanish Jew, who was baptized and received into the christian church in 1577. The confession of the faith of the convert was written in Spanish, and translated afterwards into English. John Foxe preached upon this occasion a sermon entitled the Gospel Olive. It was preached in Latin, but afterwards published in English. It was translated by W. Bell. The subject of the sermon is, The Gospel Olive Tree, spoken of by St. Paul in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It notices the principal prophecies relating to the Messiah, refuting the arguments in favour of the Jewish opposition to the gospel. It contains many beautiful passages, especially those in which he proceeds through the succession of prophecies which prove Jesus of Nazareth to be the first of the prophets. The paragraphs in which the contrast is drawn between the expectations of those who deemed Christ to be a temporal, and not a spiritual Prince; those also in which he anticipates the future glory and majesty of the kingdom of Christ, and the final conversion of some to Messiah, their Prince, are judiciously treated. It was dedicated to sir Francis Walsingham, who had requested the discourse to be repeated to him during an illness in his sick chamber. John Foxe thanks sir Francis, in his dedication, for the benefit he had derived, in his own infirm state of health, from his French wine; and begs him, in return for this fruit of the vineyard, to accept this branch of the evangelical olive tree. He wishes every earthly and heavenly blessing to him, and to the little plants of his domestic olive tree. This sort of play on words, which our modern notions of wit would treat with disdain, was then highly esteemed. The confession of faith by the converted Jew is appended to the sermon. Both have been lately republished in London.[2]

While this sermon was going through the press, the following letter was addressed to Foxe by C. Barber, who was probably a printer in the service of Daye.

"Sir, for as much as I can nott here of Mr. Bell and y^t^ my presse standeth still for want of this Epistle to my Mr. I besech you lett me crave so much of you as to english the same: as for the residue of the Boke, I dare nott fynde faultt w^th^ him y^t^ haith doone his good will, neyther can I juge by the latin, But I am sure it is translated in manye placis quyt frome yo^r^ meaning and in some farr from Christianitie. But

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 91. fol. 146.
(2) British Reformers. Printed for the Religious Tract Society, 1831.

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so soone as we fownde it we have bene sircumspeckt. Thus I umblie comend you to the L. Jesus and to the comforte of his holye Spiritt this 23 of June 1577. "Yors to his power

"C. BARBER."[1]

Whether Foxe altered any part of his discourse in consequence of this criticism is uncertain.

He continued to receive, at this time, from all quarters, letters on public matters, as well as on the private and domestic affairs of those who were anxious to consult him. His son alludes to the manner in which he was now regarded as the common friend of the friendless; and so far as his means allowed him to be, the common benefactor to the poor. Many of these letters are still preserved. One, for instance, is sent him from Hamburg by his friend Langerman, with a work entitled "Ecclesiastes;" and an account of what would appear to have been a public wish, viz. the desire that some commercial communications might take place between that city and England; "not," he adds, "that a kingdom so opulent, and abounding in wealth, can require any assistance from a city so poor as this; yet, it sometimes happens that the eagle is benefitted by the beetle."[2] He receives intelligence from Thomas Barwick at Lambeth that the duke of Northumberland was reported to have died a papist; and to have used the words, "O bone Jesus, O dulcis Jesus, O Jesu fili Mariæ."[3] At the same time the bishop of London sends him information, that the queen of Scots had been grievously afflicted with paralysis, and that great hopes were entertained of the young king being a good protestant in Scotland.[4] While he is thus made the repository of information of every description, applications were made to him, as the intimate friend of the patrons of the day, to assist in the obtaining patronage for others. The following is selected as a specimen of these applications.

"To the right worshipfull and his deare brother in lorde Mr. Jhon Foxe, a painfull professor and preacher of the worde of God Fraunces Shakelton person of St. Mildreds in the Pultrie, (and preacher of the same word of truth) doth wishe grace and peace from God the father and from the lorde Jesus Christe.

"These are to besech you and require you (in the lorde right worshipfull and dearlie beloved) y^t^ you will not faile to do y^e^ best you can in the preferringe of the suite of the bairer hereof Antonie Watsone, who as I am persuaded is a deare childe of God and is verie desyrous to be a proffittable member in his churche. If he may have your favour-

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 123, fol. 192. (2) Harl. MS. 416, art. 126, fol. 196.
(3) Harl. MS. 417, art. 84, fol. 120 b. Oct. 1578.
(4) Joannes Elmerus Episcopus Londinensis ad D. Foxum.—Salutem in Christo. Accepimus Reginam Scotorum paralysi graviter laborare, vel ad desperationem, et aliis nonnullis torqueri morbis. Rex ipse optimæ spei adolescens, parliamenti autoritate decrevit de una religione confirmanda, et papistica e finibus suis exterminanda, ita ut quisque missam auditurus primo moneatur, secundo bona ipsius fisco adjudicentur, si tertio peccaverit solum vertere cogatur. Hæc ad te scripsi, tum ut hujus boni participem faciam; tum ut a te preces cum lachrymis Christo nostro fundantur, et nos beare, et suum evangelium propagare pergat. Quæ concedat optimus Jhesus noster quem non minus tibi familiarem existimo, quam est amicus quisque amico. Ora, ora, mi frater, nam plurimum apud Christum tuas valere preces non dubito.
Harl. MS. 417, art. 25, fol. 102 b. Tui amantiss. JOHANNES LOND.

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able and readie speches or letters of recommendation unto y^t^ rare and painfull (pains-taking) pastor of our tyme Mr. Nowell the deane of Pawles. Beseechinge him to retaine him and to receive him unto his chardge and tuicion as his servaunt during his liffe, with this petition, (for y^t^ he is desyrous to learne y^e^ latine tonge) that he will vouchsaffe of his wonted bountifulnes and accostomed clemencye to kepe him at some grammer schole or els to trayne him up in his owne howse till such tyme as he shalbe able to understand what he readeth in the latine tonge, for he is very earnestly bent to heare y^e^ word of God, and he is also verie forward in y^e^ principall points of y^e^ Christian religion, which maketh me the more readie to be a suiter unto your worship for him, desyringe you againe and againe to preferre his cause so much as in you is possible. And thus I commend you unto the tuicion of God who ever kepe you from all evle. From my house in the Pultrie this present Fryday the xxvi of Februarie 1580.

"Yours in the lorde to commaunde in anie thinge I am hable,

"FRAUNCES SHAKELTON.

"To the right worshipfull and his deare frende and brother Mr. Foxe professor of divinitie geve these."[1]

A little before this he received one from Mr. John Lond, containing several new materials for his Martyrology, and insisting more especially on the miserable end of divers Romish priests, as of Dr. Wyllyams; the priest of St. Margaret's, Eastchepe; &c.[2]

His labours were now drawing to a close, and he was superintending the last edition of his great work, that appeared under his own correction. Hints he had from many; among them the following:—"I have mee hartely comended. I doo understand you doo mind (to) enlardge your booke of Martyrs, and to have it newly printed: God grant y^t^ y^r^ good purpose therein may take good successe according to your expectation, and our hartye desire is, y^t^ it may be printed in good paper and a faire and legible print, and not in blacke blurred and torne paper, as y^e^ last edition is: being nether good paper or good print. I write thus much, for y^e^ good will I beare unto you myne old frind, and acquaintance in magdalen college, and also for that it is pittifull to see such a notable pece of woorke to be darkned with foule paper and obscure print: and thereby haulfe cast away. Thus I am bold to open my mind unto you, trusting y^t^ you will accept my good meaning therein. I would hartelye wish further that you would set out all your whole discourse at lardge in two faire volumes; leaving out nothing ether Latten or English, as you have done in many places in your latter edicion referring your reader unto y^e^ fyrst edicion, as though every man hath or can have all the edicions. Moreover I would wish that you would quote the booke and y^e^ chapiter of everye perticular authoritye which you doo alleadge in your woorke: as also in what tyme everye writer was: as nighe as you can: the table also is not perfecte for divers names of mar-

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 130, fol. 202.

(2) Lansdown MS. 982, fol. 103.

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tyrs are left out in the table, namelye: fo. 1105 Collins, Cowbridge, and Packington, likewise Puttedew: and Peke fo. 1106, wherof there is no mencion in the table. I was present at the burning of Cowbridge at what tyme doctor Brinknell doctor of divinitie in Cambridge and at that tyme schoole mäster in Banburye, under longland, bishop of Lincolne, did preache in the same place before balioll colledge where the late bishops were burned. I have delivered unto this bearer my sone, the names of many whome I did knowe, which if they may pleasure you I pray you to use them. Thus I take my leave wishing unto you to my selfe. Oxon. the 3d day of February, 1582.

"Yo^r old acquaintance & ffrende to my power,

"SIMON PARRETT."

"Mr. Parrett y^r old eleemosynarius for your groate and worde, not only diligens lector, sed avidus Helluo tuorum librorum, hath many times wished the thinges reformed: whereunto I subscribe, desiring you to make it nowe a full monument of Actes for all posterite. Cõmend me to good Mrs. Ffoxe. Your sone requests . . . . . daies to goe beyond y^e seas, w^h I graunte conditionally, if you write him.

"Tuissimus, LAUR. HUMPHREDUS."[1]

Among other letters addressed to Foxe at this period, is another from the same friend and fellow-exile, Laurence Humphreys, exhorting him to proceed with a work, which he had long before undertaken, the completing of Haddon's answer to Osorius, which had appeared in 1577, and again in 1581. Dr. Humphreys entreats him to go on, and confute Osorius, even to slaying.[2] Foxe, though now continually occupied with the fourth and last edition of his Acts and Monuments, still found time to comply with this request. The controversy to which the president of Magdalene refers, may even now be interesting to the theological student. It relates to that most agitated of all questions, the justification of the soul before God.

Jerome Osorius, the author of the book to which Foxe replied, was surnamed, for the elegance of his Latin style, the Portuguese Cicero. After studying at Salamanca, he proceeded, at the age of nineteen, to Paris, where he became the intimate friend of Peter le Faire, one of the earliest associates of Loyola, whom he introduced to the patronage of his sovereign John III. He thus procured the early establishment of the Jesuits in Portugal. From Paris he proceeded to Bologna, where he became distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and theology; as he had before distinguished himself in Latin, Greek, and the civil law. He was made professor of theology in the university of Coimbra, where he lectured on Isaiah, and on the Epistle to the Romans. He was subsequently made bishop of Selves, and performed his duties with great exemplariness and fidelity. He was much beloved by Sebastian; whom

(1) Harl. MS. 416, art. 131, fol. 203.
(2) Parge Osorium confutare, ut confodias, et jugulas, etc. Harl. MSS. 417, Art. 76, fol. 118.

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he in vain endeavoured to dissuade from the expedition in which he perished. He was no less esteemed by pope Gregory XIII. He died in 1580.

I mention this detail, not only because of the controversy of Osorius with the English church, but because his library was captured at sea, by the earl of Essex, in 1596, and a great portion of it is now placed in the Bodleian at Oxford.

The church of England, on account of its maintaining so tolerantly, so scripturally, so holily, the union of discipline and truth, which not only permits, but encourages the freedom of inquiry, and even inculcates inquiry as a duty, by the manner in which it so uniformly appeals to Scripture—the church of England, which has adorned its altars and services with all that is truly useful or ornamental from either antiquity, tradition, or the fathers—the church of England, which combines in one acceptable ritual, all that a papist might demand for regularity and order, and all that a puritan might demand for the spiritual homage of the soul to its Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier—this church of England has ever been, and until Rome changes, will ever be, the chief object of attack with such men as the learned and zealous Osorio. In the year 1562, Osorio published what Strype[1] calls a malicious libel against England and the reformation, in an epistle to the queen. This was answered by Haddon, the master of requests to Elizabeth; and the reply of Haddon is esteemed by Strype[2] to be equal to Jewell's Apology. Haddon would compel us to believe that the work of Osorius was but a medley of impertinencies and absurdities, and a mere declamation against the reformation. He seems to have indulged in much personal invective against the reformers, contrasting them with the fathers, and assailing, with much vehemence, their uniform appeal to Scripture, as their sole criterion of truth in religion. It laments the demolition of the monasteries and nunneries, and the removal of images and pictures. He affirms that all things sacred were overthrown in England. He condemns the separation from the pope—the manners of the people—the preaching—the liturgy—the sacramental forms—and the want of union, among the members of the reformed church. He contrasts England with the continent, to its disadvantage; and expresses his deep pity for its miserable and unfortunate condition; and he concludes his treatise by imploring her majesty to relinquish the religion of England, and to adopt the conclusions of Trent, and Osorius. He eulogizes the church of Rome with much eloquence; and urges the queen to banish what he called, in common with his brethren, the novelty of error; but what Haddon called, in common with the better informed theologians of his church, the antiquity of truth. The answer of Haddon to this remonstrance was printed, and circulated on the continent.

(1) Annals, vol. i. p. 378, folio edition. (2) Ut supra.

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The reply of Osorius[1] was published soon after. It repeated his invectives. The book was eulogized by his brethren. Haddon was threatened with death, if he continued the controversy. To this he answered that so long as he breathed he would persist in the defence of his country. Whether he was destroyed by poison or not is uncertain: but so it was that he died at Bruges, in Flanders, while on an embassy from England, before his second answer to Osorius was concluded, in the year 1566. John Foxe was requested to complete the unfinished essay. He was thought the best, both for his learning and theology, as well as for his excellent Latin style, to go on with the work. He did so; and added three more books. The work thus completed was published in London by John Day, in quarto, in 1577. It was translated into English by James Bell, and printed again in 1581, one year after the death of Osorius.

One of the chief doctrines which distinguishes the church of England from the church of Rome, is the doctrine of justification. The work of Foxe is a defence of the evangelical view of justification, as it is so clearly expressed in the eleventh article of the church of England. These pages of Foxe are still most interesting to all who have studied the works which have lately appeared on this subject. Whether we adopt the conclusions of Newman, or the definitions of bishop M'Ilvaine,[2] that justifying faith is a principle beginning with knowledge, going on to love, and ending in action; or the definition of Holden, that justification is an act of God, acquitting from guilt, receiving into favour, communicating the Holy Spirit, accepting men as just, and conferring eternal life, of which act faith is the condition, and baptism the beginning; or whether we receive the definition of the council of Trent—that justification is constituted by an infused and inherent principle of holiness, conferred at baptism, preserved, and augmented by faith and works—diminished and lost by sin—recovered by the sacraments—partly effected by good works—through the grace of the Holy Spirit, made meritorious by the merits of Christ, and that a man is justified by this inherent, divinely-infused righteousness—whether we define faith to be the formal cause of justification—or whether justifying faith is a principle of action only, or action combined with principle; whatever be the conclusions, or opinions, or deliberations of the student of the works of Newman, Alexander Knox, Mr. Faber, bishop M'Ilvaine, Holden, and others; the doctrine of justification by faith as the church of England teaches it, in the eleventh article, will ever remain, the light which gilds the valley of the shadow of death "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings; therefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort." Every student of this portion of our controversies will be benefited by

(1) Hieronymi Osorii episcopi Sylvestis, in Gualterum Haddonum, etc. libri tres. Ulyssiponæ, anno 1567, 4to.
(2) M'Ilvaine on Justification, p. 110.

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the perusal of Foxe's answer to Osorio. The one doctrine he opposes, against the church of Rome, is the doctrine of inherent righteousness. He calls the members of the church of Rome who maintain this doctrine against the true catholic church, pseudo-catholics, and catacatholics, as being opposed to the true catholicism of the church of Christ. He concludes his preliminary address by a beautiful prayer to Christ, that he would still the disorderly tumults, and vain janglings in the church—(the prayer may be now offered with propriety, and may it be accepted!)—that Christ would grant peace to our times, pardon to our sins, strength and victory to our faith, skilful workmen to the church, and dexterity in working and teaching to the workmen; and especially that he would refresh and comfort with the gracious favour of his Divine Majesty, the pious and perplexed consciences of believers, combating with death and Satan, or exercised with sharp affliction, for the glory of his own name. He then proceeds to the general discussion of the subject with his usual skill and eloquence. He is, as he ought to be, not Calvinistical, but rightly evangelical, in the proper sense of that much-decried and much-abused word. He speaks as a Christian, and as a churchman ought to speak, of that free justification of the soul, which the papists anathematize and hiss out of the schools. He contrasts the principles and effects of the two opposite doctrines. He derides the confirmation of the Trentine creed, by reasonings drawn from Aristotle. He proves the union of holiness of life with the evangelical truths he is maintaining; and vindicates, throughout, the common faith once delivered to the saints, as it is generally upheld by the members of the church of England at present, in the most complete and satisfactory manner. A brief account of the work is given, with much eulogy, by Strype,[1] and an abridgment of the treatise has been lately published by the Tract Society in London.[2] It may be presumed, therefore, to be familiar to all; and it will reward the perusal of all who are interested in these inquiries, and are willing to seek for truth in every quarter where there may be a probability of finding that pearl of great price. The book concludes with another prayer to Christ, that all who profess his name, and wear his badge, may depart from iniquity, and be gathered together, in one uniform doctrine, into the kingdom of Him who suffered for the sins of man, and rose again for his justification. They are simple and common words; but what Christian will not desire both his own justification and the union of the holy catholic church? and what Christian will refuse to say Amen to that prayer?[3]

Little now remains to be said of John Foxe. We have seen[4] his

(1) Annals, vol. iii. p. 68, folio edition.

(2) 1832.

(3) The last most important work on the subject of justification is that by Mr. Faber. Mr. Faber, as Foxe does, in his reply to Osorius, contrasts the primitive and Trentine systems. There is an identity in the reasonings of the two books, though Mr. Faber does not seem to have read the reply to Osorius. Mr. Faber has rendered to the church the great service of proving, by quotations from the fathers, from Clement to Bernard, that Trentine Rome teaches other conclusions than the fathers taught, and that the reformers restored only, therefore, in the Articles of the Church of England, the doctrine of the prophets, apostles, and fathers. In this, as in other instances, well-authenticated tradition is with the Anglican, and not with the papal church.

(4) Account of his prayer before the sermon at Paul's Cross, for the church of Rome, *supra*.

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language of kindness and love towards the members of the church of Rome, though he was the most severe condemner of their errors, and especially of their intolerable persecutions. We cannot tell whether he had by this time followed the example of Dr. Humphreys, and many of his other friends, in conformity to the vestments; but if Strype is right, in imputing to him, rather than to Dr. Humphreys, the beautiful expostulatory letter to the puritans, who were now beginning to be powerful, we may believe that he conformed, and we have still more abundant reason to admire in John Foxe the union of those two virtues which ought ever to characterise the episcopalian protestant—the love of union, and the love of truth.[1] The internal evidence would induce us to conclude that it was written by Foxe. There is the same intermixture of Greek sentences which characterises his application to lord Burghley, "to obtain the queen's confirmation of his prebend in the church of Sarum."[2] It abounds with scriptural allusions, and references to the Apocalypse, which Foxe had made his peculiar study. It breathes the same spirit of peace and desire of union, with the same aversion to the church of Rome, as the enemy of such union, which marks his other labours, excepting that comparatively little notice is taken of the papacy, in consequence of the letter being addressed to the puritans. The chief attack on the church of Rome, indeed, appears in the forty-first paragraph, where he contrasts the gorgeous and sumptuous vestments of the church of Rome, with the more simple robes and surplice adopted by the church of England, to which the writer is persuading conformity.[3] If, then, we may, on such evidence, together with that of Strype, attribute the letter to Foxe, we may regard it as his last address to the church, and to those friends who taught with him the great truth of justification by faith alone, as a principle of love, leading to obedience to God. A brief abstract of its contents, therefore, may not be uninteresting.

The English title of the letter is, "An Expostulatory Letter to the Puritans, upon occasion of their Contentions in the Church, and Exhortatory to Peace, and earnest Application of themselves to preach the Gospel." Its Latin title does not mention the puritans. It is addressed only to all the faithful ministers of Christ, his fellow-workers in the gospel, and who have the true zeal of reforming the house of God.[4] It may appear that the attributing to the persons to whom the letter was addressed, zeal in reforming, is the same as denominating them puritans. We may, however, hope that the desire to remove whatever may be justly objectionable, either in the church or in the state, does not necessarily subject the respectful proposer of a change to any odious, or contemptful, epithet. Two terms of mutual reproach divide the clergy of the church of

(1) The letter is too long to be inserted here. It constitutes No. XLIX. of the Appendix in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. page of the Appendix 212, folio edition.

(2) Ap. Strype's Annals, vol. iii. b. ii. Appendix, p. 110, No. XLIX.

(3) Cur dicemus, hunc vestitum papisticum. Non lineæ, sed seriacæ, non planæ, simplices, sed aureæ, magnificæ, regales erant vestes papisticæ. Poculum aureum habuit meretrix illa in manu suâ. Omnia in religione ejus, sumptuosa, fastu mundano plena, ecclesia nostra quid habet simile.

(4) Ad omnes fideles ministros Jesu, cooperarios suos in evangelio, et qui verum Domus Dei reformandæ zelum.

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England at this moment. Some are called high churchmen, some, low churchmen. Both are supposed to be inflamed with an honourable zeal so to reform the church, that if there should be found any thing in the liturgy, articles, homilies, or canons, which may be objectionable, we ought, at a fit opportunity, to remove it. It is believed that the reforms which the high churchman would propose, would make the church approximate more to Rome than it now does. It is believed that the reforms which the low churchman would propose, would remove the church further from Rome. Peace be to both. Neither are papists; neither are puritans. Let but their controversy proceed till they both esteem each other more than they may have hitherto done, and all useful changes may be eventually made, and peace be upon our Israel.

The letter consists of forty-six paragraphs; and as their contents are of a very general nature, they may be said to be as useful at present as they were when they were originally published. "I speak the truth, my brethren," it begins, (Par. 1,) "do not, I entreat you, oppose the truth. I know that there is nothing so true, but it may be corrupted by prejudice; nothing so false, which may not be so treated that it shall appear both probable and certain." "Let us contend for the truth." (Par. 2 and 3.) "Imitate the bees; as they extract honey from every flower, so let us obtain truth from all sources. This is our business; this is our duty. The spiritual church, Jerusalem, our mother, (Par. 4,) is not yet at its home in heaven; it is still in its wanderings upon earth. And this spouse of Christ is not naked as in Paradise before the fall, but possesses its own robe; not the Babylonian garments of meretricious pride and splendour, but the dress, and ornaments, and ceremonies which are, as it were, the coats of skin to clothe it, granted by its Lord himself, simple, plain, and decorous. This our mother is not now as she will in future be, 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' This our field of the church cannot be without its tares; yet let us not despise the manners and the customs of the church of God. The ancient churches, even though planted by the apostles (Par. 5), had their faults. Let us (Par. 6) learn to bear with each other, to avoid all schisms, and not to rend asunder the seamless coat of Christ.[1] This is not the time (Par. 7) for disputes, but for peace. Let us in that bond keep the unity of the Spirit; and may your (Par. 8) indefatigable and useful preaching extend and obtain a blessing. We may observe that in the Apocalypse (Par. 9), three angels are represented as preaching, each having his own, certain, definite, separate, yet agreeing commission. They were the precursors of the judgment day. The first said, 'Fear God, and give glory to him.' This is the preaching of the gospel. The second (Par. 10) said, 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen.' This is the preaching against Antichrist and his kingdom. The third (Par. 11) said, 'If any shall adore the beast and his image, he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of

(1) I am merely giving the briefest abstract of the sense of each paragraph.

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God.' As they agree (Par. 12), so let us do also. As they (Par. 13) do not condemn each other for taking their different offices, so let us not rashly condemn the preaching of each other. Let us not call a man a pharisee because he preaches the necessity of good works. Let us not call a man a papist, who prefers celibacy to marriage. So let us (Par. 14) rightly divide the word of truth, giving to each the food of life, according to opportunity and place. In council, at court, let us speak as our circumstances or station permit, on the laws and on the reformations which may be required in the church or state. In the parish, in the manor, in the country; let us converse on obedience, and morals, and the necessity of a holy conversation. Though we act as skilful physicians in these matters, yet, as John the Baptist (Par. 15) reproved Herod, and the prophets reproved wicked kings, so (Par. 16) should we, in palaces, instruct princes; in villages, the common people; and in the assemblies of the clergy, heal the wounds of your brethren. Yours it is (Par. 17) to pour in the oil and the wine, with the good Samaritan; yours is the word of reconciliation, the gospel of peace: and if the rod of severe reproof or the sword of excommunication be necessary, so use it that the drowning man shall emerge from the mire, and not be plunged deeper. The nature of man loves persuasion, and abhors compulsion.

"You desire to extirpate papistry. Make allowances (Par.18) for the attachment to their ancient practices, among those whom you endeavour to convert. Do not imitate (Par. 19) their intolerance. Let not your words be swords. Avoid (Par. 20) spiritual pride and contempt of the weak; avarice (Par. 21), superstition, and indolence. Without obedience to the law which we understand, knowledge does but increase our punishment. Take care lest, when you wish to be as Argus, ye become not more blind than the blind papists themselves. Why preach ye my law (Par. 22), and hate your own required reformation?"

The next fourteen paragraphs consist of arguments against pluralities and non-residence, and exhortations to consider Christ alone as the object of all their teaching. On him alone, the hand, the eye, the soul, must be intently fixed; or the preacher commits sin, and errs from the mark.

After some severe and just remarks on non-residents, he proceeds—

"The kingdom of God (Par. 37) is not meat and drink, but peace and joy; yet all in the churches must be done decently and in order. The things consecrated to God (Par. 38), must be appropriated exclusively to God."

From this the author passes on to the defence of the vestments, of suitable ornaments for the Lord's table, and especially of the surplice. He expostulates (Par. 40) with them for resisting the authority of the church on such a point as the wearing the surplice.[1] It is a popish garment, is the objection. "Even if it is so," he answers, "does the error

(1) Quid annon hic tantum ecclesiæ auctoritati concedetis, ut vestem decentem præscribat ministro sacra celebranti? At quanlibet vestem hic scio dicetis præter istam superpelliceam, etc.

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of the faith necessarily follow the use of the garment? Do we become Turks, pagans, heathens, because our clothes resemble theirs? Are not the holy persons who are represented as engaged in heavenly things, described to us as clothed in white?" He contrasts (Par. 41) the sumptuous magnificence of the popish vestments with the simplicity of the English surplice, and urges (Par. 42) its adoption as the robe of order, decency, and union; not, as many imagine, of devotion, holiness, and religion.

From the defence of the surplice, he proceeds to discuss the subscription (Par. 43) to the prayers. The Amen, which expresses the assent to the petitions, he argues to be equivalent to the required subscription. "They agree (Par. 44) to the truth of the doctrines which cannot be, and ought not to be, changed. Why should they not subscribe to things which are in their own nature indifferent, such as rites and ceremonies, which may be changed, if it so please the church and the ruler? As the kiss of peace and the mode of unction in the apostolical churches have been changed or removed, so also may the observances of any other church be altered, if it be necessary: but while they are ordained by law, they are bonds of union, and may be wisely retained. I beseech you therefore, brethren," he concludes (Par. 45), "that ye follow peace; so do the work of an evangelist; and contend no more for trifles. Let us join hands in union, promoting the establishment of the gospel, the inculcation of good works, and the overthrow of the Jesuits, the enemies of the church. This is labour sufficient for us; this is our bounden duty. So let us bear each other's burthens; so fulfil the law of Christ." He then concludes with a prayer for the blessing of the Holy Spirit, and ascriptions of praise to Christ, the Lord and Saviour, as the great head of the church.

Such is the address to the puritans, which Strype would attribute to John Foxe, in the last year of his life. If it may be justly ascribed to him, we may be certain that he had at length followed the example of the great majority of his fellow-exiles in the reign of Mary, and conformed to the external vestments and ceremonies, as he had uniformly adopted the doctrines and truths, of the church. It breathes throughout the same spirit of truth and love, which had characterised his sermon at St. Paul's Cross. It is written in the style and language which has been always deemed most becoming the church of England, as the medium between popery and puritanism. It condemns the errors of both, but the former more severely than the latter, because more of christian truth is perverted by popery than by puritanism; but it speaks of the holders of error as objects of compassion rather than of reproach. It aims at union, but would sacrifice no truth to obtain it. It regards the changeableness of things indifferent as one source of the desired union, and obedience to the authority of the church in all matters where no scriptural truth is denied, as the solemn obligation of a Christian. Happy would it have been for the church and for the state of England, if the principles it

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inculcates had been made the guide of the two contending parties who changed the island into a field of blood within the eventful century which followed the death of the martyrologist; when mutual exasperations led to mutual crimes; and the severest wounds which the holy religion of Jesus Christ ever yet suffered, proceeded neither from the violence of the heathen; nor persecution by the papist; nor from hypocrisy, as was so often alleged, on the part of the puritan; but from the personal piety of the holy, and of the zealous, refusing conformity to a ceremony, or the putting on of a surplice. Whenever the time arrives that nations, rulers, and people, shall learn the great lessons which are given to us by the crimes and follies, by the virtues and vices, recorded in the history of the past; they must act in the temper and spirit of this address to the puritans, by one who studied and enforced the truth, which the papist and the puritan have alike perverted.

And now the time arrived when the martyrologist must die. The man of the world, who has his portion in this life, and who passes through life anxious only for its honours, wealth, and pleasures, staves off all thoughts of dying; and when the law of his God commands the body to faint, and the soul to live in its new condition, he yields to the sentence merely as to an unavoidable event, of which it would be unphilosophical to complain. He dies as the fool dieth—as a sentimental and affected heathen might die—professing, perhaps, in terms which seem selected to conceal his terrors under the mask of serenity, to believe that the soul is immortal; and sinking, and making no christian sign, as if there was no revelation to guide him, no church to aid him, no priesthood to console him, no God to fear, nor Saviour to love, nor Holy Spirit to strengthen, nor heaven to hope, nor hell to dread, nor soul to save. Some Christians die in humble hope—some in the calmness of holy peace, and rejoicing in God their Saviour. They know in whom they have believed. They gather their friends and their kindred around them; and their last expressions are divided between the language which describes their own quiet confidence in the revealed mercy of God, their affection to their friends, and their gratitude to the providence which has led them through the wilderness of life, and which upholds their faltering steps in the dark valley through which they are walking. Some Christians—and archbishop Leighton and John Foxe were of the number—when the last hour of their earthly existence approaches, rejoice that the communion between the spirit parting from the body, and the invisible Father of the spirits of all flesh, should be undisturbed by the tears and lamentations of their weeping kindred. They endeavour to dismiss from their presence all who may interrupt the solemn and sacred composure, with which the Christian awaits the moment when the consciousness of existence in this state ends, and the consciousness of existence in the next state begins—when, resigned and expectant of that great and mysterious change, the dying man prays within, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!"

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Though he was thus eminent for his contempt of the world, he was not an ascetic, banishing himself from the society either of his equals or superiors. His intimacy with the duke of Norfolk had continued unbroken from the earliest years of the duke until he was attended by Foxe to the scaffold. The pension assigned him by the duke was continued by his son.[1] The lord treasurer Burghley, the earls of Bedford and Warwick, sir Francis Walsingham, the amiable and accomplished brothers, sir Thomas and Michael Heneage, sir Drue Drury, and sir Francis Drake, are enumerated among his friends. The earl of Leicester made him valuable presents; a circumstance not, indeed, surprising, as that nobleman was supposed to be anxious to conciliate those who peculiarly regarded John Foxe as the champion of the anti-papal cause. The principal ecclesiastics of the day, Grindall, Aylmer, Pilkington, Nowell, were devotedly attached to him, not only as their fellow-exile, but as that good and holy person, of whom no fault has ever been alleged, and against whom none could find occasion to speak, unless, as against Daniel in the olden time, "it was found in him concerning the law of his God." These he loved in return, but he more peculiarly delighted in the learning and conversation of Fulk and Whittaker, whose labours still enrich the church, and in those of Humfrey, president of Magdalene, of sir Thomas Gresham, and sir Thomas Roe, the wealthy and accomplished merchants of London. From these, and from many others enumerated by his son, he derived the large sums of money which he was known to distribute so bountifully, and to which he added so much of his own more scanty resources, that he is said by many, though his son doubts the certainty of the report, to have given away the very furniture of his house to supply the temporary, but pressing wants of his poorer neighbours.[2]

Great cheerfulness is the usual concomitant, of piety united with knowledge. Many anecdotes are recorded by his son to illustrate the cheerfulness with which he adorned the tables of his noble and learned friends.

We have seen the manner in which his horror of inflicting the punishment of death for real or supposed errors in opinion was exemplified in the case of the burning of some anabaptists. His son assures us that he had the utmost moderation towards the persons of the most zealous papists themselves, however vehemently he was opposed to their opinions. "I could produce letters," says his son, "wherein he persuadeth lords, and others, who then held the places of chiefest authority, not to suffer Edmund Campian and his fellow-conspirators to be put to death; nor to let that custom continue longer in the kingdom, that death, rather than some other punishment, should be inflicted on the papist offenders.

(1) The earl of Suffolk, son of the duke, by his second duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas lord Audley, of Walden, in Essex, and widow of lord Henry Dudley, younger son of John, duke of Northumberland. Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 108.

(2) Among the Foxe Papers in the British Museum are found many names of friends not enumerated by his son—Pusey, Gelibrand of Magdalene, Sharpe, Gordonius, Robert Silesius, Puis of Baliol, Cheke, Rogers, Gresop, Balyn, Regini Mortelius of Antwerp, and many more. Harl. MS. Nos. 416, 417.

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And, lest he might seem only out of the goodness of his nature, and not out of the judgment of his mind, to have so spoken, he there endeavoureth to prove, by many reasons, how much it was to the weakening of the cause, rather to follow the example of their adversaries, in appointing punishments, than their own mildness; and that they much rather ought to strive, as well in mercy and clemency to overcome them, as they had already excelled them in the justice of their cause. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity, to entreat for them. Whereas, on the other side, the lords gave him to understand that this was a matter of state, not of controversie; that the sovereign's life, the publick liberty, and the assurance of the kingdom, rested on this point; that subjects ought, by their own peril, to be warned how they grow too prodigal of their countrie's blessings; that such was the estate of the kingdom, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more secure, if the subjects only would consent to devote their abilities to the service of their own church and country. Yet, for all this, did master Foxe continue in his opinion; and, though he could by entreaty gain nothing, yet would he, with many sighs, testify his sorrow, as often as he heard that any of them had been put to death."

Every religious error among Christians may be said to be either the adding to, or taking from, or perverting, or deducing wrong inferences from, some undoubted truth. It has ever been, as it still is, the glory of the church of England so to uphold the abstract truth, as to avoid the perversion of the two opposite truths—that authority must be maintained for the sake of order, and freedom of inquiry be not only permitted, but commanded, for the sake of progressive improvement. Popery is the perversion of church authority into mental tyranny. Puritanism is the perversion of freedom into caprice. Both have maintained opposing errors, from which the episcopal churches, which reject alike the usurpations of the papacy and the encroachments of the laity, are free. John Foxe was an episcopalian. In the course of the controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift, the Acts and Monuments of Foxe was praised by Cartwright. This circumstance elicited from Whitgift his opinion of the character of the martyrologist. "I conclude," says Whitgift, speaking to the puritan, "with the very words of that worthy man, who hath so well deserved of this church of England, master Foxe:—'In the ecclesiastical state we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed, or by the primitive church allowed, as archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons; for of these four we especially read, as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person; for, as we give to the minister place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop, so we see no cause of inequality why one

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minister should be above another minister, one bishop in his degree above another bishop to deal in his diocese, or an archbishop above another archbishop.' "

Such are the words of Foxe, quoted by Whitgift; and the archbishop adds his own general testimony to the merits of Foxe as an episcopalian. "And I cannot but observe," says Strype, "the esteem and character that Whitgift expressed of this reverend man." "The archbishop," says his great biographer, "was not a man to speak otherwise than as he thought, and he spake of Foxe as of one that he loved and venerated."[1]

But though Foxe was thus an episcopalian, we cannot be certain that his nonconformity to the vestments entirely ceased. If so, there is an inconsistency in this, which has already been considered, and which we may with difficulty excuse. Every church, and every society of Christians, like every political association of men into communities and states, must be founded on the agreement in some general principles, and on the submission of the reason, founded upon that agreement, to some regulations, which would be neither originally proposed by the individual, and which are assented to, also, by him with some difficulty, for the sake of the public peace. If the most rigid papist, from the pope in the Vatican to the last accepter of the tonsure, were to be asked whether there was not some one law, opinion, or conclusion, which is sanctioned by, or included in, the twelfth article of the Tridentine creed, "I do receive and profess all things delivered, declared, and defined by all the sacred canons," which might possibly be worthy of reconsideration, it is difficult to imagine that the reply would be in the negative. If the most severe Calvinist, or presbyterian, were to be asked, whether no point of the Genevan discipline were capable of improvement, the reply would be the same. If the episcopalian of the church of England were to be asked, whether he would not prefer the exclusion from the canons, of the decree that no Greek Grammar should be used in our public schools but that which was sanctioned by Henry VIII., is it not probable that he would say that this, and perhaps some other minor matters, might be usefully reconsidered? Yet the papist, the presbyterian, and the episcopalian, are contented to be united in their several communities on general principles; while they desist, for the sake of the public peace of their society, from insisting on the adoption of the several alterations, they might be willing to suggest. The individual members of all political, or all religious societies, after the centuries of controversy which have agitated the civilized world, must be contented thus to unite with his brethren; or he must become the very Ishmael of his particular tribe. His hand must be against every man, and every man's hand against him. Such a man must become to himself his own church, his own pope, and his own Bible. He must forsake the communion of his fellows, and retire from all churches, and all societies, to worship his God in the wilderness. Such were, probably, the reasonings which induced the exiles who

(1) See Strype's Life of Whitgift, ap. Strype's Annals, 1587, pp. 504, 505, folio, 1728.

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returned from the continent at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, to conform to the vestments, to which they had previously objected; and it is much to be regretted that such reasoning was not certainly influential on the mind of the martyrologist.

But though he might have been, to this extent, a nonconformist, he highly disapproved of the intemperance of the rigid puritans. He expressed himself to the following effect in the Latin letter written on the expulsion of his son from Magdalene College, on the groundless imputation of his having turned papist.

"I confess it has always been my great care, if I could not be serviceable to many persons, yet not knowingly to injure any one, and least of all those of Magdalene College. I cannot, therefore, but the more wonder at the turbulent genius which inspires those factious puritans, so that violating the laws of gratitude, despising my letters and prayers, disregarding the intercession of the president himself (Dr. Humphreys), without any previous admonition, or assigning any cause, they have exercised so great tyranny against me and my son; were I one, who like them would be violently outrageous against bishops and archbishops, or join myself with them, that is, would become mad, as they are, I had not met with this severe treatment. Now, because, quite different from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and public tranquillity, hence the hatred they have a long time conceived against me is at last grown to this degree of bitterness. As this is the case, I do not so much ask you what you will do on my account, as what is to be thought of for your sakes; you who are prelates of the church, again and again consider. As to myself, though the taking away the fellowship from my son is a great affliction to me, yet because this is only a private concern, I bear it with more moderation. I am much more concerned upon account of the church, which is public. I perceive a certain race of men rising up, who, if they should increase and gather strength in this kingdom, I am sorry to say what disturbance I foresee must follow it. Your prudence is not ignorant how much the christian religion formerly suffered by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of the monks. At present in these men I know not what sort of new monks seems to revive; so much more pernicious than the former, as with more subtle artifices of deceiving, under pretence of perfection, like stage-players who only act a part, they conceal a more dangerous poison; who, while they require every thing to be formed according to their own 'strict discipline' and conscience, will not desist until they have brought all things into Jewish bondage." [1]

Such were his sentiments on the puritan controversy; and the events of the two succeeding reigns proved that he had not judged rashly of the violent tempers and designs of some of the puritans.

No less moderation was constantly expressed by Foxe even towards the church of Rome itself. Bitterly and vehemently as he justly expressed his most righteous indignation and abhorrence of its persecuting

(1) Chalmers's Biog. Dic. vol. xv. pp. 31, 32.

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spirit, its persecuting laws, and its persecuting conduct; he had too much learning, and too much wisdom, to deny that the church of Rome, in its purer state, was originally entitled to the admiration of the world; or that all nations were once rightly in communion with its bishops; or that the time may again arrive, when there may be communion with Rome, if Rome will so far change, that such communion shall imply neither subjection to its supremacy, nor adoption of its unscriptural errors. The principal heads of his opinions on this point are still worthy of the attention of all who desire the eventual reunion of Christ's holy catholic church. They are thus collected by his son.

"Among the christian churches the Roman church had always been the highest in dignity, and the most ancient in antiquity. It retained this dignity with much estimation for many centuries. Gradually increasing in authority, neither by the consent of the people, nor by any rightly founded claim, but by reason of the custom and tendency among all nations imperceptibly to submit to those who begin to be powerful, the church of Rome at length exercised command over the churches. Its greatest honour and authority was over the western churches; where Christianity was generally professed, and where the influence, discipline, and piety of the church of Rome was so worthy of admiration, that in these respects it might be called the mother of the churches. Rome was the place where the Christians who were persecuted by the emperors could assemble with the least trouble, be more perfectly protected, and die both with more constancy and with more effect. The church of Rome thus flourished, rather in good discipline, and in the approved holiness of its professors, than in the abundance of its riches and power. Neither pride, nor indolence, nor worldliness, nor error, were discoverable in the manners and opinions of its clergy; while money, servants, lands, and goods, were in great measure unknown to them. Their contentedness in possessing, or their moderation in using, the few advantages they enjoyed, seemed to render Rome the principal seat of the christian religion. Such was the condition of Rome in the earlier ages of the church. In process of time, however, it began by slow degrees to be corrupted. Having brought the western nations generally to the christian faith, when they had once begun to esteem it to be for the honour of the empire that the priests should no longer, as they had formerly done, endure poverty, but live more plentifully; and when the emperors, to effect the same object, granted many possessions to the churches as ornaments, and to churchmen as rewards; then, also, the priests began to be avaricious, negligent, and ambitious. One age added to the vices of another. They aspired to, and they obtained dominion. They ruled the churches, without permitting the interference of the civil power. They continued their demands of supremacy, till the civil power became subjected to their sceptre, the crosier. They subdued the emperors. They invaded the privileges of the empire. The spiritual and temporal governments were identified; till one secular authority alone was recognised in the

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churches and states of the west. In the mean time the laws of religion were neglected. The Scriptures were neither studied by the priests nor permitted to the people. The worship of God was made to consist in outward devotion and pomp of ceremonies, rather than in the inward obedience of the heart to God. The homage and affections of the people were, consequently, slowly but effectually weaned from such a priesthood. As the most healthy bodies may fall by sickness into the greatest danger, so it was with the church of Rome. Its strength became the cause of its weakness, and the reaction of the former veneration into hatred and contempt was so great, that Rome was commonly regarded as the chief antichrist, accomplishing in itself the predictions which describe, in the New Testament, the principal enemy of the spiritual church of Christ, and the chief destroyer of the souls of men. Yet, with all this, deeply rooted was the honour and approbation of Rome in the minds of men; so that, though it had fallen in estimation solely by its own covetousness, pride, and error, yet no church, nor person, nor controversialist, imagined that it had sunk so low in sin and apostasy, that it could not return and repent. None believed that it was so far gone in sinning that it could not be recovered by repenting. We, therefore, may justly hope, that the day shall come, when some Italian shall arise in its own society, under whose authority and influence the church of Rome, and the members of the church, shall not be ashamed to confess their error, to amend their faults, to reconsider their discipline, and be willing to part with their usurped supremacy, to procure the peace of the whole world, and the repose of the churches of the holy catholic church of Christ. If this could be justly hoped, the conditions of such agreement might be, first, that the pope should forsake all those tenets, by which he gained so great sums of money; there being nothing whereto the people might with more difficulty be persuaded, than that Christ, the Saviour of the world, had instructed his church in the ways of money, and setting the Scriptures to sale. Next, that he should renounce all secular jurisdiction, and not suppose himself to have any thing to do with the right of princes. That, on the other side, his opposers should not refuse that some one man may have the principal place of counsel and government in the church affairs, as being a thing which would have many conveniences in it, when it might be done with security; neither that the Roman church had once fallen, ought to make against it, nor that it had first flourished, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other; but that all this was to be left to the discretion of a general council of the Christians, which might be so equitable, as that neither the power nor favour of any one should be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in number of voices, to promise itself any advantage to the injury of the rest. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope and speediness of settling all controversies, if hereafter on both sides they would give such instructions, as might cause in each party a better hope and opinion of the other; especially that they

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ought to leave off that stubborn conceit, whereby each of them, presuming itself to be the only true church, supposeth all other churches to be excluded from the covenant of God."

Such were the opinions of Foxe respecting the origin, progress, and eventual destiny of the church of Rome. In the latter part of this brief survey, I have preserved as far as possible the antiquated language of his son's memorial. Strange, indeed, it will appear to the majority of the readers of the Life of Foxe, that peace with Rome, when Rome changes, should be recommended by the martyrologist himself to the churches, which compose the one catholic church of Christ. So it is, however. Neither are the protestant, nor the ultra-protestant Christians, nor all the high-minded, zealous, and honourable lovers of truth for the truth's sake, justified, in rejecting the aphorism of John Foxe—that every person and every church, under the christian dispensation, if they will remove their sin, may both hope for pardon of God, and for reunion with their fellow-churches, and their brethren of mankind. Even now the great experiment is in progress, whether the assumption of infallibility, united with the claim to supremacy, and the retention of un-primitive, un-apostolical, yet long-defended errors, can coexist with deliberative senates, free institutions, an unfettered press, the general diffusion of the Scriptures, unlimited permission of inquiry, and well-disciplined episcopal churches, with the Scriptures interwoven into their services, and with liturgies which, combining all that is venerable from antiquity, are both devotional in language, and useful, as the best assistants to holy prayer and holy conduct. Many and great evils still remain to be overcome. Error, before it can receive its greatest downfal, must once more become both influential and powerful. The Trentine church, with the Trentine creed, must, will, and does again endanger the religion, the liberty, and the peace of the civilized world. It will obtain for a time yet more strength, until it dares yet further to insult, and injure; and then the time shall come, when the indignation of spiritual men, and of the more disciplined nations and churches, shall so resist its usurpations, and so condemn its errors, that they shall throw off the yoke of its domination, and after that, consent to accept its repentance. Then shall the church of Rome, when it is converted, become the strengthener of its brethren. Then shall the prophecies be fulfilled, and the stakes of the one fold be extended, and the voice of the one Shepherd be heard. The object of all revelation, and the design of all controversies, shall thus be completed together. As the family of man before the murder of Abel—and in the ark of Noah—and as the church of Christ at Pentecost—were all of one heart, and of one mind—so shall all the family of man become eventually, even upon this earth, the family of God. The errors of the papacy shall vanish before the moral and spiritual persuasion of the churches of Christ; and the anticipations of John Foxe, the now despised and insulted, but once venerated and honoured martyrologist, shall come to pass. Rome shall repent—and be pardoned both by God

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and man; and the christian church, though it be still the field where many tares shall grow together with the wheat, shall be once more united in one holy communion; as it was, in those days when the faith of the church of Rome was spoken of with honour, admiration, and praise, throughout the whole world.

Foxe died on the 18th of April, 1587, at his residence in the city of London. No particulars are recorded of the lamentation made for him by the citizens. His son only tells us, that upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral which was made for him with the concourse of a great multitude of people; and in no other fashion of mourning, than, as if among so many, each man had buried his father, or his own brother. This is briefly but forcibly said. There can be little doubt, that the general popularity of his great work, the blamelessness of his life, the gentleness of his character, and the zeal with which he had devoted himself to the service of the protestant, or "ultra-protestant," episcopalian church of England, had commended him to the love and esteem of all his fellow-citizens. He was buried in the chancel of Cripplegate church. This church was not destroyed in the fire of London, and the inscription to his memory placed by his son, still remains, with another inscription on the same stone, announcing that two brothers of the name of Bullen are interred in the same spot with Foxe.[1] On one side of him is buried the grand-daughter of sir Thomas Lucy, in whose family he had been domiciled as a private tutor.[2] On the other side is buried a man, if possible, still more illustrious by his talents; equally hostile to popery, which he has denounced as the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments; but less deserving of our approbation, as the teacher and guide of the people, in other respects—John Milton. Their bodies are buried in peace. Their souls are in the hand of God. It is not permitted to mortal man to penetrate, before the hour of his own great change shall

(1) The following is the inscription by his son:—

Christo S. S. Johanni Foxo, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ martyrologo fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indagatori sagacissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, thaumaturgo admirabili: qui martyres *Marianos*, tanquam Phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit: patri suo omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo. *Samuel Foxus*, illius primogenitus, hoc monumentum posuit, non sine lachrymis.

Obiit die 18 mens. Aril (April) Anno Dom. 1587.

Vita vitæ mortalis est, spes vitæ immortalis.
Jam Septuagenarius.

The other inscription upon the stone that covers his remains, indicating that two brothers of the name of Bullen were interred in the same spot, is to the following effect:—

Sacro sub hoc saxo tria corpora mista quiescunt,
Gulielmi Bullen, medici, fratrisque *Richardi*,
Ac *Johannis Foxi*, qui tres, mihi crede, fuerunt
Doctrina clari, rari et pietatis alumni.
Gulielmus Bullen, medicamina semper habebat,
Æquè pauperibus danda, ac locupletibus æquè.
Sicque *Richardus* erat bene facere et ipse paratus
Omnibus ex æquo, quibus ipse prodesse valebat.
At *Foxus* noster per multas has parasangas,
Vita præcurrit, studiisque accedimus omnes.
Extant quæ scripsit tormenta cruenti priorum,
Extant perdocte per multa volumina scripta
Quæ scripsit Foxus; nulli fuit ipse secundus.
Obiit An. Dom. 1587. April 16.[a]

(*a*) This is an error, it ought to be 18th. Note. Maitland's Hist. of London, vol. ii. p. 1103.

(2) Constance Whitney, eldest daughter of sir Robert Whitney, of Whitney, in Herefordshire, who married the fourth daughter of sir Thomas Lucy. The wife of sir Thomas Lucy was Constance, daughter and heir of Richard Kingsmill, surveyor of the court of wards.

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come, beyond the dark valley of the shadow of death; and to know the condition of the departed. Yet so strangely are we divided, and so rashly do we intrude where angels fear to tread; that while some among us canonize—others excommunicate, these illustrious partners of a common grave. I know not the destiny of the dead. As I presume not to "deal damnation round the land, on all I judge HIS foe"—so neither shall I presume to deal salvation to those, whom I might judge HIS friend. This only I may hope, that the souls of these men may be pardoned in all they have done amiss, through the mercy of the great High Priest, the Mediator, and the Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. If that hope be not vain, then shall they be saved with the rest of that great number which shall be delivered out of all nations, and kindred, and people, with the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the holy army of the martyrs, with the fathers of the christian church at the beginning, and with the reformers and restorers of its pure faith, and ancient discipline, in these the latter days. With such fellowship may my soul be united! With such high society may my spirit rest hereafter—the kindred spirit, in all that our God and Saviour would approve, of such men as John Foxe and John Milton!

END OF PART THE FIRST.

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LIFE OF JOHN FOXE,

&c. &c.

PART II.

Section I.—The Objectors, Objections, and Replies to the Objections, to the general Authority, and Veracity of Foxe's "Acts and Monuments of the Church," considered.

Introduction.	Maitland.	Collier.
——	Andrews.	Heylyn.
Churton.	Milner.	Laud.
Tyler.	Haydock.	Parsons.
Tytler.	Milborne.	Harpsfield.

Section II.—Defence of the present Edition by the Editor.

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PART II.—SECTION I.

THE OBJECTORS, OBJECTIONS, AND REPLIES TO THE OBJECTIONS, TO THE GENERAL AUTHORITY, AND VERACITY, OF FOXE'S "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH," CONSIDERED.

INTRODUCTION.

THE fact is alike disgraceful to the church and people, to the universities and to the government of England, that there is neither a commentary on the Bible, nor an ecclesiastical history, in their own language, worthy of the character, the opulence, the learning, or the religion of the nation. Even to this day, the most complete ecclesiastical history, unsuperseded by any which has followed it, is the work of John Foxe. When will the time come that some better historian shall arise among us, who shall incorporate into one noble, useful, acceptable work, the original documents which still remain unedited, with the labours of John Foxe, the Magdeburg Centuriators, Baronius,[1] Alford, Tillemont, Fleury, Du Pin, Mosheim, Gieseler, Waddington, and others?[2] When shall some honourable and wealthy patron or patrons be found, who shall enable the students and scholars, who would rejoice to execute the task, to combine in one work the results of the labours of the learned protestant, papistical, Lutheran, and Calvinistical writers; and by relating only, if it were possible, the facts on which all are agreed, to give to England and to Europe the pure truth of the past; offending or pleasing with equal indifference, and instructing and improving all? Oh! for the patron or patrons to execute that other desirable work, which our country does not yet possess—a complete commentary on the whole Scriptures of truth! The time will come! THY people shall be willing in the day of THY power, to do these, and such like things as these: but we must wait HIS pleasure; and rest in patience till the possessors of the wealth of the world again delight to build up and to adorn the tabernacle of God, in the wilderness, with the gold and gems of Egypt. In the mean time, the individuals who are interested in the honour and safety of the ark, must continue their humble efforts in its great and holy cause.

(1) For the last brief account of these two, see Dowling's "Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History," chap. iii. sect. 2.

(2) See the lists in Dowling, "Introduction," etc. etc. and in Eyring's "Synopsis Historiæ Literariæ," etc. etc. one vol. 4to. Gottingæ, 1733. His list extends only to 1498.

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Though the work of John Foxe, as we have already seen, was so honoured by our ancestors that it was placed in the churches for the benefit of the people by the convocation of the Church of England, and by the command of the apostolical succession; and though no ecclesiastical history has been hitherto submitted to the public, which gives a fuller account of all the facts related by the martyrologist; the reputation of the book has so much declined that it has become a supposed proof of good sense, refined taste, sound judgment, and, above all, of most unsullied liberality, to despise and neglect his labours. Seldom has the reaction from unbounded national, and almost universal approbation, not merely to scanty, partial, and niggardly praise, but to severe and undeserved censure, been so complete as in this instance; and his book would have been long ago consigned to oblivion, and the decision of our ancestors on its merits would have long ago been deemed a proof of their exceeding inferiority in literary power to their sons, if there had not been in the pages of Foxe the union of those higher qualities, which are as much more valuable than mere literary excellence, as virtue is superior to accomplishment, or piety to mere refinement—the honest scorn of oppression, and the fearless love of truth. The spirit of his pages appeals to that peculiar highmindedness of his christian countrymen, which I trust, by God's blessing upon them, will ever be with them, to love truth for the truth's sake, and to detest persecution, whether from an infatuated church, a misguided sovereign, or an excited people.[1]

I shall now endeavour, without undertaking the defence of every page, sentence, proposition, or opinion of the martyrologist, to prove that he deserved the approbation of the bishops and convocation of the Church of England. It has become necessary to do so. The approbation or the disapprobation of the great principles of the "Acts and Monuments" of John Foxe is now too often made the criterion of attachment, or non-attachment, to the Church of England itself. Some of the best among us may be said to have been blinded by the influence which began in the days of archbishop Laud, under whose government of the church the volumes of Foxe were withdrawn from the churches. Since that time, to despise Foxe, and to believe the rulers and senate of their own church to have erred in approving him, has been made the proof and pledge of high churchmanship. To such height has this feeling been carried, that one of the most lamented of our brethren, for whom the tears of his friends still flow,[2] actually omits the name of John Foxe from among the list of ecclesiastical historians. He tells us[3] "that though many of our divines who flourished between the accession of Elizabeth and the Restoration, are justly celebrated for their ecclesias-

(1) I can impute the large list of subscribers to this edition to these feelings only; for the book must have been familiar to the greater portion of the number.

(2) The Rev. S. G. Dowling, M.A of Wadham College, Oxford, rector of St. Mary le Crypt, Gloucester, author of the "Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History." He died this year (1841) at Gloucester, and was followed by a large assemblage of his clerical brethren to the grave. His death is a public loss. If it had pleased God he had lived, his extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical history might have been rendered most useful to the church.

(3) Dowling's Introduction, p. 156.

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tical knowledge; it is not till after the Restoration that we discover the existence of an English school of church history." He mentions John Foxe casually, incidentally, as a person whose name might possibly be known to his readers; but he mentions him merely as the plagiarist who has borrowed an account of the Waldenses from the Istrian adventurer, M. Francowitz, or, as he is generally called, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the author of the "Catalogus Testium Veritatis;" and he actually mentions this comparatively unknown and disreputable adventurer as the founder of the new school of church history.[1] Peace be to the memory of the dead! I have no wish to offend the friends of Mr. Dowling by imputing to him any other error, than a mistaken regard to the persons who make their contempt of John Foxe the criterion of high churchmanship and orthodoxy. But I claim for John Foxe the honour of being, in England, the founder of that school of church history, in which the writers appeal to the facts of the past as the test of the truth of opinions, and as the test of the value of the customs which became general consent; and of the general consent which became the canons and laws; and thus constituted the early or the late ecclesiastical discipline of the churches of Christ. "When the Reformation," says Mr. Dowling, ("the most memorable event in the fortunes of the church, since the conversion of Constantine, and which is never mentioned, without awakening feelings of deep regret, or lively congratulation,) gave a new aspect and character to church history, the disputants on both sides at once felt its importance. The whole question between them became one of history. The reformers maintained that the abettors of the papacy, during a long season of ignorance, had grievously corrupted the simplicity of the gospel by false doctrine and superstition. It was for them, therefore, to show that the notions and practices which they denounced as innovations, were unsanctioned by the New Testament, and unknown to the early church. The friends of the prevailing system, on the other hand, charged their opponents with holding strange and monstrous opinions, and they were, therefore, bound to prove that what they themselves taught was taught in Scripture, and had been inculcated by the Doctors of antiquity. But though both parties immediately betook themselves to this department of the argument, it was some time before the reformation can be said to have produced any systematic work on the history of the church. The Romanists—ever anxious to argue the questions in dispute on scholastic principles—did not feel the want of a new work on the subject; and the first champions on the side of the reformers were too much engaged in propagating and defending their opinions, and in building up new systems, to have leisure for a large and difficult undertaking. It was not, therefore, for nearly forty years after Luther's first efforts, that we discover the existence of a new school of church history." These are Mr. Dowling's words. They give us a correct view of the absolute necessity of that mode of conducting the great controversy respecting the

(1) Dowling's Critical Introduction, p. 105.

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authority of Rome over the holy catholic church, which has ever since prevailed; and which must terminate in the eventual overthrow of its supremacy and peculiar errors, as well as instruct the churches in the right principles of their eventual union with the reformed and unpersecuting church of Rome: and the honourable title of founder of this new school of ecclesiastical history must be given to John Foxe, the first publisher of an ecclesiastical history written on these principles.

I could not, at first reading of this otherwise useful work, believe that the name of the man whose labours had been approved by the convocation, church, and people of England for so many years, had been totally omitted from the honourable list of church historians. The omission seemed to confirm the painful suspicion which so many circumstances of the present day corroborate, that the attachment of individuals to the Church of England was no longer identified with the fearless denunciation of the errors and persecutions of the church of Rome; but, on the contrary, these were not only no longer to be named with abhorrence, but that our very churchmanship was to be tested by our approving, or disapproving of the labours of the martyrologist.

With respect, however, to the accusation that Foxe borrowed his account of the Waldenses from Illyricus, an examination of the facts of the case would rather make us believe that Illyricus and Foxe both borrowed from some common document. With respect also to the supposition—that Illyricus, rather than Foxe, is entitled to the appellation of founder of that school of church history, which made the holy catholic church, not necessarily identified with the church of Rome — there appears to be sufficient evidence to render it very probable, that Illyricus was indebted to Foxe, rather than Foxe to Illyricus.

In the year 1554, Foxe, as we have seen, made his escape from the anticipated persecutions of Mary, taking with him the manuscripts and collectanea, which enabled him to publish his first edition of the History of the Church, at Strasburg.[1] The Catalogus Testium of M. F. Illyricus was printed in 1556, two years after the publication of the first edition of the work of Foxe. The martyrologist, therefore, is not likely to have borrowed from Illyricus. The identity which Mr. Maitland has shown to exist between the narratives of the two authors, may have proceeded, therefore, from their mutually consulting one common document, of which Foxe has preserved more than Illyricus.[2] Their common authority may have been Guido de Perpignan, inquisitor general, who died in 1330, and wrote the "Summa de Hæresibus et earum Confutationibus;"[3] or the authors from whom Raynaldus drew his materials. The alleged heresies of the Waldenses are given in a different order in Raynaldus, from those named in the lists of Illyricus and Foxe; yet the common

(1) See Watts's Bibliotheca, vol. i. p. 383. The book was published under this title—"Rerum in Ecclesiâ Gestarum, quæ postremis, et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, et Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insigniora exempla sint, digesti per Regna, et Nationes." 8vo. Strasburg, 1554.
(2) See the comparison between the two in Maitland's Letters.
(3) Cave, Hist. Litt. xi. App. p. 30.

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source of all must have been the same. The identity, therefore, of the accounts given by Illyricus and Foxe, not only do not prove that one necessarily borrowed from the other, but they rather show that, if it was so, Illyricus and not Foxe, was the plagiarist.

It is not, however, sufficient to vindicate to this extent the charge of borrowing without acknowledgment. It seems to me to be probable that Illyricus was indebted to Foxe for some materials of the very work from which John Foxe is said to have borrowed.

At the time of fearful excitement, when John Foxe and Illyricus expressed their abhorrence of the papal errors and persecutions, the scholars and theologians of the reformation were well known, either personally or by report, to each other. Illyricus was one of the most laborious of the continental opponents of the church of Rome. The remaining letters of Foxe and Illyricus prove that they corresponded with each other. The time when their acquaintance began is uncertain. It is a remarkable fact, that in the year 1553, the year before Foxe, with the materials for his history in his possession, escaped from England, Illyricus and his coadjutors, Johan Wigand and Matthew Judex, the pastors of Magdeburg, began in that city the extensive mass of materials for ecclesiastical history, called the Magdeburg Centuriators. The account of the manner in which this noble work was commenced, carried on, and completed, by the pecuniary aid of the German princes, and by the indefatigable exertions of Illyricus, Wagner, and their coadjutors, is related both by Bayle[1] and Dowling.[2] Between the year 1553 and the year 1559 Illyricus was engaged in travelling amongst the monasteries, palaces, towns, and cities of Germany, to procure materials for his work. The public, however, became impatient for its appearance before it was ready. The object of Illyricus was precisely the same with that which John Foxe had in view when he published his first edition at Strasburg. He was anxious to make known to the world the opinions of learned and pious men, prior to the reformation, respecting the doctrines and customs of the church. The taunts of the Romanists,[3] the necessity of meeting the demand to publish some proof that he was proceeding in the projected labours for which he had collected pecuniary aid, and which he had so long promised to the world; induced him to compile a certain portion of his materials, and to publish them under the title of the "Catalogue of Witnesses."[4] It was printed at Basil in 1556. Now John Foxe, in the Introduction to his "Acts and Monuments," gives, as we have seen, a roll of authorities, not identically the same with this of Illyricus, but formed, though briefly, on the same plan. I have no doubt that the two scholars had met either at Basil or in some of the towns of Germany—that John Foxe had

(1) Article Illyricus, especially note I.
(2) Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History.
(3) See Mr. Dowling's Introduction, &c. p. 106.
(4) The title of the book is "Catalogus Testium Veritatis, qui ante nostram ætatem reclamarunt papæ. Opus varia rerum, hoc præsertim tempore scitu dignissimarum cognitione refertum, ac lectu cum primis utile atque necessarium. Basil, 1556."

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supplied to Illyricus some part, at least, of his materials, and added to them, as the book went through the press, under his own superintendence. As their pursuits were the same—as they corresponded by letters, and were intent on one great object—it is probable that they had become personally acquainted with each other. Illyricus cared but little whence or how he obtained assistance. His more impatient subscribers were clamorous.[1] Foxe had collected the very materials he required, and they were possibly, or probably, at the service of Illyricus. The printers of the day were learned men, and rendered mutual assistance in the publications of their several works: and Illyricus, therefore, though without any acknowledgment of the obligation, might have been largely indebted to Foxe in the compilation of that very work, the "Catalogus Testium," which induced Mr. Dowling to bestow on Illyricus, rather than on Foxe, the honourable appellation of the founder of the modern school of church history.

But, not only is this claim to originality on the part of Foxe rendered probable by the circumstances I have mentioned; it is possible, and I believe probable, that the christian world is more deeply indebted to the martyrologist for a still greater service. Foxe and Illyricus not only travelled on the continent at the same time, known to, and corresponding with, each other; the former in search of employment and a home, the latter in search of manuscripts and materials for his projected work; but Foxe at length settled at Basil; to which place Illyricus sent his papers to be printed before Foxe left Oporinus to return to England, at the accession of Elizabeth. The early volumes of the Magdeburg Centuriators all passed through the press under the revising superintendence and inspection of Foxe. The accumulated papers of the martyrologist, which, as an incessant reader, he would have collected, and not published, would be probably added to the common store. No man in Europe was more fitted to superintend the work; no man was more identified in motives, pursuits, and studies, with its principal compiler. Illyricus agreed with John Foxe, and with other of the more zealous anti-papal writers of the age, in the stern, severe, uncompromising language with which they described the unreformed church of Rome as the anti-christ, the man of sin, the corrupter, the enslaver, and the curse of the churches and states of Europe; and he is bitterly condemned both for this, and for his opinion—that the church of Christ ceased to exist, as a visible community, for several centuries. This erroneous opinion was adopted by many others. The truth of the controversy respecting the visible and invisible church is expressed in one sentence of Scripture—"All are not Israel who are of Israel." There is a church within the church. There is a spiritual succession, within the apostolical succession of christian ministers and christian people, who constitute the holy of holies, within the courts of the common tabernacle. As the church of Israel and Judah had within it both the circumcised idolaters and the

(1) Such is Mr. Dowling's conjecture, p. 110.

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circumcised spiritualists, who formed, till the glory departed from them, the one church of God; so have there ever been baptized idolaters, and baptized spiritualists, in the churches of Christ. They became corrupted with many errors, through the influence of Rome—that one of the chief of their number, whose faith and truth was once justly admired throughout the world; and a certain portion of these churches have been led to reject these errors, and, with them, the influence of the unreformed church of Rome: but the visibility of the church never ceased; and the continued succession of opponents to its corruptions never ceased also. The opinion, however, that the visible church had ceased altogether, on account of its many corruptions, to be the true church of Christ, was generally maintained among the opponents of the papacy. Neither Foxe nor Illyricus were exempted from the common belief. The two authors had also many other points of agreement. They differed only in their moral character. Illyricus is characterized as a turbulent, impetuous, quarrelsome, self-opinionated, literary vagabond and thief. Foxe was vehement only in opposing the opinions and conduct of the church which he believed to be corrupt both in doctrine and discipline; and which he knew would consign him to the flames if it had possessed the power it coveted: but he was ever admired as worthy of estimation for his blameless, peaceful, and religious life. One bond of union, however, was between them; and I believe, that if it were possible to discover the evidence, we should find that, as they were both engaged at the same time on their common object of writing ecclesiastical history—as they both possessed the same common documents, and both laboured on the same useful work, which has been the great storehouse of all ecclesiastical historians from their day to the present—and which, if it had been published in the English language, would have superseded the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, as it has superseded the "Catalogus Testium" of Illyricus—therefore it must follow, that John Foxe must not only be regarded as the founder of the new school of ecclesiastical history in England—but as one of the illustrious builders of that great magazine of knowledge, from which all the subsequent writers have drawn, which called forth the volumes of Baronius, Pagi, and Raynaldus, and which must be one of the corner-stones of any new edifice, which future ecclesiastical historiographers may construct. I believe that the collectanea, memoranda, and unpublished papers of John Foxe were added to the common store, and that this service also was rendered by him to the church. The only evidence I am able to adduce in favour of this conjecture, in addition to the fact that Foxe presided for so many years over the press of Oporinus, arises from the internal evidence of the similarity between the known writings of Foxe, and some passages in the volumes, and in the dedications to the volumes, of the Centuriators. The dedication, for instance, of the fourth volume to queen Elizabeth was published in the year 1560. Foxe remained on the continent, as we have seen, one year after the accession of Elizabeth, to complete certain works

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at Basil. It was the custom of the printers to affix the date of the following year to the volumes which were printed at the end of the current year. If the fourth volume was printed, therefore, at the end of the year 1559, just before Foxe left Basil for England; and if the argument arising from internal evidence be valid, it becomes probable that the dedication to Elizabeth, which Varillas has assailed so severely, but which Bayle defends so ingeniously,[1] was written by Foxe. The comparison between the address of Foxe to the nobles of England in the reign of Mary, and the dedication to queen Elizabeth, are formed on the same plan, and written in the same style. Bayle's observation is just, that when this dedication was written, it was not known generally in Germany upon what footing the reformation would be established by Elizabeth in England. Neither does it appear, we may add, for what reason Illyricus, an Istrian adventurer, could be induced to dedicate his work to Elizabeth. If, however, this celebrated dedication was written by John Foxe, we can fully understand the object of the earnest and emphatic language in which the queen is reminded, that it is not sufficient to have begun well the work of the reformation of the church, but that, the writer exhorts and entreats her majesty, to devote herself, with all her might, to the holy task of providing, that religion, pure, true, and undefiled, should be established throughout the whole kingdom. "You owe the duty," it says, "to God, yourself, and to your subjects, thus to act; and to remove at once the cruelties and the plague of the antichrist." It is not probable that Illyricus would thus address the queen of England. If, however, the pages in question were written by John Foxe, then we at once account for his own long residence, agreeably to the wish of his friends, at Basil. He was editing, or aiding the editors, of the Centuriators, as well as preparing the edition of his own work for the public. He was enlisting the sympathies of the queen in the cause of the reformation generally. He was expressing the feelings of the devotional and highminded ultra-protestant. He was uttering the sentiments of the patriot and christian, by submitting to his sovereign, before he returned home to his native land, his wish to see truth and religion once more established in England. He was speaking as an English subject, and not as a foreign adventurer.

I shall now proceed to consider the principal writers who have opposed this once universal national approbation with which John Foxe was honoured. It will be impossible to notice all who have contributed to the reaction. I shall select the chief, beginning with those who are now living, and ending the list with the antagonist to whom Foxe himself replied—the persecuting Harpsfield. We will consider the following objectors, their objections, and the replies to those objections. Churton, Tyler, Tytler, Maitland, Eusebius Andrews, Bishop Milner, Haydock, Milborne, Collier, Heylyn, Archbishop Laud, Parsons, and Harpsfield. On one point all these are united in favour of Foxe. They take for granted the received

(1) See note (I) art. Illyricus, in Bayle.

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truth—that the martyrologist, so far from being deemed unworthy of a place in the catalogue of ecclesiastical historians, or of being despised as a plagiarist from his contemporaries, is worthy to be regarded as an authority to whom deference must be paid on many points. Let it be remembered that Foxe wrote at a time, when, with the marvellous and superhuman exception of the language of the English Prayer-book, the style of the best writers was unrefined. References were not given with particularity. Notes—that great explanatory improvement on the text, were unknown. The art of criticism was in its infancy. The authorities to which he alludes as the basis of his narratives, have been thoroughly sifted since his age, and have become for some time obsolete. His credulity was that of his age; but it was not so childish as that of many of the most eminent ecclesiastics of his own church in the second and third generations after him, who objected to the favourable estimation of his labours.[1] The modern believer doubts more, and believes less, than his ancestors. But the work of Foxe has retained the favour of very many in a refined, critical, inquiring age. He pleases the devout by his piety, the candid by his honesty, the incredulous by the evidences of his facts. The publication of his book began in his own language the study of ecclesiastical history in England; and though it has not only lately been neglected, but contempt of Foxe, and an affectation of disregard for his labours, have been made the criterion of attachment to the forms and discipline of the church, his volumes have not lost their value. The time has come when they ought to be set aside by other works, which our theologians and historians may be justly expected to produce, embodying all that is desirable to be retained, rejecting much that is objectionable, and interweaving more that is useful. But until another history is written which shall include all, and much more than all, the facts which he has collected, and which shall be written in the same honest and fearless spirit of the love of truth, and hatred both of persecution and error—until the labours of John Foxe are superseded, as well as abused—we are justified in affirming that the publishers of this edition have been well advised to re-edit the work—that the subscribers have not acted absurdly—and that the pages of John Foxe, so far from deserving to become obsolete, still continue to be worthy of the approbation and study of the truth-seeking, religious, and protestant people of England.

(1) Ex. gr. Heylyn, Archbp. Laud, &c. &c. See their Biographies.

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I.—THE REV. EDWARD CHURTON, M.A.

Rector of Crayke.

The last assailant of the character of Foxe as an historian is the Rev. Edward Churton, M.A. rector of Crayke.

To name this gentleman is to praise him. Though I know that I ought to imitate the example of the ancients, who never sacrificed to their heroes before sunset, I shall not hesitate to speak of this clergyman, whose sun has not attained to its meridian, in the language of deserved respect and eulogy. Learned, laborious, exemplary in the discharge of his duties, blameless in deportment, and devoted to the advancement of the great cause of the holy catholic church of Christ, Mr. Churton deserves to obtain great influence in the church; and the mistakes or the errors therefore of such a man, require more especial notice. Last year, Mr. Churton published a work, entitled the "Early English Church." This book, though beautifully written, and therefore popular and interesting, is not so useful as it would have been if the author had given his references in the margin, according to the modern improvements in compiling historical narrative. But a greater fault has been committed. It is penned upon a false hypothesis; and the learning, labour, research, and talents of the author, are not only therefore rendered useless, but positively injurious to the student of history, who desires to know the facts which are recorded, and not the glosses, nor influences, nor partial statements of a biassed historian. This fault indeed is not peculiar to Mr. Churton. It is the one great error which characterizes the school, in which he seems to have been a pupil. Ecclesiastical historians may be divided into two classes. The one which represents the long record of the past as the mere contest between good and evil, terminating in general improvement. The other which represents it as the narrative of a general though not universal apostasy from the more perfect, and scriptural knowledge, and service of Christ. *The former school* relates the history of the crimes and follies, the virtues and vices, the superstitious or unscriptural and uncommanded modes of serving God, the usurpations of Rome, and the resistance to those usurpations, as events which might have been anticipated as the natural or unavoidable results of the collision of opinions and the progress of society. *The latter* regards that history as the record of the fulfilment of apostolic prophecy in the rise, progress, and fall of a predicted apostasy from scriptural and primitive order, truth, and discipline, into gross idolatry and sinful error; from which, by God's mercy, the holy catholic church began to recover at the reformation; and against which it is still the duty of every disciple of Jesus Christ to protest, and contend to the utmost of his power. *The principles of the one school* may be summed up in the startling, and to many persons, the monstrous propositions with which Mr. Churton concludes his lucubrations,[1] that if

(1) History of the Early English Church, p. 357.

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the sovereigns had left the church her freedom, then would there have been no popery—and—and—that the authority of the pope was begun, and fostered, within the church itself, by introducing the *dissenting principle*, because the different orders of monks, canons, and friars, were so many sects, collecting their own partizans, and withdrawing themselves from the control of their bishops. *The other school* of church historians affirms, that popery was the usurpation of the church over sovereigns and communities, by the abuse of the very freedom which it had acquired by its patient submission to the monarchs and Cæsars of the earlier ages; and it is unable to identify the dissenting principle which rejects even the mild government of an unusurping episcopacy, with the monastic principle, which in the beginning was subjected to its own bishops; though it subsequently became the supple slave of the bishop of Rome alone. *The former school* of church historians affirms that the rulers and priests of the holy catholic church have fulfilled their high duty to mankind. *The latter* declares that they betrayed their trust, and loved money and power for their own sake; and refused to be reformed, when the light broke in upon the darkness. *The former* school palliates persecution, by enlarging upon the faults of the supposed or real heretics who were punished, rather than upon the errors of those who punished them. *The latter* too often palliates heresy itself, in its hatred to the cruelty, which endeavoured to suppress by violence the abuses of free inquiry. *The former* believes Rome to have been less erroneous than its victims. *The latter* believes the victims to be less erroneous than Rome. May God grant that the fiery trial may never pass upon England; but many have imagined of these two schools of students of ecclesiastical history, that if a law could be passed compelling or requiring the decision of the people between popery and puritanism—between transubstantiation, and commemoration of Christ's death as a means of grace—that the advocates of the former would go to the mass, and the advocates of the latter would go to the conventicle. Long may the church of England lift its venerable sanctuary, as the beauty of holiness, between the two extremes! *The partizans of the former* school of church history are variously known by the epithets of papal, Laudean, nonjuring, and lately, tractarian. *The partizans of the latter*, as protestant, puritan, or ultraprotestant. Both have considered such epithets, whether used as words of reproach, or words of honour, as titles in which they should rejoice. The two schools of history have mutually said harsh things of each other. *The former* denounces as unjust, uncharitable, and unworthy of credit, all such writers as represent the church of Christ as having been generally, though not universally, led into captivity in the Babylon of papal Rome. They are angry with all who speak—as they themselves ought to speak—of the church of Rome, so long as it repents not, as the enemy of the souls of men, the suppressor of the Scriptures, the subverter of liberty, the uniform persecutor of the Christians who reject her

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creed wherever it has power to persecute; as the one great Antichrist out of many antichrists, drunk with the blood of the saints. *The latter* too often speak in very unmeasured and indefensible terms of the former, as wilful traitors to the Gospel, and total apostates from the spirituality of the faith once delivered to the saints; whereas, the worst errors may be sometimes maintained by the best of men. This view of the two opposite divisions of the writers on church history, will prove to us the necessity of some one historian, who shall reject all hatred, and all love of the two extremes, and who will afford us a key to the reasons which have induced so many wise, good, and pious men, as well as so many unwise, wicked, and irreligious men, to assail the martyrologist; while so many of the very same varied characters, have defended him with equal zeal and ardour. The abstract love of truth is known to few. A preconceived opinion; attachment to some favourite theory, hypothesis, or communion; a systematizing, and therefore a contracted spirit, prevent the bold declaration of the truth of facts; and Mr. Churton, both in his remarks on Foxe, and in the development of the details of his history of the early church, has not been exempted from the influence of some of these causes of error. An historian should be as unimpassioned as the paper on which he writes, or as the pen and ink he uses.

I shall first consider Mr. Churton's objection to the work of John Foxe. It is this:—

"There are many notices of early church history in Foxe's Acts and Monuments; but it must be considered as a misfortune that so much credit has been given to this writer, and that he has found so many imitators; for *his style is that of a coarse satire, rather than of history.*"

The answer to this sentiment is easy. Mr. Churton does not venture to say that Foxe's notices of early church history are false. He refers to them, on the contrary, as if they were correctly related, according to the materials, common to all historians, and referred to by the martyrologist. The regret that so much credit is given to him, arises only from the style of the author. If the facts he relates are true, the style in which they are told may be lamented or admired, but his fidelity will remain unimpeached. But his style is that of a coarse satire! If satire is only indignation,[1] truth may be told in the honest language of that indignation. But the words satire and "coarse satire," do not rightly describe the style of John Foxe. He has used many apparently harsh epithets, and said many things, which the more courteous and refined modes of conducting controversial discussions may condemn; but the censure of a modern scholar upon the style of Foxe, once so highly approved and admired by our fathers, and now so contemptuously derided by their sons, reminds me of the apology of Dr. Lingard for the different estimations of the style of ecclesiastical architecture, in the former and in the later periods of its history. "It is probable," he says,

(1) "Quod natura negat, facit indignatio."

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creed wherever it has power to persecute; as the one great Antichrist out of many antichrists, drunk with the blood of the saints. *The latter* too often speak in very unmeasured and indefensible terms of the former, as wilful traitors to the Gospel, and total apostates from the spirituality of the faith once delivered to the saints; whereas, the worst errors may be sometimes maintained by the best of men. This view of the two opposite divisions of the writers on church history, will prove to us the necessity of some one historian, who shall reject all hatred, and all love of the two extremes, and who will afford us a key to the reasons which have induced so many wise, good, and pious men, as well as so many unwise, wicked, and irreligious men, to assail the martyrologist; while so many of the very same varied characters, have defended him with equal zeal and ardour. The abstract love of truth is known to few. A preconceived opinion; attachment to some favourite theory, hypothesis, or communion; a systematizing, and therefore a contracted spirit, prevent the bold declaration of the truth of facts; and Mr. Churton, both in his remarks on Foxe, and in the development of the details of his history of the early church, has not been exempted from the influence of some of these causes of error. An historian should be as unimpassioned as the paper on which he writes, or as the pen and ink he uses.

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(1) "Quod natura negat, facit indignatio."

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"that these buildings of the monastery at Hexham,[1] which once excited raptures in the breasts of the beholders, would at the present day displease by the absence of symmetry and taste. But we should recollect, that they were the first essays of a people emerging from barbarism; the rudiments of an art, which has been perfected by the labours of succeeding generations. The men by whose genius, and under whose patronage, they were constructed, were the benefactors of mankind, and might justly claim the gratitude, not only of their contemporaries, but also of their posterity." What the first builders of the churches of England were to their more elegant and skilful successors, John Foxe has been to all the writers on ecclesiastical history who have followed him. He has been the common storehouse of their materials. He has been the connecting link between the total ignorance, which enabled the usurpations of Rome to prosper in these islands; and the more perfect knowledge which now enables the youngest tyro in history to contrast the primitive and scriptural catholicism of the universal church, with the traditional and unscriptural catholicism, of the gradually established errors of Rome. Our fathers were in raptures with the building, which such architects of history as Mr. Churton despise. But his style cannot be justly called "satire." It was the style, rather, of severe reproach, and of bitter, deserved invective. He lived with the sons and daughters of the martyred—he narrowly escaped the flames himself—he detested the crimes, he loathed the doctrines, he abhorred the persecuting laws, now obsolete in England, but still taught in the Romish colleges—still unrepealed in the codes of Lateran and Trent; and he spoke out the bold truths which have ever found, and which, till Rome changes, and God and man forgive it, will still I trust ever find a response, in the rulers of the church, and in the hearts of the people, of England.

When Mr. Churton's work shall be reprinted, I trust he will deem it advisable to approximate nearer to the style of John Foxe, when the subject of his paragraphs may require him to do so. The style of Foxe may be compared to the language of the impatient Hotspur; that of Mr. Churton to the language of the "certain lord, neat, trimly dressed," who pestered the warrior when the fight was done. Mr. Churton, for instance, might have expressed himself more coarsely, not in the language of Foxe, but in that of Asserius, or Collier, when he had occasion to speak of any great crime. Ethelbald, the king of the West Saxons, married Judith, his father's widow. Mr. Churton merely observes upon this, that Ethelbald attempted to espouse his father's widow.[2] Collier quotes from Asserius, a different mode of stating this circumstance. "He scrupled not to marry Judith, his father's wife: an action which was not only a notorious violation of the law of God, and a contradiction to the sobriety of the christian religion, but an excess beyond the liberties even of paganism."[3] Is this the language of coarse

(1) Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, page 141. (2) Early Church, page 200.
(3) Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. i. pp. 373-4, Ed. 1840. Vol. i. p. 158-9, folio edit.

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satire, or of virtuous indignation? It was the latter; and such is the language of John Foxe, against the conduct which he believed he was required to condemn.

I shall now select one specimen of the manner in which Mr. Churton, contrary to the express promise, in his Introduction to his history, "has disguised the errors of former ages."[1] He has done so in his otherwise praiseworthy desire to represent our ecclesiastical ancestors, as worthy of our approbation, for their religious opinions, and clerical conduct; as well as for their good intentions, and sincerity. I refer to his representation of the conduct of Laurentius, the successor of Augustine; who, after the flight of Theonas, the last British bishop of London, into Wales, preached in England the Christianity of Gaul and Rome.

A physician who perceives that his patient has an abhorrence to the only medicine which can save his life, will sometimes venture to endeavour to deceive that patient, into adopting the useful remedy. Just so it was with some of the best, and most faithful, but ill-judging ecclesiastics in the early church. They applied to their endeavours to cure the soul, the same maxims which induce the skilful physician to heal the disorders of the body. They forgot the express command of Him, who knowing the end from the beginning, well perceived, that if the servants of his holy church once ceased to walk by faith, and not by sight—if they once began to apply the natural maxims and principles, which direct men in worldly matters, to the extension of the gospel of Christ—if they adopted any other mode of establishing Christianity, than merely preaching the truth, and submitting to suffering, if they were required to receive that great honour—if fraud or falsehood were ever to become the means of bestowing spiritual good to mankind—Christ well knew that such fraud or falsehood would become customary among the mistaken teachers of his people—they would become practices received as worthy of imitation by the less conscientious, and less scrupulous—they would become the impure source of all the usurpations, by which the consciences of men are governed by forged and inadequate evidence—by which the opinion of the ignorant priest would be made the guide to the ignorant barbarian, and by which the reasonable service of scriptural religion, would become changed into a debasing and degrading superstition. Christ therefore gave to his church by the mouth of his apostle, and under the influence which He Himself imparted after his ascension, such precepts as these: Abstain from all appearance of evil—Do no evil that good might come—Take heed that the good rendered to mankind should not at any time be evil spoken of; and one principal source of the corruptions of Christianity has arisen from the rejection of such simple precepts as these, for the more natural and worldly proposition, that the smaller evil of a well-

(1) Churton's Introduction, p. ii.

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intentioned fraud may be committed, that a great and noble good may be done.[1]

Laurentius accompanied Augustine into England, and succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. Eadbald, the son of that Ethelbert, who had welcomed Augustine, impatient of the restraints imposed by Christianity upon a luxurious, incestuous, perfidious prince, had relapsed into paganism. Mellitus and Justus having refused to admit the cousins of Eadbald, the three sons of Sebert, the joint chieftains of the East Saxons, to the communion, without their being previously baptized, had been expelled from the country. They visited Laurentius at Canterbury previously to their departure. It was agreed among them that they would all three retire into Gaul,[2] and resign the mission to England, in despair. Mellitus and Justus sailed to Gaul, and Laurentius proposed to follow them, according to his promise.

Thus far all the historians, without exception, are agreed. Laurentius, however, did not leave England. The reason of his not doing so is variously related in modern times; though that reason is most plainly told by the only author, from whom all the subsequent historians have derived their narratives of his conduct.

Among the affirmations of miraculous circumstances which are rejected by the present age, in consequence of the deficiency of evidence, is one which was commonly believed at the time when Laurentius lived in England. It is, that it pleased God to permit the inhabitants of the invisible state to inflict, in this world, personal chastisement upon the bodies of men who offended the common God and Father of them all. The possibility, the probability, and the certainty, that the angels of heaven, or the spirits of the departed, were sometimes permitted to scourge an offender, was derived from the history in one of the apocryphal books,[3] of the scourging of Heliodorus in the temple of Jerusalem. The opinion was strengthened by the history of the scourging by angels of Natalius the confessor for accepting a bishopric among the heretics, as related by Eusebius,[4] after he had repeatedly disregarded the injunctions of Christ, in many visions. Eusebius not only affirms this scourging to have been inflicted, but assures us that it was received by Natalius in the time of Zephyrinus, the successor of Victor, in the bishopric of Rome; and he appeals to it as an event, which if it had been done in his own day, would have brought the people to repentance. Nor only were these instances the possible foundation of the general belief. There was no one ecclesiastic whose name was more influential in the days of Laurentius than that of Jerome, the translator of the Hebrew Bible into the common Vulgate, and the writer of the prefaces to the books of Scripture, which

(1) Deeply did I grieve to read the following sentence in Mr. Churton's Introduction, p. v.:—"Sometimes it may be, that the means used were not the best; but the end was noble." Such a palliation of the pious frauds, and well-meant ecclesiastical deceptions, of the "early church" ought not to have been found in the pages of a minister of that church, one of whose best claims to the love of the laity is its abhorrence and detestation of priestcraft and falsehood; and its pure love of truth.

(2) "Decretum est communi consilio, ut omnes patriam redeuntes, libera ibi mente Domino deservirent, quam inter rebelles fidei barbaros sine fructu residerent." Beda, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 112. Stevenson's edition.

(3) 2 Maccabees ii. 26, 27.

(4) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 28.

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must have been familiarly known to Laurentius. Jerome informs his contemporaries that he too was scourged by angels.[1] Here then were three several authorities for convincing Laurentius, that men who offended God were sometimes scourged by angels, as a punishment for their past faults, and as a warning for the prevention of future transgression. These legends became the foundation of many imitations; and they were not only known to Laurentius, but to those also of his followers who might be anxious to remain in England; if it were possible to retain the protection of Eadbald, and to continue in the discharge of the duties of their holy mission.

The reason for the continued residence of Laurentius in England is thus related by the only historian upon whom all the rest depend:— "When Laurentius was now about to follow Mellitus and Justus, and to leave Britain, he commanded his bed[2] to be prepared for him in the church of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. There, after many prayers and tears, poured forth to the Lord on account of the state of the church; after he had composed himself to rest and fallen asleep, the most blessed prince of the apostles appeared to him, and scourging him for a long time in the middle of the night, with severe stripes, demanded of him with apostolical severity, wherefore he should leave the flock which he himself[3] had committed to his trust; or to what shepherd would he, escaping from danger, commit the sheep of Christ, which he was leaving in the midst of wolves. 'Are you forgetful,' said the apparition, 'of my example, who, for the little ones of Christ confided to me as a proof of his love, endured chains and stripes, imprisonment and sufferings, and finally death itself, even the death of the cross; from the infidels, and from the enemies of Christ, that I with Christ might receive the crown?" With these stripes of the blessed Peter, and with his exhortations also at the same time, the servant of God being encouraged and strengthened, immediately, as soon as it was day, went to the king, and throwing open his garments, showed the king with what severe stripes he had been lacerated. The astonished king inquired, who could have dared to have inflicted such stripes upon so great a man. But when he heard that it was on account of his (the king's) salvation only, that the bishop Laurentius had suffered so severely, he trembled much; and putting away both his idolatry and his forbidden marriage, he professed himself a Christian, received baptism, and devoted himself to honour and to protect the church in all respects to the utmost of his power.[4]

(1) See Jortin's Remarks upon ecclesiastial history, vol. ii. p. 104, of the collected 8vo edition of his Works. "Jerome," says Jortin, "declares that he was scourged for studying profane authors, Cicero, Virgil, &c. Upon which, one of the Italian Ciceronians observes, that if he was scourged for writing like Cicero, and for being in this sense a Ciceronian, he suffered what he did not deserve, and might have pleaded, Not guilty."

(2) Alfred says,—of straw.

(3) "Sibi ipse crediderat." The meaning of the sentence appears to imply that St. Peter, in the person of Gregory, who first commissioned St. Augustine, may be said to have sent him. The identity of St. Peter with the bishops of Rome was one principal source of their influence.

(4) I subjoin the original from Beda—

"Cum vero et Laurentius Mellitum Justumque secuturus ac Brittaniam esset relicturus, jussit ipsa sibi nocte in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, de qua frequenter jam diximus, stratum

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Such is the account of the reasons of the continuance of Laurentius in England, given to us by Beda; and this account continued till our day to be received as the true, probable, unquestioned history. King Alfred, the translator of Beda, to whom Mr. Churton refers, relates his weeping, and the scourging.[1] Ralph de Diceto relates the history almost in the words of Bede.[2] Johannes Brompton does the same.[3] Gervasius confirms it.[4] Thorn the monk of Canterbury talks of the apostolical stripes.[5] Baronius quotes, without hesitation, the words of Beda.[6] Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints,"[7] informs us that Laurentius was severely scourged in a dream, on the eve of his intended departure; and that when the king was shown the marks of the stripes, he became a thorough convert. So that we have at once the united testimony of the most ancient ecclesiastical tradition, and the continuous testimony of authors from before the birth of Christ to our own century, that the scourgings of men by the denizens of an invisible state was possible and certain. The rule of Vincentius of Lerins, "that is true, which is believed always, by all persons, and in all places," appears to apply to this narrative of Laurentius. Yet there are few of our later writers, whether of the church of Rome or of the communions who have separated from it, who now appear to believe in the truth of the literal narrative, which was thus firmly credited by our ancestors. The fact is worthy of our further notice before we consider the account which has been given of these circumstances by Mr. Churton.

The great experiment is now being tried by the three most civilized nations, England, America, and France, whether the unchanged doctrines and influence of the church of Rome can coexist with a free press, and with the prevention of the enforcement of ecclesiastical opinion, and influence, by the civil power. In order that this experiment may be fairly tried, it is only necessary that authors on all sides should write the facts of the past as they find them, without attempting to deny that they are recorded as truths, by the historians who have preceded them; and then stating the reasons for believing, or disbelieving them. An opposite plan has

parari: in quo, cum post multas preces ac lacrimas ad Dominum pro statu ecclesiæ fusas, ad quiescendum membra posuisset atque obdormisset, apparuit ei beatissimus apostolorum princeps, et multo illum tempore secretæ noctis flagellis arctioribus afficiens sciscitabatur apostolica districtione quare gregem, quem sibi ipse crediderat, relinqueret, vel cui pastorum oves Christi in medio luporum positas fugiens ipse dimitteret. 'An mei,' inquit, 'oblitus es exempli, qui pro parvulis Christi, quos mihi in indicium suæ dilectionis commendaverat, vincula, verbera, carceres, afflictiones, ipsam postremo mortem, mortem autem crucis, ab infidelibus et inimicis Christi ipse cum Christo coronandus pertuli?' His beati Petri flagellis simul et exhortationibus animatus famulus Christi Laurentius mox, mane facto, venit ad regem, et, retecto vestimento, quantis esset verberibus laceratus ostendit. Qui multum miratus, et inquirens, quis tanto viro tales ausus esset plagas infligere; ut audivit quia suæ causa salutis episcopus ab apostolo Christi tanta esset tormenta plagasque perpessus, extimuit multum, atque anathematizato omni idolatriæ cultu, abdicato connubio non legitimo, suscepit fidem Christi, et baptizatus ecclesiæ rebus quantum valuit in omnibus consulere ac favere curavit." Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum rescensuit Josephus Stevenson. Londini: Sumptibus Societatis. 1838. Lib. ii. c. vi. § 104, pp. 113, 114.

(1) See Wheeloc's translation of the Saxon version of Bede by Alfred, at the end of Smith's Bede. Bædæ Hist. Eccles. Rege Aluredo Saxonice reddita, cura et studio Johannis Smith, lib. ii. c. vi. p. 508. fol. Cambridge, 1722.

(2) Apud Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores, x. p. 437, London, folio, 1652.

(3) Chronicon, ut supra, p. 739.

(4) Actus Pontificum Cantuar. ut supra, p. 1633.

(5) Chronica Guil. Thorne, Monachi S. Augustini Cant. ut supra, p. 1767.

(6) Annales, vol. viii. p. 230.

(7) Vol. ii. p. 32, Feb. 2. art. Laurentius.

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been adopted both by the writers of the church of Rome, who desire to conceal the faults of their ancestors; and by some writers of the anti-papal communion, who imagine that the cause of peace and harmony is more effectually promoted by protestant retrogradation towards Rome, than by Romish progression towards protestantism; and also by the misrepresentation or suppression of the records which are now received with less than their former veneration. Whereas the fusion of parties, which must be the commencement of the more perfect union among Christians, can only be rightly effected by all parties acknowledging the mutual errors of the past; and resolving to resign every doctrine, or every practice, which they blush to recognise as indefensible, among their fathers. Some symptoms of this feeling have already appeared among the members of the church of Rome. Bossuet attempted to give a new colouring to the more odious transactions of the past, and to represent, by softening them, the doctrines of the church on various points. The example of Bossuet was followed in England by the author of the "Papist Represented and Misrepresented." The various petitions and documents which have been submitted to the English legislature by the members of the church of Rome, to induce the government to extend their civil privileges, have been uniformly drawn up on the same plan. The appeal of the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy to the people, previously to the passing of the bill of 1829, was similarly framed.[1] Whenever the Lateran doctrines—which are still, however, taught in the places of papal education—are alluded to in the House of Commons, or elsewhere, they are denied and denounced by the members of the church of Rome, in the most express and solemn manner. This is all well to a certain extent: for we must suppose that any christian communion will eventually forsake the doctrines and practices of which they publicly declare they are ashamed. We must believe that if it can be demonstrated, as in this instance, that the opinions at which they blush, are contained in the codes and creeds of their church, they will eventually demand of the rulers of that church, that corresponding alterations be made, to reconcile the truths they believe, with the church they love. These symptoms, however, of the tendency to some change, which may be the beginning of the cessation of our protestant jealousy of Rome, cannot be satisfactory, until the solemn denunciations of their erroneous conclusions be sanctioned and confirmed by the repeal of the canons, which the last article of the Trentine Creed confirms to be a portion of the faith of the Romanist. One proof of this change of opinion respecting some of the more objectionable errors of the past, is found in the manner in which the history of Laurentius is mentioned by Dr. Lingard, and others.

The authors whom I have already mentioned have depended upon the authority of Beda, and they assert with him that the archbishop was whipped by St. Peter. Dr. Lingard,[2] in an earlier work, informs us, that

(1) I published a pamphlet pointing out its discrepancy with the articles of the council of Trent.
(2) "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 15, Newcastle edition, 8vo.

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Laurentius discovered to the king the marks of stripes on his shoulders, and assured him that they had been delivered by the hands of St. Peter. In a subsequent work,[1] Dr. Lingard omits the more miraculous part of the history altogether, and informs us, that on the morning of his intended departure, Laurentius made a last attempt on the mind of Eadbald, and his representations were successful. This is the truth, but not the whole truth.

Milner,[2] omits the story of the whipping altogether; and merely relates that Laurentius visited the king, who was struck with horror at his crimes. He apologizes for the omission in his note.

"When all was ready," says Mosheim,[3] "for the departure of Laurence, "he tried a last experiment upon the semi-savage prince, by submitting to such a flagellation as left marks upon his shoulders. These he exhibited to the king of Kent, assuring him that the chastisement had come from no meaner hand than that of St. Peter himself."

Soames[4] relates the fact briefly, but honestly, in the same manner as Beda.

Turner[5] relates the story that the archbishop appeared before the king, bleeding from severe stripes, and boldly asserted that he had received them from St. Peter, because he was meditating his departure, and that the idea was successful, because it was exactly suited to the king's intellect and superstition.

Jones,[6] omits the narrative altogether. Short also[7] passes it over. Dean Waddington also does not mention it. Southey,[8] taking his choice between miracle, fraud, and fable, calls the whipping a fraud, for which he is reproved by Mr. Charles Butler,[9] but which Dr. Southey vindicates at great length in a subsequent work.[10]

Let us now consider Mr. Churton's account. Bolder and more dextrous than any other historian, he so relates the narrative as to annihilate at one swoop the three alternatives mentioned by Southey, of miracle, fable, or fraud, on the part of Laurentius; while he destroys, at the same time, the testimony and facts of Beda.

"The departure of Laurentius," says Mr. Churton, "was prevented by a remarkable vision, which appears to have had in it something of a providential character. On the night before the day fixed for his journey, he ordered his pallet-bed to be laid in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, that he might take his last rest in that holy place before he quitted these shores. 'He passed,' says Alfred, 'a long night in prayers, and poured forth many tears, and sent up many a supplication to God for the continuance of the church, till he was spent and weary, and put his limbs in posture of sleep.' In a dream he seemed to see the apostle

(1) History of England, 2d edit. 8vo, vol. i. pp. 115, 116, and the last edition.
(2) Church History, p. 419, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1838, and note.
(3) Soames's Mosheim's Instit. Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 69, London, 1841.
(4) Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 49. (5) Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 333.
(6) Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 15—17. (7) Sketch of Hist. of Church of England, vol. i. pp. 11—14.
(8) Book of the Church, vol. i. p. 39, first edit. (9) Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 30.
(10) Vindiciæ Eccles. Ang. p. 104.

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St. Peter, who sternly reproved him for thinking of flight, when he would leave behind the flock of Christ in the midst of wolves. 'Have you forgotten my example?' said the vision; 'the chains, the stripes, the bonds, and afflictions,—nay, the death I endured for those lambs, whom Christ committed to my care and bade me feed, as the test by which he would prove my love?' Laurence awoke, and, in the pangs of remorse for his weakness, afflicted his body with the discipline of the scourge; and thus, under the zeal inspired by what he believed to be a divine warning, came for the last time to make an appeal to the conscience of Eadbald. The earnestness with which he spoke, and the sufferings of mind and body displayed in his appearance, awakened the king's better feelings. As his refusal of Christianity had been from enmity to its moral standard, rather than want of conviction of its truth, he was now changed at once; he gave up his idolatry, renounced his unlawful union, and became a baptized Christian. Mellitus and Justus were recalled; and, from this time, Christianity was fixed in the kingdom of Kent, though some years were to elapse before it could be replaced in London. It is not wonderful, if the simple superstition of the Saxons, or the natural tendency in men 'to magnify the mighty things they hear,' led them to tell the story of this vision, as if the spectre himself had inflicted the scourge on the back of Laurence."[1]

Such is Mr. Churton's account! In a dream he seemed to see! Laurence scourged himself!—and under the zeal inspired by what he believed to be a divine warning! These are the expressions of Mr. Churton: but they are not the history of Beda. Whatever be the solution of the supposed difficulty, this is not the right mode of writing history, especially by those who presume to depreciate John Foxe. If the authority of Beda is to be depended upon—and we have no other—and if there are apparent impossibilities in his narrative, those impossibilities must be acknowledged, and the authority of the historian be rejected altogether. If the authority of Beda is not to be rejected—if he relates matters which rest upon no other evidence, but which are partly probable, and partly improbable, the historian must not falsify the narrations of his authorities, and thus stultify his book by rejecting, and by retaining, what portion of his statement he may please. He is bound so to solve the real or supposed difficulties, as to retain the actual details of the asserted facts. This the critic on Foxe has not done. He is evidently anxious to escape from the alternative of fraud, miracle, or fable. He wishes more especially to exonerate Laurentius from the charge of wilfully deceiving the king; and therefore he has thus perverted the simple narrative of Beda. In doing so, he leaves the painful conviction on the mind of any of his readers, who may desire to consult the original authorities, that his book is not worthy of the talents and learning of its author. The historian who would really benefit the world and the church, must follow truth wherever

(1) Churton's "Early English Church," pp. 53, 54.

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it leads him. He must write truth at all hazards. He must write it as the inspired writers relate it, whether it please or displease a party; whether it support or oppose an hypothesis, a theory, a church, or a favourite opinion. As the Scriptures, for instance, inform us that David was the man after God's own heart, and yet say also, that he commanded Joab to place Uriah in the front of the battle; so should we tell the truth alone, whether we can reconcile discrepancies and inconsistencies or not; though the enemies of the Lord blaspheme, and the friends of the Lord weep.

There is, however, no necessity for thus falsifying the narrative of the scourging of Laurentius by St. Peter. We may dispense with the alternative of miracle or fable; and, so far as the character of Laurentius is concerned, we may reject the supposition of fraud also, on his part. We cannot suppose that St. Peter was sent forth from the world of spirits to scourge the archbishop; though there is no doubt that Beda believed he did so. We have no evidence that Laurentius scourged himself, and then wilfully deceived the king, by affirming that St. Peter scourged him; and therefore that Laurentius was an impostor and a liar. I believe the whole solution of the supposed difficulties, which enables us to retain literally every part of Beda's narrative, and which vindicates Laurentius, at the same time, from the suspicion of intentional deceit, to be briefly this—Augustine had brought with him to England forty Benedictine monks. Many of these had probably become deeply interested in the continuance of their mission to England. The council held at Canterbury prior to the return of Mellitus and Justus could not have been secret, and the very idea of a conciliar deliberation implies a majority and a minority of voices; or at least a difference of opinion among both the bishops in authority, and among the ecclesiastics over whom they presided. The departure of these two bishops would have given offence to many of their coadjutors in the mission. Laurentius had promised to follow his brethren. This design also could not be kept secret. I believe—that one or many of these Benedictine monks—anxious to remain in England, if it were possible; and deeming their departure to be a desertion of their bounden duty—convinced, also, that the artifice intended was perfectly justifiable—contrived the whole scheme related by Beda. Laurentius, worn out by sorrow, maceration, and fatigue, had fallen asleep on his matting of straw. He was awoke in the dead of the night, by a monk, who addressed him in the language related by Beda. He was scourged by that monk. Laurentius had no doubt that such scourging might have been divinely appointed, and apostolically inflicted. He might have been tormented with remorse, that he had permitted himself to be outvoted, or overruled by his colleagues; and he believed the words addressed to him, and that St. Peter himself had descended to punish the deserter of the church. I hope that this is the true solution of the problem. I am anxious for the honour of the apostolical succession, which God has ordained to be the channel of truth and grace, and

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not of falsehood and deception; to prove the second archbishop of Canterbury to be free from the pious fraud, which has been so often, and so triumphantly alleged against him. I believe that Laurentius was himself deceived by one of his mistaken, though conscientious friends, and that he then unintentionally deceived the king. This hypothesis vindicates the character of the archbishop, who is not accused in any other instance, of similar attempts to influence the people around him. It reconciles all the circumstances of Beda's narrative with probability. It preserves every fact. It destroys at once both fraud, miracle, and fable; and it is most surprising that this obvious solution of all the difficulties of the story has not, so far as I know, occurred to any of the historiographers. Neither have I any doubt that the various miracles which were supposed by the holy, pious, but often weak men, whom Mr. Churton desires throughout his book to eulogize; and who have been too often condemned as mere forgers of miracles, and, therefore, intentional impostors; might, in many instances, be as easily explained to have been mistakes, exaggerations, or natural phenomena, misunderstood by their piety and ignorance.

But the question may be asked, what relation does Foxe give of the reasons for the continuing of Laurentius in England? I answer, that he treats the subject of these reputed miracles more philosophically than any of his contemporaries; and in a spirit worthy of a subsequent age. He seems desirous to believe all he can of such narratives. He very briefly mentions Laurentius, and entirely omits the tale of his flagellation by St. Peter; but he speaks in general terms of the miracles of Augustine and his followers, as worthy of credit,[1] and that through them, Ethelbert "heard them more gladly," till, "by their wholesome exhortations, and example of a godly life, he was by them converted and baptized." He confines his account of Laurentius to the fact of his having been the bearer of the despatch of Austin to Gregory, to inform him of their success in England, and to request answers to the ten notable queries.[2] He warns his readers to distinguish between miracles recorded in Scripture, and those of mere tradition; belief in the latter being optional, while the former demand credence as resulting from the agency of God.

The miraculous conversion of king Edwin, being wrought, he says, by that peculiar deliverance from trouble and affliction which human discernment could neither expect nor explain, and which human means of themselves could not accomplish, may be ascribed to divine power, and, though not scriptural, is not unworthy of credit.[3]

Cuthlake confining the devil in a boiling pot—Brithwald, after being dead for a long time, coming to life again, and telling of the wonders he had seen in other regions—St. Egwine's liberation from iron fetters by means of a fish—and others of the same class, he pronounces to be monkish phantasies.[4]

(1) See Mr. Chas. Butler, Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 26.
(2) Acts and Monuments, vol. i. edit. 1684, pp. 128, 129, 132, 187.
(3) Idem, p. 134. (4) P. 139. Id.

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The well-known test by which the service-book of Gregory became universally substituted for the more popular one of Ambrose, he classes with such "tales as the idol Bel eating all the meat that was set before him all the night."[1]

The miracles of St. Swithin, which are read in the church of Winchester, "them I leave," he says, "to be read with the Iliads of Homer, or Tales of Robin Hood."[2]

But in no one instance can be found in his pages any subject deformed or garbled to suit his own sentiments. Whatever he has thought worthy of narration is faithfully reported, according to the duty of an historian; and in all these instances John Foxe will be found to be a guide to the history of the early church in England, as worthy of credit in his facts, though not as elegant in his language, as the critic who informs us that the credit which has been given to the martyrologist, must be regarded as a misfortune, for his style is that of a "coarse satire."

One additional remark only shall be made upon Mr. Churton's introduction. There is a certain period between the prevalence of unscriptural Christianity in England, and the Reformation, which we are accustomed to call "the dark ages." The labours of John Foxe, who relates the mingled errors which were invented, and the cruelties which enforced them, justify most fully the appellation. Mr. Churton, following the example of Mr. Maitland, whom he eulogizes for the sentiment, remarks that "these ages have been called dark, chiefly because the moderns have chosen to remain in the dark about them."[3] This is not so. These ages were justly called dark, not because of our prejudices, but because the mass of the people were kept in ignorance, by an unchristian christian priesthood. All that the learned writer to whom Mr. Churton refers has said respecting the arts, and ecclesiastical architecture, of the dark ages may be true. But the period was justly called dark, because, when the starving children of the church of Christ demanded the bread of life from those of the apostolical succession who boasted to be their spiritual fathers, they were presented with the carved stone of the magnificent cathedral. If the priesthood had given the bread of life when they gave the stone of the visible church, they would have united the hearts of the children to the fathers, and the hearts of the fathers to the children; and God in his providence might not have smitten the catholic church with the curse of our existing dissensions.

(1) Acts and Monuments, vol. i. edit. 1684, p. 145. (2) P. 153.
(3) Cave (Historia Literaria) was not ignorant of the centuries of which he wrote, yet he calls one sæculum obscurum.

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II.—THE REV. J. ENDELL TYLER, B.D.

Rector of St. Giles in the Fields.

THE next living assailant of the labours of Foxe, who deserves notice for his station in society, character, and influence, is Mr. Tyler, of whom nothing can be said, that is true, which will not seem to be eulogistical. The work in which Mr. Tyler has mentioned his various objections to certain portions of the Acts and Monuments, is entitled, "Henry of Monmouth, or Memoirs of the Life and Character of Henry the Fifth." The object of this book is to clear the character of his hero from the charges both of folly in his youth, and of a persecuting spirit in his maturer age; and to represent Henry the Fifth as one of the most amiable, magnanimous, and illustrious monarchs of England. He has not failed in this object. He has un-Shakspeared the youth of Henry, and honoured his maturer age; but he has rendered a greater service to the world than by thus proving that our estimate of historical characters, must be suspiciously drawn from our best dramatist and poet. He has most certainly demonstrated to the legislature and to the people of England the truth of that appalling fact, which is affirmed by every page, of the crimes and follies of the past; that every kingly virtue is neutralized, and every effort to promote the political happiness, or greatness of a realm is ruined and destroyed, when the civil power permits the ecclesiastical power of a kingdom to punish opinions not causing immorality, as a crime against the civil laws of the country. Henry is proved to have been a mild, religious, devout king; anxious to please God, and to do good to man. Very beautifully is the contest within his own mind delineated, between the natural humanity, which revolted from the sight of an inoffensive and harmless tailor burning in a tub, because he could not believe in transubstantiation; and the imbibed conventional impression forced upon his mind by the ecclesiastics of his day, that his bounden duty to God, and to the church, required him to leave the supposed heretic to his fate. Let not the most tolerant and amiable of the devout and religious persons who belong to our various communions, imagine that they, in an age when the civil power enforced an external conformity with the church, would have been exempted from the common error of persecution. I have known many deeply religious, pious, gentle persons, both of the papal and presbyterian churches, both of the high church and low church in the episcopal protestancy of our own communion, who, with many misgivings, and tears, and regrets; but with no less certainty and decision, would inflict pain on the body of one Christian, to save the soul of another. One word of Him who spake not as man spoke, describes the whole matter—He that killeth you, will not kill you from caprice, cruelty, or wickedness, but from piety and devotion, because he thinketh that he doeth God service. Every sect and party among Christians may be thankful to God, that the civil power controls the eccle-

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siastical power, by refusing to identify any longer the canon law of Rome with the municipal laws of their respective countries; and the crime of the church of Rome is, not that it did once persecute, but that it refuses, in its claims to freedom from error, to infallibility and unchangeableness, to rescind one atom of the canons or articles of Lateran and Trent; which still imply the propriety of corporal severity, to restrain dissent from its faith; and which consequently compel our protestant jealousy to be proportionate to its increase of power. Many useful remarks are made by Mr. Tyler on this point. He justly observes, that the history of the reign of Henry[1] proves to us that all the united efforts of the clergy and laity were required to induce Henry to put the existing laws in force, against those who were bold enough to dissent from the Romish faith. So far from his "having watched the Lollards as his greatest enemies," so far from "having listened to every calumny which the zeal and hatred of the hierarchy could invent or propagate, against the unfortunate followers of Wickliff," (the conduct and disposition ascribed to him by Milner,) "we have sufficient proof of the dissatisfaction of the church with him in this respect; and their repeated attempts to excite him to more vigorous measures, against the rising and spreading sect." This is well and truly said; and ample justice is done to the memory of Henry. Mr. Tyler, however, has not rendered sufficient justice to the causes which had compelled his father to be the first sovereign who committed to the flames an heretic, whom the prince of Wales endeavoured in vain to save. An opportunity was afforded to Mr. Tyler to compensate in some measure for the omission by all our preceding historians, of a more perfect account of that great ecclesiastic, who exalted the power of the church of Rome in England, to its greatest height. Few biographies would be more interesting than that of archbishop Arundel. Created a bishop at the age of twenty-two years by the pope, in opposition to the laws of England, and against the wishes of an illustrious but aged and dying king,[2] he became for a period of sixty-two years the most influential ecclesiastical ruler in England. The church ruled the state. The pope ruled the church. The bishops were the servants and slaves of the foreigner. The decretal and canon law, the attempt to impose a part of which in a former age had elicited from the barons of England the celebrated declaration, that the laws of England should not be changed, became, under the influence of Arundel upon Henry the Fourth, so identified with the statute-law of England; that the fearful law was passed, which made heresy the greatest crime, to be punished with the most terrible death. Arundel succeeded, where Becket failed. We may with some difficulty now recover the proofs of the intrigues which rejected Richard the Second from the throne, to place there his subtle opponent, the duke of Lancaster. He had no doubt offended his subjects deeply, and deserved their severe censure, and restraint upon his power. The archbishop, too, had much personal cause of complaint; for, like Becket

(1) Vol. ii. p. 8.

(2) Edward the Third. See art. Arundel, Biog. Britt., and note B.

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and Anselm, his predecessors, he had been banished from the kingdom. But the chief crimes of Richard, in the opinion of the influential ecclesiastics of his age, would have been, the non-persecution of the Wycliffites; and the letter of Richard to the Pope, in which the king reproves the pontiff, and affirms the right of secular princes to control the ambition of the ecclesiastical power. The secret conferences between Arundel, when he was in exile on the continent, with his fellow exile, the duke of Lancaster, are not recorded; and we cannot therefore prove the possible or probable contract, which was then made, that if the power of the church was granted to the duke, to give him the crown of England; he in return for the favour, should grant to the church, that disgraceful law, which was passed in the very commencement of his reign; when his usurpation was successful, and the duke of Lancaster, principally by the means of the archbishop of Canterbury, became Henry the Fourth. Richard with all his follies retained possession of his throne, till this letter completed the previous but useless efforts of his government to resist the papal power. He was deposed in the following year. Can there be any doubt that if he had adopted a different course in ecclesiastical matters—if he had consented to the plans of Arundel to suppress the more spiritual efforts of his subjects, to retain the free use of the Scriptures[1]—if he could have passed the law for burning heretics, instead of tolerating them, that Richard would have retained the crown by the aid of the church; and the civil wars of York and Lancaster would never have afflicted the nation.

This dark, darkest page of our history, when the law for burning heretics was first enacted, has not been sufficiently considered. Arundel, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Richard, when he was archbishop of York and lord high chancellor of England, made his solemn protestation in the open parliament, that he would not consent to any law, which restrained in England the authority of the pope. Arundel was the archbishop who placed several of the churches of London under an interdict, because their bells were not rung in honour of the archbishop as he rode on horseback through London. He affirms in his interdictal decree, that this ought to have been done in token of special reverence to himself. Arundel was the archbishop who forbade the Bible to be read, while the decretals of Rome were neither to be questioned nor doubted. He commanded images and the cross to be adored, while the books of Wycliff were forbidden; not merely because they contained some propositions which the protestant of the church of England will condemn as severely as the members of the church of Rome would condemn them; but because they contained truths, for which the very bishops and archbishops of the church, in the century which followed, submitted to the law, which Arundel, their predecessor, induced the king to enact. We may thank God for his mercy that such days appear to have gone by for ever; though there are many who would

(1) But see on this subject Collier, and the note in the Biog. Brit.

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still restore the spiritual authority of Rome, the source of all these political evils. We may thank God, too, that he has so ordered the course of the world by his providence, that all the doctrines of Wycliffe at this time did not obtain the ascendancy,[1] but that the contest between good and evil was to proceed, till the martyrs who died for the truth of the Gospel, and not for the usurpations of the pope, had sealed the truth with their blood: and till the Reformation could be established by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities; and not by the violence of a turbulent and maddened populace. Such topics as these were brought before Mr. Tyler, and they would have been worthy of his consideration. They would have enabled him still more graphically to have painted the character of his hero; and they would probably have induced him to mention with dispraise rather than with eulogy, one part of the conduct even of Henry of Monmouth. Mr. Tyler, when speaking of the devotional character and piety of Henry, observes,[2] that "though he delighted to hear Heaven's message of reconciliation faithfully expounded and enforced home; yet his soul took chief delight in communing with God, by acts of confession, and prayer, and praise; and though he spared no pains, even during his career of war and victory, in providing himself with the assistance of those teachers who had the reputation of preaching the gospel most sincerely and efficiently; yet his was not the religion which would substitute in the scale of christian duties punctuality of attendance or frequent preaching, for the higher and nobler exercises of devotion." This is a strange paragraph. It would lead us to imply, that because the command to preach the gospel has been by some so exclusively considered the only means of grace, that the other commanded means of grace have been comparatively undervalued; and that because preaching has been perverted to the encouragement, among the puritans, of sedition and folly; that our preferable service to God is to regard prayer and praise more highly, than the sermons of the preacher. The sentiment is unworthy of the historiographer of Henry of Monmouth. God has directed his church to preach his gospel, as well as to offer him prayer and praise, and to administer the sacraments. All his commands are to be obeyed, and one means of grace is not to be exalted above the others, either by the puritanical, who depend too much upon the preaching; or by the papistical, who depend too much upon their ritual, and the sacraments. "There is no intimation," says Mr. Tyler, "intended in these pages, that Henry's eyes were open to the doctrinal errors of the church of Rome." We may therefore conclude that none of his favourite preachers were taken from that class who were beginning to oppose those errors. No follower of Wycliffe, no chaplain of the court of the good Queen Anne, whom Arundel himself had praised as a student of Scripture, was permitted to preach before the king. He confessed, he prayed, he praised; but his knowledge remained the same. He was left, therefore, to believe

(1) See a beautiful passage on this point in Le Bas's Wycliffe. (2) Vol. ii. p. 38.

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in his ignorance. His devotion was accepted, we must believe, by the Almighty; but by not increasing his knowledge, he was prevented from seeing the more glorious brightness, of the whole truth of Christianity. He was raised up to be the reformer of the church, by his influence, devotion, and integrity. His ignorance prevented him from accomplishing his high destiny. He died young, and he left the civil war to his posterity, beneath which the common people of England were protected from the ecclesiastical tyranny which would have destroyed the seeds of the reformation. The very storm was their shelter,[1] till the mass of the people was leavened, and the time came for a better reformation than either Richard or his deposer could have established. To use the beautiful language of Mr. Tyler in another part of his work,[2] it pleased the Almighty, in his inscrutable wisdom, to bring about the reformation of the church in his own way, by his own means, and at his own appointed time. We recognise his hand in the blessing which we have inherited, and are thankful.

We shall now consider Mr. Tyler's objections to the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe.

1. In the account of the martyrdom of Badby, related by Foxe, and quoted favourably by Mr. Tyler to prove that Henry was no persecutor, *Foxe affirms that Badby's examination began on Sunday, the 1st of March: whereas the 1st of March was on Saturday.*[3]

I quote this trivial objection on the part of Mr. Tyler, because we may regard it as a proof of the extreme care, which has been taken to discover any faults which may have been committed by the martyrologist, in the course of his narrative, of the transactions, to which Mr. Tyler's book refers.

The answer is given by Mr. Tyler himself. "Foxe derived his information chiefly from the Latin record (v. Wilkins's Concilia) preserved in Lambeth. We there find that the date is Die Sabbati."

The expression is undoubtedly a barbarism, for Saturday: and the mistake is indefensible. I can only account for it by supposing that the person upon whom Foxe may have depended for that portion of his narrative which is taken from the archbishop's register, translated it Sunday instead of Saturday, because he supposed that as the English, or Hebrew word, Sabbath, was generally used to describe the Lord's day, or Sunday; and not the seventh day, or Saturday—therefore the Latin term, the day of the Sabbath, or Dies Sabbati, referred also to the day of the christian rest. It was impossible that Foxe could be ignorant that Dies Saturni was the right term for Saturday, and Dies Dominica, or Dies Solis, for Sunday; or, that Dies Sabbati was used also to describe the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday. He probably depended on another. The mistake, however, from whatever source it originated, is indefensible.

(1) These are the words of Fuller.
(2) P. 69, vol. ii.
(3) Henry of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 343.

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2. The second objection of Mr. Tyler is, that *Foxe is not warranted*, by his probable authority—the chronicler of London—*in saying that Henry added threatenings at the martyrdom of Badby the tailor*, to induce the poor artisan to accept his offer of pardon, and to save his life.[1]

The martyrdom of this unfortunate mechanic, presents to us a singular picture of the kindness, gentleness, and reluctance, both of the ecclesiastics, the people, and the prince, to punish heresy with fire, as the canon and statute law now, for the first time, demanded. Nothing but their conviction that it was their bounden duty to God, and to the gospel, so to prove their love to religion, could have induced them thus to persecute. This martyrdom, as much as any of the sad scenes which then disgraced our established Christianity, demonstrates the often repeated truth, that the danger of persecution arises from the pious and virtuous, as well as from the interested and ambitious. John Badby was found guilty, says the sentence,[2] of teaching, and boldly affirming, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ; after the sacramental words are uttered. This was declared to be heresy—this was the crime. No treason was alleged, no immorality, no fault of any other kind. A poor humble mechanic was accused of believing that the priest "could not make the body of Christ; and he required to see the manifest body of Christ before he could believe this; and that Christ had not his own body in his hand to be distributed to his disciples at the last supper; and he spake, too, other things, horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the catholic faith." This was the offence. The loathsome laws of the hour required that it be punished with burning. The bishops who sentenced him endeavoured often and kindly to persuade him to recant. The archbishop, Arundel, assured the poor man, that he would "gage his soul for him at the judgment-day, if he would change;" and he subsequently implored him to reconsider the question. All, as might have been expected, was in vain. Sentence was pronounced by the ecclesiastical power. He was delivered over to the secular authority, with the usual, infamous, and most hypocritical petition that he be not injured, nor put to death for the offence. He is brought to Smithfield, to be placed in a tub bound to a stake, with the dry wood for the fire heaped around him. Before the flame was applied, Henry of Monmouth, with his attendant nobility, entreated him, as the good Samaritan, in the words of Foxe, to change his decision. He added thereto, says the martyrologist, "*threatenings, the which might have daunted any man.*" This is the sentence to which Mr. Tyler objects as unauthorized. The answer is—first, that the very words of Walsingham, (Gratiam nullam consecuturum,) the bigoted enemy of all the Wycliffites, confirm the truth of Foxe's narrative; and,

(1) Vol. ii. p. 346.
(2) Sentence of the Bishop of Worcester, ap. Foxe, vol. i. p. 594, ed. 1684. vol. iii. p. 236, ed. 1840.

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secondly, that there is an internal evidence in the narrative, of the great probability, that the humane prince, observing by the man's countenance that his expostulations of entreaty were useless, proceeded in pure compassion towards the humble victim, to the expostulations of threatening; shewing him the danger to his soul, as well as the terrible suffering which was about to ensue to his body. I deem the threatenings at such a moment, if they followed the supplications of a prince, to a poor tailor about to be burned for an opinion, or for a truth; to have been a proof, that Henry of Monmouth was all that Mr. Tyler has related of him. The threatenings, however, as well as the entreaties of the prince were useless. Courtenay, the chancellor of Oxford, preached a sermon to the tailor, after royalty had made its vain effort. The prior of St. Bartholomew, with twelve of his retinue, brought forth the consecrated wafer, and solemnly placing it before the bound confessor, made a last appeal to him in the name of their holy religion. He demanded of him, what he still believed respecting the sacrament of the altar. The firm, yet trembling sufferer replied, that the wafer was hallowed bread, and not God's body. The fire was lighted. When the flames kindled upon him, he cried out for mercy. The prince commanded the fire to be extinguished, and again entreated him to forsake his heresy, and to embrace the belief of the church. He added another motive. "Change your opinion," he said, "save your body from this fire, and you shall receive a daily provision from the king's treasury for your life."[1] The cessation of the fire, which had begun to torment Badby, the consternation, and the unavoidable pain he must have suffered, may have appeared to occasion hesitation, as the kind-hearted prince was speaking. But praise was ordained out of the mouth of the spiritual babes and sucklings, whom the whole power of this world was thus visibly assailing; and the half-roasted tailor shamed by his constancy the timid and the wavering, who yielded to less temptation. He again refused to recant; and the prince commanded the pipe or tun to be replaced, and the fire to be again kindled. Whether he continued in Smithfield till the tailor was reduced to ashes, or whether he retired from the execrable spectacle, is uncertain; but the martyr was left to his fate, after Henry had declared that no grace, nor favour, could be further shewn to him. Oh! why will Rome persevere to insist on the reception of the same doctrine of transubstantiation, of the presence of the blood and bones of Christ; and to enforce it, in its still unchanged, though obsolete canons, by the same sanctions as we read of in these warning and fearful martyrdoms? The church and the state of England are both willing to rescind all laws which experience may prove to be unworthy of the approbation of the people, and opposed to the public good. Is Rome more, or less wise than England? Is Rome the only church or state in the world that has never imbibed a

(1) "Promittens nunc etiam victurum se et consecuturum veniam, ac singulis diebus vitæ suæ, de fisco regio tres denarios oblationem," &c. &c. Thom. Walsingham, Hist. Ang. p. 379. ed. Francofurti, 1603, folio.

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doctrine that may require reconsideration or change? The assumption must—must be resigned.

3. The third charge of Mr. Tyler against Foxe is, that "while he certainly follows the original statement in archbishop Arundel's register, in the case of lord Cobham, much more faithfully than others, yet he *gives an unfavourable and unfair turn to the whole proceedings by one or two strokes of his pencil.*"[1]

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Tyler should have so limited his reading on the subject to which he has devoted so many chapters, that he compels us to believe he is utterly ignorant of the fact, that the charge which he has alleged against Foxe, ought to have been attributed to the authority from whom Foxe has derived his whole account of lord Cobham, and of the conduct of Henry of Monmouth to that illustrious and holy nobleman. Mr. Tyler ought to have read the book from which Foxe borrowed: the "Brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastel, the Lord Cobham, collected together by John Bale," afterwards bishop of Ossory, was published, in black letter, in the year 1544, ten years before Foxe published the first edition of his work in Latin, at Basil. A new edition of Bale's book was published in 1729; another impression is printed in the first volume of the Harleian Miscellany; another in the first volume of Hargrave's State Trials.[2] If Mr. Tyler had compared either the original edition of this work, or that in the Harleian Miscellany,[3] he would have discovered that Foxe has principally differed from his original in omitting the more severe and unrefined expressions, which Bale has used concerning the Romish priesthood: as well as much of the more graphic parts of the narrative of the execution of lord Cobham. Bale, indeed, was called the foul-mouthed; and Foxe may therefore have been ashamed of his authority, as he has not mentioned him. He has omitted, for instance, such expressions as "subtle sorcerers," "fat bulls of Basan," and worse epithets. He has omitted also the mournful and degrading picture drawn by Bale of the manner in which the priests at the execution of lord Cobham, while the tortured victim was suspended in chains, roasting slowly to death, "blasphemed and cursed around him; and required the people not to pray for him, but to judge him damned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their pope."[4] Foxe omitted these sorrowful descriptions; for he never designed to exaggerate the painful details which he only committed to the press, in severe truth, as a warning to protestants, rather than as a reproach to the papists. "May God in his mercy," he exclaims,[5] "keep the sword out of the papists' hands;" and if he could aid the people in preventing this calamity, he was contented. All this Mr. Tyler ought to have known

(1) Vol. ii. p. 358.
(2) See Watt's Bibliotheca, art. Bale.—Hargrave: London edit. folio, 1776. Harleian Miscellany, 8vo. edit. pp. 245—286.
(3) The edition in Hargrave's State Trials is more mutilated, though more of the old spelling is preserved even there than in the account by Foxe.
(4) Bale's Cobham; ap. Harl. Misc. vol. i. p. 281.
(5) Defence of Lord Cobham, in his reply to Harpsfield.

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before he ventured to have censured the language of Foxe, or to have represented the martyrologist as unworthy of the approbation of his countrymen for his language respecting the character and conduct of Mr. Tyler's favourite, Henry of Monmouth.

But it will be justly said, that, if Foxe has adopted from Bale any mistakes or misapprehensions, he is as much responsible for them all, as the authority from whom he has borrowed. If this is the case, it might be said, who then can presume to write history? I will not, however, demur to this opinion. If Foxe has written any statements which will not bear investigation, let him be censured. We seek for truth only.

The proof, then, that Foxe gives an unfair turn to the proceedings of Henry the Fifth to lord Cobham, is found by Mr. Tyler in this sentence. "The king," says Foxe, "*gently* (the word is printed by Mr. Tyler in italics) heard those bloodthirsty prelates, and *far otherwise than became his princely dignity*," etc. etc.

If Mr. Tyler had read the account in Bale, he would not only have found that the words are those used by the bishop of Ossory, but that he has appended a note in the margin, contrary to his usual custom, explanatory of his reason for using the expression. It is this:—"Because he should not have stooped so low as to yield to the arbitrary proceedings of the prelates, but, by his supreme power, secured his good servant from their tyrannical usurpations." This note was written two years before the death of Henry the Eighth, who, though he was not a protestant, in the sense of rejecting the doctrinal errors of the church of Rome, had proved his resolution to resist both its ecclesiastical and political supremacy, and to overthrow the arbitrary usurpation of the crosier over the crown. Foxe omitted the note, and retained the words of the text only. He wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, when the policy on which Henry the Eighth acted in removing the authority of the see of Rome, and of the temporal power of the bishops, was more universally approved; and the explanatory note would not be deemed so necessary. Mr. Tyler bears witness to Foxe's fidelity in following, with impartiality, the original statements in Arundel's registers;[1] and Foxe, though he has copied from Bale, declares, "that to stop the mouth of any adversary, he has taken the foundation of his story from the archives and registers of archbishop Arundel;"[2] that is, he had compared Bale with the registers, as Mr. Tyler has compared Foxe with the same, and found him faithful. But Foxe omitted the note because he may have imagined it was no longer necessary; and he may have believed that Henry need not have temporized with Arundel, but have acted as Henry VIII. or Elizabeth ventured to do. Henry the Fifth could not have treated the prelates of the church in the same manner in which the imperious Elizabeth treated them, when she compelled one to surrender his revenues, and

(1) Henry of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 358.
(2) Foxe, vol. i. p. 644, col. 1, edit. 1684; vol. iii. p. 342, ed. 1840.

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threatened to unfrock another.[1] Perseverance in error had then produced disrespect for their order. Cruelty, continued cruelty, had ended in hatred and abhorrence. Their pretensions, however well-founded, to be the exclusive rulers of the church of Christ, as the apostolical succession from its first teachers, were derided, because of the union of cruelty and error which had dishonoured them; and John Foxe imagined, perhaps, that Henry might have opposed the power of Arundel as successfully as Elizabeth might have resisted Parker or Whitgift. This may have been the cause of his continuing the expression of which Mr. Tyler complains. Henry would have lost his throne if he had dared to have opposed, at that time, the authority of the church; which, inflicting rather than suffering persecution, accounted its disgrace to be its strength. The crimes of the episcopal fathers in the days of Henry the Fifth were punished upon their successors in the days of Elizabeth and Charles; and the experience of many centuries was necessary to give *this lesson to the episcopal churches* of the catholic church of Christ—that *their strength consists, not in their authority alone, but in the mode in which it is exercised; not in their apostolical succession alone, but in the wise discipline it enforces, and in the truths it teaches.* In this consists the strength of the Anglican church; that though it is not perfect, a wise man who believes in revelation, and desires a blessed immortality, may conscientiously submit to its authority, and value its apostolical succession for the truth's sake alone; and if a Christian may conscientiously join his national church, he is then bound, on account of its well-ordered authority and succession, for Christ's sake and for his soul's sake, never to forsake its communion.

4. "*It is painful to read the marginal notes of Foxe*, to the trial of lord Cobham, such as these:—'Lord Cobham would not obey the beast.' 'Caiaphas sitteth in consistory.' 'The wolf was hungry; he must needs be fed with blood.' 'Bloody murderers;' with others, still more ungentle."[2]

Such is Mr. Tyler's fourth objection to Foxe. I agree with Mr. Tyler in wishing that these marginal expressions had been omitted. Yet we must not only, with Mr. Tyler, "make allowance for the times," but remember that, the sight as well as the endurance of oppression maketh a wise man mad. The peculiarity of the conduct of the church of Rome is in this respect remarkable; that no exaggerated statements—no poetical flights—no romantic colourings are ever necessary to excite in the mind of the reader of these narratives the deepest emotions of contempt, or hatred, for the judges; or of deep compassion for the victim. The world is only benefited by the fair and impartial relation of the facts of the past. The fidelity of Foxe remains unimpeached. It is acknowledged that he derived his information from authentic sources, and that he has written faithfully the facts, which are there developed. This is

(1) See the account of this expression to Heton, the successor of bishop Coxe in the see of Ely.
(2) Vol. ii. p. 369.

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all I desire. His work may be considered as the demonstration of the mournful consequences to people, and governments, of permitting one false principle only to be a maxim of law, to states and churches—that evil may be inflicted on the body for the good of the soul, when no immorality is committed, and no injury rendered to society. The value of his work consists in his proofs of the lamentable results of this evil maxim: and that value can only be destroyed, by proving him to be an incredible witness, as the narrator of wilful falsehoods. The marginal expressions of his sorrow, indignation, contempt, or any other emotion, if his facts are unimpeached, are of little moment. We must, however, remember that Arundel, of whom Foxe speaks, was the first archbishop of Canterbury who commenced that system of cruelty, to which Foxe himself had nearly fallen a victim. Mr. Tyler eulogizes Foxe above Milner, Sharon Turner, and other historians;[1] and with such testimony to his veracity, and fidelity, the most fastidious of his readers may be contented.

5. The fifth objection is—

Foxe affirms that Arundel swore the witnesses against lord Cobham on the mass-book: whereas Arundel swore them on the evangelists.[2]

Mr. Tyler ought again, I say, to have known, that these are not the words of Foxe, but of John Bale; from whose careful narrative, they are borrowed by the martyrologist. The probability is, that as a large number (their names are enumerated by Bale), were sworn, both the mass-book and the evangelists were used. They were all sworn, apparently, at the same time. The error could not have been wilful either on the part of Foxe, or of Bale; for both, when giving the account of the oath, said to have been taken by lord Cobham, in the abjuration forged in his name by the bishops, and circulated by them among the people, affirm that the oath concluded with the usual words: So help me God, and these holy evangelists.[3]

6. The next objection appears, at first sight, to be more formidable. It is thus expressed:

It is impossible not to observe upon *the great inaccuracy of Foxe's translation* of the archbishop's words, for he professes it to be a translation; and the unfair turn and tone given to his sentiments, together with the unjustifiable addition which he has made to his definitive sentence.[4]

Then follows, as we should suppose, the fairest mode of proving this alleged delinquency—the placing Foxe's translation with his own in two parallel columns—with the concluding remark, that "to do him (lord Cobham) unto death" may be the horrible implication; but it is not, as Foxe unwarrantably represents it to be, part of the sentence.

(1) Vol. ii. p. 368. (2) Henry of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 369.
(3) Compare in Foxe, edit. 1684, vol. i. col. 1, and page 639, col. 1. The words are—"Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta evangelia."
(4) Vol. ii. pp. 370, 371.

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The parallel translations are—

Foxe's Translation.

"We sententially and definitely by this present writing judge, declare, and condemn him for a most detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church: again committing him here from henceforth to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to *do him thereupon to* DEATH."

Mr. Tyler's Translation.

"Him, convicted of and upon such a detestable offence, and unwilling to return penitently to the unity of the church, we sententially and definitively have judged, declared, and condemned for a heretic, and to be in error in those things which the holy church of Rome and the universal church teaches, hath determined, and preacheth, and especially in the articles above written; leaving the same as a heretic henceforth to the secular power."

The original is not quoted by Mr. Tyler. This is to be regretted. Neither is it quoted by Foxe, or Bale. It is, however, to be found in the records at Lambeth, and in Rymer's Fœdera;[1] from whence it is extracted by Hargrave, and appended to the trial of lord Cobham.[2] The passage in question is this:

"Præfatum Dominum, &c. &c. hujusmodi detestabili reatu convictum, et ad ecclesiæ unitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum, ac in his quæ tenet, docet, determinavit, et prædicat sacrosancta Romana et universalis ecclesia, et præsertim in articulis suprascriptis, errantem judicavimus, declaravimus, et condemnavimus sententialiter, diffinitive in his scriptis, relinquentes eundem exnunc, tanquam hæreticum, judicio seculari."

We may observe on these two translations, that Mr. Tyler's is by far the most elegant and scholarlike; but that the rendering of the words by Bale and, after him, by Foxe, is not unfaithful, nor partial, nor designed to misrepresent the facts of the narrative. With respect to the expression which Mr. Tyler so severely condemns, I affirm that Bale and Foxe have correctly translated the words, condemnavimus—judicio seculari. The phrase, to do him ther-upon (as Bale expresses it) to death, is the precise meaning of the condemnation of a heretic to the secular power. It was the form and mode in which sentence of death was pronounced. The ecclesiastical judges used no other phrase. It is derived from the canon law under which they acted. It was not an implication, but a judgment. The smoothness, or courtesy, or affectation of gentleness and mercy did not prevent the infliction of the terrific business, which resulted from the ecclesiastical decree.[3]

(1) Tom. ix. p. 61. (2) Vol. i. State Trials, ut supra.

(3) See the proofs of the identity of the ecclesiastical sentence upon heresy, with the punishment of death, to those who were given over to the secular arm, in the decretals, and canon law generally. See especially Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. cap. 9; also Boehmer's Canon Law, vol. ii. pp. 745—752.

May I observe here, that it is curious to read the manner in which the sentence of death is variously worded. In the Peloponnesian war the prisoners who were murdered, were said to be made quiet. The Athenians always used paraphrastic terms for death. The Romans considered the word death to be of ill omen, and carefully avoided its use. The most singular instances of expressing an approaching execution are found perhaps in Shakspeare. They vary according to the character of the person who speaks; thus—

A magistrate, Angelo, says—

"See that Claudio
Be executed by nine to-morrow morning:
Bring him his confessor; let him be prepared,
For that's the utmost of his pilgrimage."

Measure for Measure, Act ii. Scene 1.

[A friend,

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7. Mr. Tyler's seventh objection to Foxe is:—"Another instance occurs in *the translation of the passage in which the archbishop gives his reasons* for making this public and authoritative statement of the transaction.

FOXE.	ARUNDEL.
"That, *upon the fear of his declaration*, also the people may fall from *their evil* opinions conceived *now of late* by *seditious preachers*."	"That the erroneous opinions of the people, who perhaps have conceived on this subject otherwise than the truth of the fact stands, may by this public declaration be reversed."

"The archbishop," Mr. Tyler observes, "declares his object to be the substitution of the true statement of the affair of lord Cobham's condemnation, in place of the false opinions which were abroad; not a word about 'fear,' or 'evil opinions from seditious preachers.'"[1]

Here, too, the translation is copied by Foxe from Bale; and the correctness of the rendering will be seen from the whole paragraph only. Its object is to intimidate the people from following the example of lord Cobham. Bale's translation is an abridgment or condensation of the paragraph; it is not a literal translation. I will submit the entire paragraph to the reader, and beg him to consider it. I think he will conclude that the erroneous opinions which the bishop desired the people to reverse, were the heresies which had been taught by the Wyckliffite preachers; and that as the public declaration of the bishops not only censured the heresies and opinions, but also condemned to death the heretic or opinionist who affirmed them; that the fear of capital punishment may have been intended to prevent the extension of such heresies; and that the erroneous opinions condemned, were not merely, as Mr. Tyler imagines, the mistake of the people concerning the true statement of lord Cobham's condemnation, but their erroneous opinions in embracing lord Cobham's doctrine. Arundel and his brethren hoped, by their severity, to terrify the people; and Bale and Foxe are right, therefore, in giving this version to the words of the archbishop.[2]

A friend, beautifully says to the condemned—

"By eight to-morrow
Thou must be made immortal."

Act iv. Scene 2.

An unrefined, and unlettered clown says—

"You must rise, and be hanged."

Act iv. Scene 3.

An affectionate sister says—

"Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
Intends you for a swift ambassador—
To-morrow you set on."

Act iii. Scene 1.

All the expressions vary, but the meaning in all is the same. How exquisite is the poetry, and painting of the human nature, by Shakspeare!

(1) Vol. ii. p. 37.

(2) The paragraph in the original is—"Et ut ista præmissa omnibus in Christo credentibus, innotescam, vestræ fraternitati committimus et commendamus, quatenus præfatum dominum Joannem Oldcastellum, sicut præmittitur, per nos fuisse et esse damnatum, hæreticum, schismaticum, et in articulis superscriptis errantem, omnesque alios et singulos qui eundem dominum Johannem de cætero, in sui favorem erroris, receptaverit vel receptaverint, defensaverit vel defensaverint; aut sibi auxilium, consilium, vel favorem in hac parte præbuerit vel præbuerint, tanquam receptores, fautores, et defensatores hæreticum, per dictam nostram sententiam diffinitivam, excommunicatos in ecclesia vestra, per vestras civitates et diœceses, per singulos subditos vestros et curatos earundem, in ecclesiis suis, cum

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8. The eighth and last objection of Mr. Tyler to Foxe is, *that Foxe acquits lord Cobham of the charges of sedition and treason.*

I shall consider the fidelity and veracity of the martyrologist on this point, when I examine the allegations of Harpsfield with Foxe's replies. The principal question will be, whether the meeting of the followers of Wycliffe in St. Giles' fields, on the 10th of January, 1414, was an assembly for religious worship, an organized insurrection, a seditious but tumultuary gathering, or a collection of oppressed and maddened people, whose meeting partook of all these characteristics. On the unfavourable side are Harpsfield, Hume, Walsingham, and Tyler; on the other side are Bale, Foxe, Milner, and Le Bas. I think it will be made to appear that the assembly partook of the nature of a religious and discontented, but not warlike, meeting; and that there cannot be found the shadow of evidence to prove that lord Cobham was a traitor, in the sense of a conspirator against the life, person, crown, safety, or dignity of the king. Mr. Tyler's additional authorities, from the Pell Rolls, seem to me to prove nothing. I shall reserve the arguments till the time I have mentioned, and only now remind Mr. Tyler, in his own words,[1] that "the hierarchy set all engines in motion for the extirpation of Lollardism, as the principles of the rising sect were called. They felt that their dominion over the minds of men must cease as soon as the right of private judgment was generally acknowledged; and *they resolved, at whatever cost of charity and of blood, to maintain the hold over the consciences, the minds, and the property of their fellow-creatures, which the church had devoted so many years of steady, unwearied, undeviating policy, to secure.* The real question, the point on which every other question between the protestant communions and the church of Rome must depend, is this: '*Have individual Christians a right to test the doctrines of the church by the written word of God;* or must they receive with implicit credence whatever the church in communion with the see of Rome, the only authorized and infallible guardian and propagator of gospel truth, decrees and propounds?' All the other differences, however important in themselves, and practically essential, must follow the fate of this question. The Romanists are still aware of this, and are as much alive to it as ever were the uncompromising vindicators of the church in the days of Lollardism. They took their resolution, and it was this: 'Come what will come, this heresy must be put down; the very existence of the church is incompatible with this rivalry: either Lollardism must be extinguished, or it will shake the very foundations of Rome.' And having taken this resolution, they lost no favourable opportunity of carrying it into full effect."

Such is Mr. Tyler's eloquent description of the fierce determination of the bishops and clergy, contemporary with lord Cobham, to conquer

major in eisdem affuerit populi multitudo alta et intelligibili voce et in lingua materna, prout supra seriosius continetur in hoc processu, declarent, publicent et exponent—ut sic opiniones erroneæ populi, qui aliter concepit forte in hac materiâ quemadmodum se habet rei veritas, hac declaratione publicâ rescindantur."

(1) Vol. ii. p. 353.

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the unconquerable spirit which, we may hope, will still resist the smiles, as it once resisted the frowns, of Rome. That church, indeed, has reason to tremble, when the love of truth is so powerful among the authors who thus speak of its pretensions to govern consciences and churches, by its authority alone, whatever be the doctrine it teaches, or the discipline it enforces; that they refuse to canonize the best, and greatest, and holiest of their own adherents. Lord Cobham was at once an eminent warrior, an accomplished statesman, and a most pious and religious man. He has ever been regarded as one of the most illustrious ornaments of the Wycliffian reformation. Yet his actions are investigated, scrutinized, and criticized with the utmost severity by the writers who, like Mr. Tyler, so zealously seek for truth only, that while they condemn the errors of Rome, and the conduct of its partizans, they are willing, no less severely, to censure the actions of their own brethren, if they deem that censure to be deserved. Mr. Tyler considers Foxe to be wrong in his estimate of the character and actions of lord Cobham. He believes Cobham to have been probably guilty of sedition. I believe Foxe to have formed a just estimate; and that lord Cobham was not guilty. Whatever may have been the true state of the question, we both join in abhorring the conduct which both Foxe and Cobham opposed and condemned. We both desire to see the church of Rome so rescind its decrees, and so reconsider, and change its creeds and doctrines, that God may render it a blessing to the true catholic church; and that all christian people may once more hold communion with the reformed church of Rome, when its faith shall again be spoken of with admiration and affection, throughout the whole world. We will not submit to its supremacy. The Anglican church shall, by God's mercy, be free from the dominion of the papal church; but Mr. Tyler will join with me in addressing the members of the church of Rome, and saying, *Brethren, our heart's desire and prayer to God for Rome is, that it be changed, and be saved.*

III. PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.

The grandson of the author of the "Inquiry into the Evidence respecting Mary Queen of Scots," etc. etc.,—the son of lord Woodhouslee, the author of the "Essay on the Principles of Translation," etc. etc.,—and himself the author of the "History of Scotland,"—the possessor of the talents, and the imitator of the example of his ancestors, the plucker of the laurel of holiness from the brows of John Knox[1]—the illustrator of

(1) See the last volume, vi. p. 326, of Tytler's History of Scotland. I have spoken, in the Life of Foxe, with some eulogy of the Scottish reformer. I retract it all. The bishops of the church of England did not rebel, nor conspire, nor murder—they suffered, and died—and we have, hitherto, entered into their labours.

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the history of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary,[1] is the next assailant of the authority of Foxe. Though Mr. Tytler mentions the martyrologist as an authority in one portion of his work, on the reigns of Edward and Mary,[2] and thus leads us to infer, as all do, who have occasion to quote him, that Foxe is a fair and impartial historian, he discovers two objections, which will, I think, be proved upon a closer inspection than Mr. Tytler has given to them, to be unfounded, and therefore untenable.

The first is, that "Foxe affirms, that a promise of pardon was made to the duke of Northumberland, if he would recant and hear mass, even if he did so after his head was on the block." The objection to this affirmation of Foxe is—that Mr. Tytler has no where found any good authority to support the assertion.[3]

The reply to this objection is, that Foxe, who was contemporary with the duke, gave to his readers the general news and report of the day. The only remaining evidence that this report, however improbable, was correct, is to be found in a manuscript letter[4] addressed to Foxe, informing him of the suspicion, but not of the promise. This evidence is defective: but it is amply sufficient to prove to us that the report was believed, both by Foxe, and by his contemporaries; and that it was not therefore an invention of his own.

The next objection is of more importance. "Foxe," says Mr. Tytler,[5] "has evidently been anxious to impress upon the minds of his readers, the conviction that Mary treated her sister, the princess Elizabeth, with much unnecessary harshness. The consequence of this has been, that every protestant historian, has believed, copied, and argued on the statement of Foxe, without examination (as being certainly true) from the days of Elizabeth, till those of her amiable female biographer; who, if she has erred, has done so in the best historical company." Mr. Tytler affirms that he has discovered evidence which totally demolishes the inflated narrative of Foxe. That evidence is a letter, a "simple unvarnished" letter from an honourable English nobleman, lord William Howard, discovered in the State Paper Office, and now for the first time printed, by Mr. Tytler. This objection is so specific, so fairly made, so clearly proposed, so independent of all partiality, or prejudice (so far as I am able to discover), that the fidelity and veracity of Foxe must be materially diminished, if a satisfactory reply cannot be made to the allegation.

I shall first submit the objection to the reader in Mr. Tytler's own words; and then add to it, the part of Foxe's narrative to which it refers. We will then consider the manner in which the new discovery is

(1) England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, with the contemporary History of Europe, Illustrated in a series of Original Letters never before printed, with Historical Introductions and Biographical and Critical Notes. In two volumes. Bentley, 1839.
(2) Vol. ii. p. 71, account of the death of the duke of Somerset.
(3) Reigns of Edward, &c. vol. ii. p. 229 compared with p. 234.
(4) Harleian MSS. 417, art. 84.
(5) Page 428.

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to be reconciled with the long credited account: and thus vindicate, or give up as indefensible, the fidelity of the martyrologist.

"Here I must say a word," says Mr. Tytler, "on Foxe's celebrated narrative of Elizabeth's sufferings.

"Mary has been attacked with severity by most of the protestant historians for her conduct in imprisoning Elizabeth at the time of Wyatt's rebellion. Their opinion, as far as I can trace it, appears to be founded on a narrative in Foxe,[1] which has been copied by all succeeding writers from Strype to Mr. Turner; and on the letters of Noailles, the French ambassador. Where Foxe got the particulars of this story, he himself does not inform us; but it is highly coloured: some facts are stated in it which are completely disproved by the best evidence: and it is important to notice, that on these facts the charges of the undue severity and cruelty of Mary towards Elizabeth are mainly founded.

"He affirms, for example, that on the day after Wyatt's rising, (that is, the 26th of January, for he rose on the 25th,) Mary sent three of her Council, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to Ashridge, with a troop of horse, to bring the lady Elizabeth to court, '*quick or dead.*' These knights, he tells us, arrived there late at night, and insisted, at that unseasonable hour, on seeing the lady Elizabeth, who was then very ill in bed. Some delay having taken place, they refused to wait; burst rudely into her bed-chamber, informed her that she must away with them to court, and next morning, by ten of the clock, carried her off, amid the tears and remonstrances of her servants. Foxe's narrative is long and minute, but this is the sum of it; and were it true, no one would acquit Mary of cruelty. I proceed to show that, although copied by our best historians, it is completely erroneous.

"When Wyatt broke into open rebellion, and when it was found, as we have seen by the intercepted letters of Noailles, and by the confessions of some of the prisoners, that Elizabeth and Courtenay were the great cards to be played by the conspirators against Mary and the Spanish match; that the Queen was to be dethroned, Elizabeth crowned in her stead, and Courtenay to be married to her; that France and Scotland were involved in the plot, and meditated a simultaneous invasion—when all this came out, Mary, instead of instantly sending, as Foxe affirms, a body of horse to bring her sister to court, 'quick or dead,' acted with kindness and forbearance. She addressed a letter to her sister on the 26th of January, in which she alluded to the unnatural rebellion of Wyatt, to the *untrue* rumours that had been spread through the kingdom, to the insecurity in which Elizabeth must remain, if she continued at Ashridge; and she concluded by bidding her make her repair with all convenient speed to court, where she would be safe and heartily welcome.[2] Who, considering the circumstances in which she was then placed, can blame Mary for taking such a precaution? And what opinion are we to

(1) Foxe, vol. iii. p. 792, edit. 1684. Vol. viii. p. 606, new edit.
(2) Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part i. p. 127.

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form of a writer so culpably careless as to omit all mention of this letter, and to substitute in its place an ideal commission given to three of the council to repair to Ashridge, and bring Elizabeth to court, alive or dead?" In a note there is added—"We have a still stronger proof of Foxe's carelessness in the fact, that he is not only contradicted by contemporary documents, but contradicted by himself; for I have since found, that the account given of the mission to Ashridge, in the body of his work, is entirely different from that of the narrative, printed as a kind of appendix to the third volume."

The text then proceeds: "To this letter of Mary, written on the 26th of January, Elizabeth returned a verbal answer. She was too ill, she said, to come at that time to court, but she would repair thither as soon as she could travel with safety; and she requested the queen's forbearance for a few days. Now it is worthy of notice, that although, as we have seen from the letters of the Spanish ambassador, every day was bringing some new presumption that Wyatt's rebellion had for its principal object to raise Elizabeth to the throne, Mary's forbearance, at this trying crisis, extended not only to a few days, but to more than two weeks.[1] She waited for her sister's coming from January 26th to February the 10th; and it was not till sir Thomas Wyatt himself directly accused Elizabeth and Courtenay of being accomplices in his conspiracy, and cognizant of the rebellion, that the queen, on the 10th of February, despatched lord William Howard, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to bring her sister to court. And how was it that she was sent for? Was it with the barbarous injunction, as Foxe has expressed it, to bring her thither 'quick or dead?' So far from it, that the queen ordered her own physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, to accompany these noblemen, that they might see whether she was in a fit state to be moved without danger, and sent her own litter for her to travel in."

"Foxe has given us no proofs upon which he founds his statement, and I have already shown it to be erroneous. I can support mine by the letter of the nobleman and knights who were sent by Mary. It is addressed from Ashridge to the queen, and fully explains the object of the mission, and the judicious, nay, I may say the tender, manner in which it was executed. It appears that this nobleman, with sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys, arrived at Ashridge on the 10th of February, and requested to see the lady Elizabeth; but so far from using haste, rudeness, or abruptness, previous to the interview, they sent the queen's physicians to see the sick princess, and, having ascertained from their report that she was able to travel without any danger to her person, they then delivered their message. (So at least I understand the letter.) Elizabeth declared her readiness to obey, but expressed her fears that her life would be in danger, if she ventured to travel in her present weak state. This was the natural apprehension of an invalid; but the opinions of the physicians, the advice of the privy-councillors,

(1) Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part i. pp. 127, 128.

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and 'the persuasions of her own council and servants,' overcame her fears and reluctance, and she resolved to remove from Ashridge to the court. Neither was there any undue hurry. The councillors arrived on the 10th, they remained all the 11th at Ashridge, and on the 12th, Elizabeth set out, travelling by slow journeys in the queen's litter.

"But it is time to give this important letter.

"The Lord Admiral, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to the Queen.

"11th Feb. 1553-4.

"In our humble wise. It may please your highness to be advertised, that yesterday, immediately upon our arrival at Ashridge, we required to have access unto my lady Elizabeth's grace; which obtained, we delivered unto her your highness' letter: and I, the lord admiral, declared the effect of your highness' pleasure, according to the *credence* given to us, being before advertised of her estate by your highness' physicians, by whom we did perceive the estate of her body to be such that, without danger of her person, we might well proceed to require her in your majesty's name (all excuses set apart) to repair to your highness with all convenient speed and diligence.

"Whereunto we found her grace very willing and conformable; save only that she much feared her weakness to be so great that she should not be able to travel and to endure the journey without peril of life, and therefore desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength; but in conclusion, upon the persuasion as well of us as of her own council and servants, whom, we assure your highness, we have found very ready and forward to the accomplishment of your highness' pleasure in this behalf, she is resolved to remove her hence to-morrow towards your highness, with such journeys, as, by a paper herein inclosed, your highness shall perceive; further declaring to your highness that her grace much desireth, if it might stand with your highness' pleasure, that she may have a lodging, at her coming to the court, somewhat further from the water than she had at her last being there; which your physicians, considering the state of her body, thinketh very meet, who have travailed very earnestly with her grace, both before our coming and after, in this matter.

"And after her first day's journey, one of us shall await upon your highness to declare more at large the whole estate of our proceedings here. And, even so, we shall most humbly beseech Christ long to preserve your highness in honour, health, and the contentation of your godly heart's desire.

"From Ashridge, the 11th of February, at four of the clock in the afternoon.

"Your highness' most humble and bounden servants and subjects,

"W. Howard. Edward Hastings. T. Cornwaleys."

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"ENCLOSURE.

"The Order of my Lady Elizabeth's Grace Voyage to the Court.

"Monday, imprimis, to Mr. Cooke's, vi. miles.
"Tuesday, item, to Mr. Pope's, viii. miles.
"Wednesday . to Mr. Stamford's, vii. miles.
"Thursday . . to Highgate, Mr. Cholmeley's house, vii. miles.
"Friday . . . . to Westminster, v. miles.

"Such is the account given of this celebrated mission to Ashridge, by lord William Howard, the principal nobleman to whom it was entrusted. It is a simple unvarnished letter from an honourable English nobleman, and, as far as I can judge, carries truth upon every word of it, and it totally demolishes the *inflated* narrative of Foxe."[1]

Mr. Tytler is eminent, learned, well known, and respected: and the writer who would oppose his statements must be prepared for the most severe censure, if he cannot fully substantiate the charge, when he declares that such an author is mistaken in the inferences he has deduced from his premises. I have therefore extracted his chief objection to Foxe at full length, that the reader may judge of the truth of my affirmation—that Mr. Tytler has utterly misunderstood the case—that the letter which he has been so fortunate to discover, and so impartial as to submit to the world, confirms, instead of opposes, the narrative of Foxe—that the truth of that narrative remains therefore unshaken: and that the only difference between Foxe, and Tytler, is to be found in the dates of the commission, given to the three noblemen, to bring Elizabeth to London from Ashridge; and, of the day in which the princess was removed. Foxe affirms that they were sent on the 26th of January. The letter discovered by Mr. Tytler proves that they were sent on the 10th of February, and that the princess was removed on the 12th, and not on the 11th. The other facts remain precisely the same. The only error in Foxe is that very error which the Quarterly Reviewer, who eulogizes Mr. Tytler, as possessing (and the Reviewer is right,) an hereditary claim to public favour, established and augmented by merits of his own,[2] attributes to Mr. Tytler, "a want of sufficient care in giving the dates to his facts."[3]

The real and only question is—"Whether Mary gave a commission to three noblemen to bring Elizabeth to London, after Wyatt's rebellion, *at all hazards*—and if she did so, whether this commission was issued, as Foxe relates, on the 26th of January—or, as the newly-discovered letter affirms, on the 10th of February. Foxe, Tytler, and the discovered letter all agree in the facts—that they were sent—that Elizabeth, though in bad health, was removed; and, though Mr. Tytler has not noticed the itinerary of her journey from Ashridge to London, yet Foxe

(1) Tytler's Edward, &c. &c. vol. ii. pp. 421—428.
(2) Quarterly Review, No. CXXXIV. for March, 1841, p. 344.
(3) Quarterly Review, ut supra, p. 305, Note in the margin.

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agrees with the newly-found letter in the fact, that the party of the knights, the princess, and their retinue, in consequence of her bad health, were actually five days travelling thirty-five miles.

By collating the three various documents, the letter, Foxe, and Tytler's commentary upon the two, we shall obtain a clear narrative of the whole transaction; and the singular manner in which the account of Foxe, with the exception of the dates, is confirmed both by Mr. Tytler, and by the letter, will strengthen the general argument for his fidelity.

To do justice, however, to the martyrologist, we must not be contented with Mr. Tytler's summary of the account of Foxe, but permit him to relate the circumstances in his own words.[1] "Queen Mary, whether from that surmise (that is, the suspicion that Elizabeth was cognizant of Wyatt's plot), or from what other cause I know not, being offended with the said lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge: the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her, three of her councillors, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty; who, at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sore sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they willed one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her grace that there were certain come from the court, which had a message from the queen. Her grace, having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming: howbeit, being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten of the clock), she requested them, by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word again, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being aghast, went to show her grace their words; but they, hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber, unbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them, 'Is the haste such, that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?' They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case. 'And I,' quoth she, 'am not glad to see you here at this time of the night.' Whereunto they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, 'Certes, no creature more glad than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify.'

"'Indeed we see it true,' quoth they, 'that you do say, for which we are very sorry. Albeit, we let you understand, that our commission is such, and so straitneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead.' Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said,

(1) Vol. viii. p. 606, new edit. and vol. iii. p. 729, of the folio edit. 1684.

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'that their commission was very sore; but yet, notwithstanding, she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait.' 'Yes, verily,' said they. Whereupon they, calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life or no. Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment, in their judgment, to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

"In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the next morning, at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers, declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered as appertained to their worships.

"On the next morrow, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swound three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what an heavy house there was to behold the unreverend and doleful dealing of these men, but especially the carnal fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

"Now to proceed in her journey from Ashridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redbourne, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Albans, to sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Mr. Dod's house at Myms, where also they remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

"From that place she was conveyed to the court,"[1] &c. &c.

From the three narratives, and other well-authenticated circumstances of the day, then, we may gather these facts.

On the 25th Wyatt was defeated. On the 26th Mary sent a letter to her sister, desiring her to come to the court. A verbal answer was returned: a circumstance, in those days of lofty courtesy and ceremony, which could only be explained by the most undoubted inability, from dangerous sickness, to send a letter. The queen would inquire of the messenger, who brought back the answer, the state of her sister's health. The reply appears to have satisfied her for the time; but a transaction was about to take place, which neither Tytler nor Foxe have noticed, and which was undoubtedly the secret cause of the severe measure of commanding the presence of Elizabeth, *at all hazards*, at the court. On the 12th of February lady Jane Grey was to be brought to the scaffold. The same party which made her queen, to secure the cause of the protestant reformation, would be probably anxious to obtain another royal chief; about whom they might rally. Elizabeth was that chief. There was danger of another insurrection, which could only, the queen

(1) Foxe, vol. viii. p. 606, and edit. 1684, vol. iii. p. 792.

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might naturally suppose, be prevented by securing, *at all hazards*, the person of Elizabeth. Three knights are sent to Ashridge, with two of the queen's physicians, and two hundred and fifty men. The nature of their instructions is described by Foxe; and his account is proved to be entirely true, by the very letter, in the State Paper Office, lately discovered. "Their coming was unexpected," says Foxe; "and when they came, ascending up to her chamber, they willed one of her ladies to declare to her grace the queen's pleasure." What says the letter? "*Immediately* on our arrival, we requested to see the princess." "They insisted on seeing her," says Foxe. "We did see the princess," says the letter to the queen, "and delivered your grace's letter." Foxe relates a conversation between Elizabeth and the commissioners. There was no reason for repeating it in the letter. The result, however, is the same. "We must bring you quick or dead," Foxe declares to have been their language—the language, at the report of which Mr. Tytler expresses his virtuous indignation at the insult to queen Mary. "I, the lord admiral," says the letter, "declared the effect of your highness' pleasure, according to the *credence* given to us"—that is, according to our credentials, or, perhaps, according to our private instructions—"that we proceed to require her, in your majesty's name (*all excuses set apart*), to repair to the court." The princess obeyed. She set off at nine on the morning of the 12th; and after travelling, in consequence of her illness, thirty-five miles only in five days, she arrives at the court. Where is the discrepancy, excepting in the date of one day? How is the account of John Foxe falsified? How is it not rather confirmed by the document which Mr. Tytler has printed?

But Foxe omits all mention of the letter which Mary sent on the 26th. He had not heard of it, or he would have probably mentioned it.

But Foxe says that the commission was granted on the 26th of January. True: but in the preceding part of his work he says it was granted on the 11th of February. He ought here to have said the 10th of February, and that Elizabeth was removed on the 12th. In his dates he was wrong. Let him bear the blame. He has made the same error as that which the Quarterly Reviewer has imputed to his critic.

But the account of Foxe is inflated.—Is it false?

But the commission was ideal!!—Did the three counsellors with the two hundred and fifty men go then to Ashridge without a commission?

But the queen sent two physicians; and this proves her humanity—It proves rather her suspicion, that the sickness of her sister, of which she had heard by a verbal message only a fortnight before, was feigned; and she resolved, unless they found Elizabeth actually dying, to prevent her from being proclaimed queen, and being at the head of another insurrection. If it shall be thought that the youth of the princess would preclude such a supposition, I answer, that lady Jane Grey was three years younger than Elizabeth.

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But Mary treated her sister with great courtesy and kindness.

Is Mr. Tytler indeed so forgetful of the phenomenon, confirmed by all history, that the most cruel and tyrannical rulers have been sometimes distinguished for mildness of demeanour, and gentleness of deportment? Nero regretted that he could write; and our great though erring contemporary, lord Byron, has observed of one of his characters, that he was as mild a mannered man as ever cut a throat.

Mr. Tytler's attempts, in short, to depreciate Foxe, and to eulogize the humanity of the miserable queen, are alike in vain. The reputation of the martyrologist remains confirmed and strengthened by the keenness and severity of the criticisms with which he has been assailed; and with respect to the queen, the stains of blood, needlessly and cruelly shed, are so deep on her royal robes—or rather, the deluge of the blood she shed, so surmounts both her crown and sceptre, that no words, no breath of man, can cleanse that stain, nor remove that deluge. The pardon of God and man can only be granted to such offences by the total removal of the very possibility of their renewal, among the adherents of the same cause, which that wretched sovereign defended. Naturally amiable and gentle, Mary might or might not have been. If she was the former,—her cruelties can only be imputed to the spirit of the canon law of Rome, which was now a portion of the statute law of England; and to the counsels of the execrable Italians and Spaniards, who came over from the continent to haunt the church and court; and who had not one noble, honourable, manly feeling, of the English love of liberty and truth, and hatred of falsehood and oppression, in their intellect, or hearts. If the latter—then we can but say, with all history, and with all impartial historians, that her cold and arbitrary temper united the tyranny of her father, with the mistaken piety of her mother. She retained the obstinacy of the former, with the religious zeal of the latter. She became what the English abhor, cruel, yet religious: dividing the nation equally between hatred to her crimes and temper, and respect for her religious zeal and devotion. "There goes one who lost three kingdoms for a mass," said Louis XIV. of James II. "Not ten such kingdoms as England," said Mary, "shall be more valuable to me than the salvation of my soul." James was right, and Mary was right, in the sentiment, which Christ has commanded all his followers to esteem above all price—"*What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?*" Both princes were right in the sentiment. Both were wrong only in identifying the church of Christ with the church of Rome—the gospels, with the canons—zeal for God's glory, with infringements upon the liberty and happiness of their people. Both were possessed of great and eminent qualities. Both loved God and their country, and intended to please God by their most atrocious and abominable measures. Both were examples to us, and to our posterity *for ever*—that virtues become vices, religion wickedness, love to God becomes hatred and ill-will to man, patriotism becomes the ruin and misery of the subjects it desires to

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bless—when the maxims and the laws of a foreign church, and of a foreign bishop, are permitted to influence the counsels, and to guide the actions of an English prince. Mr. Tytler has informed us[1] of the manner in which pope Julius III. received the intelligence of Mary's accession. He has told us also of the mission of the Italian Commendone, to pass secretly into England; of his interviews with Mary—of her assurance of her inviolable attachment to the Romish church—and of her resolution to restore its worship; but that she implored him to conceal himself, and to act with the utmost caution. He relates also that she again sent secretly for the Italian, and entrusted him with letters to the pope, assuring him of her resolution to reconcile her kingdom to the Holy See. If Mr. Tytler had given us more commentary on their proceedings, and less criticism on the error of a date, in an undoubtedly true narrative by John Foxe, his book would have been more valuable, and his labours more useful to his countrymen. He inherits the talents of his fathers. He imitates their love of learning and their labour. Let him but imitate the example of his ancestors in higher matters; and never sacrifice an opportunity of expressing the more useful inferences from such historical facts as these. Seldom has an author who can command the attention of the public, possessed such an opportunity of uniting the most impartial truth, with new information, and a philosophical and enlarged liberality. Seldom has it happened that an author has been so favoured with every advantage as Mr. Tytler. I do not condemn his book, I am only dissatisfied with it. In common with the rest of his readers, I am pleased with many of his remarks and commentaries. It is possible that I am alone in my opinion, when I still declare myself to be deeply disappointed.

I shall not occupy more time in endeavouring to reconcile the itinerary of Elizabeth's journey from Ashridge to London, as it is given by Foxe, with that which is given by lord William Howard in his letters. Neither shall I discuss the question whether the high opinion of lord William Howard, expressed by Elizabeth on Nov. 10th, 1558, just before Mary's death, proves that he could not have conducted himself as Foxe describes.[2]. Mr. Tytler has permitted himself to be misled, as to his estimate of Foxe, by Mr. Maitland, the gentleman whose labours we shall now proceed to consider.[3] I shall only add that the account which John Foxe has here given to us of the removal of Elizabeth from Ashridge to London, was more especially addressed to his contemporaries, whose attention would be as much directed to this narrative, as to the accounts of the martyrdoms, to which they had been the eye-witnesses. No historical evidence in the world can prove the truth of any asserted fact, if such truth is not demonstrated by an appeal to eye-witnesses, at the very time, in the very place, among the very people among whom they are affirmed to

(1) Vol. ii. p. 237, &c. (2) Tytler's Edward VI. &c. vol. ii. p. 428, Note.
(3) See, says Mr. Tytler (vol. ii. p. 426) "the Rev. S. R. Maitland's learned and convincing papers on Foxe's Martyrology, in the British Magazine."

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have happened; when inquiry can be easily made, and contemporary denial be recorded—if such evidence can be overthrown, three centuries after, by a document which confirms every circumstance related, excepting the date of a day, or some trivial and minor incident. This is the case with the newly-discovered letter of lord Howard; and the narration given to us by Foxe: and we are justified, therefore, in rejecting the inferences of Mr. Tytler, and of continuing our confidence in the veracity and fidelity of the martyrologist.

IV. THE REV. S. R. MAITLAND,

the librarian, at Lambeth, of the archbishop of Canterbury, an appointment to which he was deservedly raised on account of his profound ecclesiastical learning—the eulogized, as we have seen, by Mr. Dowling, Churton, Tyler, Tytler, and others—the principal and most formidable of the living assailants of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, is the next to be considered. So high is the reputation of this gentleman, so much is he regarded by his contemporaries as an authority in all matters relating to the history of those ages, in recording the transactions of which John Foxe was the earliest and the most unassisted historian; that I should have indeed deemed myself to have been guilty of presumption in venturing to question the truth and certainty of his conclusion—that Foxe is not worthy of our approbation; if I had not been accustomed to receive no conclusions whatever upon the mere authority of any author, in questions which relate to the controversies, and agitations, that have so long divided us. I speak with all reverence, when I declare, that I believe in Christianity itself, because I have fairly and impartially studied the evidences of its truth; and am therefore convinced, that an immortal and reasoning man is more wise to believe in Christianity with its difficulties, than to reject Christianity with its evidences. I accept the Church itself, because I have compared its claims to my homage, as a believer in revelation, with those of the two extremes of popery and dissent; and I perceive that it embraces the excellences to which the two rivals of its acceptableness aspire, without their defects. My experience as a magistrate confirmed this habit of believing nothing without satisfactory reasons, and teaching me the necessity of hearing both sides of a question before I decided; and I could not depart from this habit, even when I read the condemnation of John Foxe, from the scholar, the student, and the critic, whom the Metropolitan had honoured; whom his most studious and estimable contemporaries had praised, and to whom so many of my own friends deferred as the cautious, discerning, and sarcastic opponent, to be at once venerated for his knowledge and talents, and dreaded for his unsparing severity. I thought it possible

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that even Mr. Maitland might be mistaken in his estimate of our noble martyrologist; and that if I could show that he had probably misapprehended him, then I should have but little difficulty in satisfying the reader; that he would not act very unphilosophically, if he considered other opponents of Foxe, who possessed less learning, and less claim, therefore, to his attention than Mr. Maitland, as unentitled to his more anxious curiosity. I thought that if Mr. Maitland's objections to Foxe could be overthrown, the remainder of my task would be shortened, and the reader be more readily satisfied, that our fathers were not deceived, when they admired the Acts and Monuments. It is necessary, therefore, that we devote more time and attention to Mr. Maitland than to any other assailant of Foxe, whether dead or living. I think it will be shown that neither this well-armed warrior, nor any of the motley troops which have followed him, has hitherto obtained a triumph over the veteran chief whom our ancestors delighted to honour.

In estimating the merits of a critic who desires to convince the protestants of England that they have, through three centuries, decided wrongly on the merits of a work, which, through that long period, has been deeply valued by the great majority of their number; we must take into consideration his *motives*, his *qualifications*, and his *success*. If he be a member of the church of Rome, we shall believe his motives, in assailing the Acts and Monuments, to be, partially at least, influenced by the desire to defend the honour and the purity of his church; and we shall look, therefore, with much suspicion on those of his statements which peculiarly refer to the topics more fiercely disputed by the two churches. We may suspect the writer of motives of prejudice, hatred to the protestants, love for the papists; of bigotry, defending a proposition at all hazards, because it has been affirmed by authority; of fanaticism, ready to die for error as well as truth; of enthusiasm, blinded by attachment to a general cause, without condescending to care for its details. Together with these motives, however, there may be many great qualifications for the task of the critic. We may consider Eusebius Andrews and Bishop Milner, for instance, as being equally influenced by unworthy or questionable motives; yet the qualifications of the abusive and ignorant bookseller, are utterly inferior to those of the courteous, plausible, and learned bishop. The consequence has been, that the success of Andrews, even when he affirms the very same things as Bishop Milner, is regarded as unworthy of notice; while the success of Bishop Milner, in making the worse appear the better reason, in his depreciation of John Foxe, has been so great, that he is uniformly quoted by the controversialists who have followed him, as an authority to be depended upon, or as an antagonist worthy to be assailed. To appreciate Mr. Maitland rightly, we must apply this reasoning to his labours; and, leaving out of consideration both his eminent patron, the archbishop, and his respected eulogizers, we must inquire into his *motives*

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and his *qualifications*, that we may more certainly appreciate his labours, and decide upon his *success*.

Surprise will be mingled with our respect,[1] when I affirm that Mr. Maitland's motives for publishing two pamphlets against the work of the martyrologist, are as pure and blameless, as any protestant who agrees with Mr. Maitland in his love of the protestant church of England could desire; and if he fails, therefore, in establishing his point against Foxe, the reasons of that failure must be found in the unworthiness of the cause he advocates, rather than in the inferiority of his motives.

That Mr. Maitland's motives for his publishing his attacks on Foxe must be of the most honourable nature, may be gathered from his own paragraphs in the two pamphlets which he has published against the authority and value of the Acts and Monuments.[2] They may be, so far as I can understand them, all summed up in one, the best characteristic of an Anglican, episcopalian, protestant—the pure love of truth for the truth's sake; and they are developed in these four instances—his hatred of the supposition that error is endurable provided a great object is to be obtained,—his love of the church of England,—his regard to his own reputation,—and his deference to the opinion of his diocesan. Each of these may be only so very briefly noticed, as may be essential to our understanding the undoubted fact, that no unworthy motive is imputable to this formidable assailant.

His first motive—the hatred to the supposition that error is endurable provided a great object is to be obtained—appears from his honourable and severe declamation against what he calls the "never-mind" principle.[3] He justly argues, that no fear of unpopularity, no fear of lowering the character of an eminent historian, ought to prevent a critic from pointing out errors. He condemns those who urge, that it is better to say nothing about the mistakes of the well-meaning, though ignorant, lest we should lower the credit of a good man, and lessen his authority in matters of more importance. "I feel bound," Mr. Maitland justly says, "to express what I believe to be the truth on the subject, though I am aware that by such a course I may give offence, where I am sorry to do so. I believe that all such feeling and such argument, as I have attempted to describe, arises from incorrect views on the nature of truth in general; and particularly from an idea that truth has no intrinsic value whatever, but that any particular truth derives such value as it may at any time possess, merely from circumstances. If a matter of fact is not, in the estimation of such persons, of some probable use for some effect which they think it may produce, they not only consider it of little or no consequence whether it is correctly or incorrectly (in plain terms, truly or falsely) stated by a writer whose credit they wish to keep up,—they are prepared to do every thing in their power to excuse, to conceal, and so

(1) "Sir Roderick marked, and in his eyes,
Respect was mingled with surprise."—SIR W. SCOTT.

(2) The two pamphlets are entitled—Review of Foxe the Martyrologist's History of the Waldenses. Rivingtons, 1837. Six Letters on Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Rivingtons, 1837.

(3) Six Letters on Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 38, 39.

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to perpetuate, the falsehood, and to deter others from exposing it. The correction of a falsehood is, in their view, a mere matter of expediency. If it is to be set right, it is not because it is wrong, but because it may do mischief; and the question as to acknowledging and amending a fault is a mere calculation of probabilities. I repeat, that all this is grounded on an idea that truth has no intrinsic value, and derives importance only from its consequences or probable results. I hold a totally different opinion."

Such is Mr. Maitland's language: and his remarks are admirable. They prove that Mr. Maitland is actuated by the same love of truth in attacking the errors of John Foxe, as he was, when he sought for evidence against the Waldenses and the Albigenses in the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse. The only difference is, that he makes no apology for assailing the protestant martyrologist; though he does make an apology for quoting, as evidence against heretics, the records of the Inquisition, and assures us that he does not mean to palliate its proceedings.[1]

Another motive with Mr. Maitland to assail the reputation of the martyrologist was his orthodox fidelity and attachment to the church of England. Foxe has expressed many sentiments which I shall certainly not attempt to justify, on the subject of the clerical vestments; on tithes being originally, and therefore continuously, intended as alms; and other matters, which, however censurable they may be, have escaped even the researches of Mr. Maitland. The errors, however, which he has discovered, and, to use his own words,[2] "the style and spirit of Foxe's work, and its aspect towards the church of which I am a minister, are quite sufficient to justify my *personal dislike* to it."

In the course of the late or present unhappy controversy at Oxford—the deliberate reading and confirmation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, both in Latin and English, by the Convocation of 1571, eight years after the closing of the council of Trent, was referred to, in one of the replies circulated through the university in answer to the ninetieth of the miscellaneous Tracts, which occasioned the discussion.[3] This convocation was referred to as an authority acknowledged by all churchmen, and this, *this* was the convocation which commanded the volumes of John Foxe to be placed in all the churches. My correct and orthodox churchmanship appears to myself to be most fully proved by defending the decree of my church, and by vindicating the act of the apostolical succession, the bishops and archbishops, who issued this decree. I bow to their authority, because I believe it to have been rightly exercised. I uphold their decision. I esteem my church, in this assembly of its principal magistrates, to have done

(1) Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses, 8vo. Rivingtons, 1832, page 224, and section viii.
(2) Six Letters, p. 74.
(3) The paper was signed N. S. It consisted only of three pages. Why will our controversialists write anonymously?

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wisely, in submitting to our christian people, and to the congregations of churchmen, the perpetual memorial of the consequences of permitting the punishment of the body for the good of the soul; when no crimes and no immoralities are proved against the holders of conclusions supposed to be erroneous. I honour my church, I love my church, because it thus abhors persecution, while it dovetails the Bible into its services, and appeals to the people, as Christ and his apostles appealed to the world. It appeals to them by its truth and usefulness, rather than by its authority, which it still affirms and upholds, as of more than human origin. I seem to be proving my love and zeal for my church, when I maintain the value and usefulness of that laborious work, which the church thus honoured. Mr. Maitland has formed an opposite opinion. He proves his love and zeal for his church, by endeavouring to show that its decision was erroneous, and that Foxe deserved its censure, rather than its praise. I honour his love of the truth, and appreciate his endeavours to find it. I believe it to be equal to my own: yet I rejoice to have discovered truth, where the church I love has found it. I regret that Mr. Maitland should have sought for the same truth, and imagine that he has discovered it in conclusions which his church did not approve. I am sure Mr. Maitland will agree with me in this respect at least, that it is fortunate for us all, that the church of England claims neither infallibility nor unchangeableness, nor the power to punish those who may doubt the justice of the decrees, which its convocation may have established, and not rescinded. If the church of England had claimed the same power as the church of Rome, no enactment of its bishops and council could have been altered. The impugner of its most erroneous conclusions would have been severely censured. Mr. Maitland, affirming that he loves the church, endeavours, with his utmost energies, to prove that his church was wrong. The church, with its usual toleration, will believe in his professions of love. I hope it will forgive his peculiar mode of proving his attachment to its authority.

Another motive which must have prevailed with Mr. Maitland to assail the labours of John Foxe must have been the natural and laudable regard for his own reputation. Highly eulogized by Mr. Dowling, and raised to his present preferment by the estimation in which his learned labours caused him to be held, he must be anxious to retain the good opinion of his contemporaries; and he must have believed that his honours would be increased, or at least continued undiminished, by his attacks on the volumes of the martyrologist.

The last of the honourable motives which actuated Mr. Maitland, and to which I shall allude, is the proper, natural, praiseworthy feeling of gratitude to the metropolitan who has bestowed on him the preferment he holds. It is impossible that Mr. Maitland can be deficient in this virtue. Now gratitude is sometimes shown by silence on the opinions in which the obliged differs from the obliger. We generally suppose that nothing

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but the most intense love of truth, with the deep conviction that to express a difference of opinion with the patron who may have conferred ecclesiastical preferment on a student, is both useful and absolutely necessary to the church and to the world—will justify the public assertion of such difference. How great, then, must be the love of truth! how deep the conviction that his task of attacking the Acts and Monuments was imperiously required! when we find that Mr. Maitland has acted on the right principle of preferring the assertion of that supposed truth, to the suppression of his difference of opinion, with his eminent friend and patron. Mr. Maitland could not have been ignorant that the present archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1827, when he was bishop of London, was pleased to accept the dedication to himself of the then proposed new edition of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, by Dr. Dibdin. The letter of the archbishop was published by the learned doctor.[1] "I am glad," says his grace, "that you have made up your mind to republish the great work of the Martyrs, and most willingly consent to your request of being allowed to dedicate the new edition to myself." "His grace's views upon the entire bearing of the original," says Dr. Dibdin, "appeared to me to be as luminous as just. He desired nothing more than that error might be guarded against; and truth, if possible, still more firmly established." Such is the testimony of Dr. Dibdin to the favourable estimate which the archbishop had formed of the work of John Foxe: and I am not aware that there is any reason to induce us to conclude that such opinion has been changed. We cannot, therefore, but conclude that an overwhelming sense of duty alone impelled Mr. Maitland to assail the work which his patron had thus approved; and that the conviction, that the cause of truth demanded his criticism, superseded that proof of gratitude, which might otherwise have been found in his silence.

From the laudable *motives* which may have impelled Mr. Maitland to have published his Letters on Foxe, let us consider his *qualifications* for the task he has undertaken. If it shall be proved that his qualifications are as undoubted as his motives are pure; and if we can then prove that his failure is the most signal that has ever attended an effort of the same nature; we shall, I think, have laid a more solid foundation for the defence of the martyrologist, and for a sufficient justification of the decision of the English convocation—that his book was worthy of the perusal of the people in the churches. If Mr. Maitland, with his high motives and profound erudition in the ecclesiastical knowledge requisite for a critic on the work of John Foxe, shall be shown to have signally, totally, and irrecoverably failed, we may justly believe that Foxe is certainly unassailable with success; and it is to establish this point that I am discussing, at so much length, this part of the argument relating to Mr. Maitland and his labours.

The undoubted *qualifications* of Mr. Maitland to assume with success the office of a critic upon the labours of Foxe, appear from his

(1) Reminiscences of a Literary Life, by the Rev. Thomas F. Dibdin, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1836, p. 839.

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deeply learned papers on the history of the Waldenses, Albigenses, and the transactions of the middle ages. They are redolent with minute and interesting information, and prove to us, that Mr. Maitland is himself "the great sublime he draws," when he presents to us the portrait of a true church historian. "The real church historian," he observes, "if he would do anything like even such imperfect justice as uninspired man can do to such a subject as church history,—if his object is to trace the true light shining in darkness,—is not to wait till persecution has fanned up a flame, and then to run just where he sees a blaze, to warm himself at the stake, and rake in the ashes for relics: much less is he to trust to picking up those relics at second hand from pedlars, and to give his account of the Auto-da-fé from the newspaper. He must be out at nights, creeping under the hedge, and beside the ditch, in darkness and dirt, to catch the glow-worm; or, to speak plainly, he must toil through much that is useless, worthless, and repulsive,—much offence to taste, logic, and common sense,—much ignorance, and much superstition; he must be strong in mind, in body, and in purpose; his daily task must be 'the reading that was never read;' and half his books, what where (sic in orig.) not thought worth printing; he must tuck up his sleeves, and bid defiance to dirt and dog-latin, and all the tricks of monkish penmanship; he must have free access to old and large libraries, and full permission to ransack their stores."[1]—All this Mr. Maitland has done. He has had access to the noble library at Lambeth. He has the patience, the zeal, the knowledge he thus deems requisite; and I again repeat, therefore, that if the labours of John Foxe can bear the searching, piercing, powerful scrutiny of this scholar, it will endure any ordeal prepared for it by any critic whatever, whether of England or of Rome.[2] It remains for us, therefore, to consider Mr. Maitland's *success*.

To estimate the value and extent of his success, I beg the reader to remember two remarkable facts.

It has been said that there are thirty thousand various readings in the six comedies of Terence. Yet the reader of each comedy is able to understand fully the plot of each, the shades of character, the unity of time and place. The various readings do not affect one incident, nor change one scene, nor alter one material point. Terence is admired

(1) Maitland's Facts and Documents illustrative of the Waldenses. Rivingtons. 1832. Pp. 48, 49.

(2) I beg here to express my agreement with Mr. Maitland in one sentiment, immediately preceding (p. 45) the extract in the text. He is speaking of true, but unknown Christians, before Calvin and Luther:—

"I will not shrink from avowing my belief that many a tonsured head now rests in Abraham's bosom, and that many a frail body, bowed down with voluntary humility, and wasted with unprofitable will-worship, clothed in rags, and girt with a bell-rope, was a temple of the Holy Ghost." I believe this as well as Mr. M., and I believe also that many a Whitfieldite shoemaker, and many a Wesleyan weaver, rests there with the tonsured and bell-rope-girt Franciscan; and I am sure Mr. Maitland will agree with me, that as these several personages may meet with christian popes, emperors, bishops, and laymen in the world to come, blessed would that man be, who could blend them all in one communion, as the sons of God, on earth. Let us only unite in abolishing the pretensions of that church which enforces error by persecution; and the chief impediment to the union of believers will be removed. When shall the angel descend to roll away that stone from the door of the sepulchre in which the church is buried, that it may rise from the dead! One day with the Lord is as a thousand years. The second day is ending. The third day will dawn. The church will rise, and the kingdom of God come.

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as a graphic depicturer of the customs of the day in which his Dramatis Personæ lived; and his knowledge of the human heart is not lessened by the blunders of his transcribers, or the errors of manuscripts and versions.

Just so it is also with the various readings of the New Testament. They amount to many thousands. No great doctrine of Christianity is affected by them. No material fact is overthrown or shaken. The book—the wonderful book which presents the surprising phænomenon of exhausting the learning of all the universities of the world,—of still employing the most acute intellects in its study,—yet guiding the humble and the ignorant to present peace and future happiness, is undiminished in value and interest by all the variations in its text, and by all the carelessness of its copyists.

These two facts illustrate the nature of the success of Mr. Maitland in his severe remarks upon the labours of the martyrologist. He has discovered innumerable misprints, blunders, and various readings. He has detected the results of imperfect transcriptions. He has demonstrated, that another church history than that of John Foxe is imperatively required for a critical and inquiring age; because the language of the old man whom our fathers loved is quaint and obsolete. He has proved that the character of John Foxe was weak, though pious; and that many of his conclusions and opinions were of questionable value; but he has not overthrown one material fact recorded. He has not found him guilty of the heresy which denies the truth of revelation, as the church of Christ among us has received and taught it. He has not proved him guilty of the schism which needlessly and wantonly separates itself from the communion of saints; though Foxe desired that the Anglican church should have effected a more entire reformation. He has left untouched altogether the great mass of facts which constitutes the chief value of Foxe's labours, the demonstrations in the narratives of his martyrdoms, of the miserable results which follow the power to enforce the reception of a doctrine by secular authority. He has utterly failed therefore in his attempts to prove that our fathers were fools for their admiration of Foxe, or that his pages are unworthy of the attention of their sons. Till Rome alters,—till the last persecuting laws in the decretals and canons of the church, which still claims authority over all the churches of the catholic church, are rescinded and expunged, the labours of John Foxe deserve to be, and will be, received as the one immutable record of the consequences of this intolerable assumption. Till that change come,—and God grant it may arrive soon!—the records of the martyrdoms of the opposers of the errors and authority of the church of Rome are an invaluable inheritance and memorial to be treasured up, and never to be neglected nor forgotten. Till that day come, the labours of John Foxe cannot be worthless or obsolete. When it does come, every protestant, and every ultra-protestant, will rejoice to see the hour when the pages of Foxe may be thrown as

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useless to the moles and to the bats; as they may be, then, and then only, when Rome returns to the primitive catholicism of antiquity,—when communion is restored to the churches,—and the one fold, with its countless scattered sheep, hear the voice of the one Shepherd.

To prove the truth of my affirmation, that Mr. Maitland has signally failed to destroy the value of the labours of Foxe, I shall proceed, as briefly as possible, through the two publications which he has especially devoted to the depreciation of the martyrologist. The first is the Review of his History of the Waldenses, the second his Six Letters on the Acts and Monuments.[1]

We begin with Mr. Maitland's review of Foxe's History of the Waldenses.

Five years before the publication of the new edition of the Acts and Monuments, Mr. Maitland published his own work on the Ancient Waldenses.[2] A long controversy had been carried on, from the Reformation till the visit of Dr. Gilly to Peyrani and to the Valleys of Piedmont, respecting the origin of the name and opinions advocated by the Waldenses. Some derived their name from Waldus, or Waldo, or Vaud, the gentleman of Lyons, or Leona, who, being suddenly impressed by the death of a friend, changed his more free, to a more austere mode, of living, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the circulation of the Scriptures, the saving of his soul, and the instruction of his brethren. Others, and this was the more general opinion, trace both the name and opinions of the Waldenses to the most remote antiquity. One of their principal opponents, Reinerius Saccho, has affirmed,[3] that their sect, according to some, originated in the times of pope Silvester, in the fourth century; and according to others, existed as early as the days of the apostles. This testimony, however, is rejected by Mr. Maitland, and by those who advocate the later origin of the Waldenses, because he refers to no previous authority. Mr. Faber derives the name Waldenses from one Peter, who sprang from the region Valdis, three hundred years after Constantine. He considers Valdis to be one of the valleys of the Cottian Alps, immemorially inhabited by the Waldenses, and that the name Leonists did not originate from Lyons, but from Lugdunum Convenarum in Aquitaine.[4] Mr. Faber, also, has so interpreted those passages of the Book of Revelation which speak of the two witnesses which should prophesy in sackcloth while the outer court and the Holy City were trodden down of the Gentiles, that he identifies these witnesses with the two churches of the Albigenses and Waldenses. Mr. Maitland is exceedingly indignant with this hypothesis, (which this is not the place to discuss,) and he denominates the general theory of the

(1) Both published by Rivingtons. 1837.
(2) Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrines, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses; 8vo. 1832, Rivingtons.
(3) Liber adv. Waldenses, c. 4; Bibliotheca Patt. tom. xxv. p. 262; ap. Soames's Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 506, 1841.
(4) Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Vallenses and Albigenses, (London, 1838,) pp. 279—302.

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remote origin of the Waldenses, in language not quite philosophical, "popular cant,"[1] and the attempt to set up Waldo as a learned man, which had been done by the editor of the Christian Observer, as "a mere matter of sectarian nonsense."[2] These are singular expressions. They almost seem to prove to us the truth of the remark of our poet, that—

> "Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one,
> Have oftimes no connexion——."

I have nothing to do with that part of the controversy respecting the Waldenses which has been so long carried on by Mr. Maitland, Dr. Gilly, Mr. Faber, the Christian Observer, and others. Foxe, copying either from Illyricus, or from the common documents,[3] which both of them may have consulted when they were engaged in their mutual labours on the Continent, gives his reader the common story of the origin of the Waldenses from Waldo, a circumstance which his editor condemns, and which we might have expected Mr. Maitland would have approved. Foxe quotes Reinerius Saccho in testimony of the purity of life and true christian principles of the Waldenses, but he does not refer to the passage in which that writer affirms their antiquity. As I am now, however, on this subject, I trust—though I do not wish to discuss the various arguments of the writers who derive the origin of the Waldenses either from Waldo, or from Peter of Valdis, or from any other person—that I may be permitted to digress for one moment from Mr. Maitland and his review of Foxe, to relate that which appears to me to be the real origin of the doctrines and name of the Waldenses, more especially as the view I take on the subject, though new, reconciles nearly every authority and opinion which our protestant writers have submitted to the world on this much controverted subject.

The doctrines of the Waldenses are summed up in the tables given by Foxe[4] and Illyricus. They are collected also by Soames.[5]

"Peter Waldus and his associates did not aim so much to change the system of religion, or to inculcate new articles of faith, as to restore the form of the church, the morals of the clergy, and the lives of Christians, to that primitive and apostolic simplicity, which they thought they had learned, particularly from the words of Christ. They, therefore, taught that the Romish church had degenerated from its original purity and sanctity in the times of Constantine the Great; they denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff; they would have the rulers and ministers of the church imitate the poverty of the apostles, and procure their own frugal and slender sustenance by manual labour; they asserted, that

(1) Preface to Six Letters on the Acts and Monuments, p. vii.
(2) Review of Foxe's History, &c. p. 18.
(3) Since I wrote my remarks on Mr. Dowling, who considers Illyricus, and not Foxe, to be the father of ecclesiastical history, I have procured the collation of the first edition of Foxe's work, published in 1556, with that of 1559, and with Illyricus, and find that I have been misled in the supposition that the account of the Waldenses was in that edition. It first appeared in 1559, after the Catalogus of Illyricus had been published; not before, as I had been informed.
(4) Vol. ii. p. 265, new edit.
(5) I refer to Mr Soames, as the last and best of our ecclesiastical writers. Soames's Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 503.

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authority to teach, to confirm, and to admonish their brethren, was, to a certain extent, given to all Christians; the ancient penitential discipline, which was nearly subverted by the grants of *indulgences*, that is, the making satisfaction for sins, by prayer, fasting, and liberality to the poor, they wished to see restored; and these *satisfactions*, on which they laid great stress, they believed any devout Christian could enjoin upon those who confessed, so that it was not necessary for people to confess their sins to priests, but only to lay open their transgressions to individual brethren, and look to them for advice; the power of forgiving sins, and remitting the punishment of them, they held to belong to God only, and, therefore, that *indulgences* were an invention of base avarice; they regarded prayers, and the rites performed in behalf of the dead, to be useless ceremonies; because departed souls are not detained and subject to a purgation in some intermediate region, but are, immediately after death, either taken into heaven, or sent into hell. These, and like these, were the doctrines they inculcated. Their morals were very strict, for they explained our Saviour's sermon on the mount according to the literal import of the words; and therefore disapproved altogether of war, law-suits, efforts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, taking any oath, or defending one's life or limbs against offered violence."

This statement proves to us that they held in common with the church of Rome, as we still do, all the doctrines which that church held in the days of St. Paul, when its faith was spoken of throughout the whole world; and they rejected, as we do, those doctrines of Rome only which are of later origin, or which are peculiar to that church; such as the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over others; and that they desired to establish that indefinite perfection and excellence to which all Christians are commanded to aspire, and not to rest in any external services and observances, however admirable, ancient, or divine.

We are no more justified in imputing the first teaching of such a code to Waldo of Lyons, or to Peter of Lugdunum Convenarum, than we are justified in imputing the first teaching of the doctrine of predestination to George Whitfield, or the doctrine of human responsibility, from the freedom of the will, or the freedom of action, in man, to John Wesley. Both teachers insisted on certain, common, known, received, truths; and both became the leaders of sects, because they insisted on some great truths, without sufficiently blending them with other equally important, though apparently antagonistical, truths. Peter Waldo of Lyons, or Peter of Valdis, might both teach and preach many solemn truths, and blend those truths with some errors; but the large mass of truths which we call the Waldensian doctrines must have had a purer and a more ancient origin than in any individual, whether of the sixth or twelfth centuries; and the truth of the great controversy will, I think, appear to be probably that which I shall now mention, as my own inferences from the general survey of ecclesiastical history. I speak with distrust of my opinion, because it is novel; though I confess my surprise

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that it has not been previously advocated by others. I am not anxious to defend it; but I think it will be refuted with difficulty, because it reconciles all the phænomena or facts of the controversy.

The questions between Rome and its opponents may be resolved into this one. Were all the peculiar tenets of the church of Rome, taught from the commencement of Christianity by its Divine Founder and his holy apostles; or did not a certain number of its doctrines and opinions originate at a later period; and if so, were not some doctrines enforced by ecclesiastical power, which had not been previously taught by divine and apostolical authority?

The church of Rome affirms that it has invented and enforced no new doctrine whatever.

The protestants generally, the Waldensians, the Anglican church, with the episcopal churches of Scotland and America, which are not in communion with Rome, affirm that they are not in that communion because of certain alleged novelties.

We will select one doctrine or opinion only; and test the two masses of Christians, the papal and antipapal, by it: and thus see in what manner the answer to the question—whether the church of Rome has taught any novelty, illustrates the history of the Waldenses.

We will select this question. Were images commanded to be venerated in any manner whatever, either with Latreia, Douleia, or Hyperdouleia, by Christ, and by his apostles?

It is certain—and the chief Romanist writers themselves agree with the protestants—that the veneration of images was not taught by Christ, or by his apostles.[1]

In the next generation, if we may credit the earlier traditions of ecclesiastical history, Trophimus, whom St. Paul left at Miletum, sick, had become the founder of the church of Arles,[2] on the river Rhone, in the south of France. Irenæus had founded the church of Lyons on the same river; Crescens, that of Vienne, near Lyons, on the same river.[3] These early bishops would have instructed the people in the apostolic faith; which did not include the worship of images.

After some centuries of slowly encroaching corruptions in the church, the worship of images was established in the church of Rome; and commanded therefore to be enforced among the churches which maintained their primitive communion with Rome. This worship was established by pope Gregory II. and by a council summoned at Rome under his auspices, in 730. From this time the church of Rome affirmed the propriety and necessity of such worship.

When the credit of the church of Rome was endangered by its rup-

(1) See Mede's Apostasy of the latter Times, book iii. c. 5, p. 683, ed. 1677, and Pagi de usu Imaginum, Crit. in Baron. Annal. 55, p. 42, Antwerp, ed. 1727. Though see Baronius in ann. 102.

(2) Gallia Christiana, on the Bishops, &c. &c. of the Church of Arles.

(3) The church at Berri, is said to have been founded by Ursinus, or Nathaniel, Tours by Gratian, Paris by Dionysius, Sens by Sabinianum, or Potentianum, Limoges, the capital of Upper Vienne, by Maltial, Metz by Clemens Romanus, Marseilles by Lazarus—but see on all these traditions the note (c) n Mosheim's Commentaries on the State of the Church before Constantine, vol. ii. p. 9.

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ture with the eastern churches, and its authority placed in peril by the resistance of the Lombards, the see of Rome received great support from the conversion of the German tribes to its own dogmata by the English monk Winfrid, its active advocate for forty years, from 715 to 755. To reward his zealous labours, Gregory II. made him a bishop in 723; when he assumed the name of Boniface. By Gregory III. he was created archbishop of Mentz, and vicar-general of the apostolic see. On his promotion an oath of allegiance was exacted from him; and on this occasion the first precedent is furnished of a claim of fealty by the papal power. Boniface and his missionaries were the persons who first promulged the higher and more exaggerated notions of the supreme authority of the popes on earth, as deciding what Christians should enter the kingdom of heaven.[1] While the doctrine of the papal supremacy was agitating the western world, the papal vicar-general, Boniface, was called into France by Carlman and Pepin, to act as legate of the holy see in reducing the ecclesiastical affairs of France to submission to the papal head.[2] By these transactions, says Gieseler, "the kings of the Franks, as well as the national church, were brought into close alliance with Rome."—"Thus when Pepin, already possessed of regal power, wished also to assume the royal title, he applied for the approbation of the pope; and Zachary, by his ready consent, effectually secured the future assistance of the kings of the Franks.[3] This took place in the year 752. In that year, Pepin and Zachary the reigning pontiff, had so identified their mutual interests against the emperor, that Zachary had declared the expediency of Pepin's assuming the throne of France; and Pepin devoted his whole energies to the upholding and strengthening the papacy. Zachary died without deriving any great benefit from the royalty of Pepin. His successors, Stephen II. or III.[4] and Paul, reaped the chief benefit of the alliance.

When Aistulph the king of the Lombards threatened Rome with a siege, Stephen fled to Pepin; and after crowning Pepin at Paris, he was restored by him to Rome, and re-endowed with the exarchate of Ravenna, and other possessions. Every enemy to the papal see, and therefore to its newly established idolatry of image-worship, was now considered as the enemy of Pepin; whose plans of ambition were carried on from henceforth in the name of religion. Stephen died in 757, and was succeeded by his brother Paul, who instantly on his election solicited, and obtained the friendship of Pepin. The same steps were taken by the usurper, who succeeded Paul in 767. Pepin was regarded

(1) See the addresses of the popes to the Frankish kings, in which they never fail to impress their precept—Petrum clavigerum regni cœlorum. Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 14, note 3, and § 12. Part taken by the Gallican church in the controversy concerning image-worship, p. 35; where may be found in the notes some valuable information on the subject.

(2) Bonifac. Epist. Zachariam P. edit. Serar. p. 132, apud Gieseler. ut sup. p. 14.

(3) Gieseler. ut sup. note 5.—Ivo, bishop of Chartres, *Chronicon*, p. 53. Hanov. 1613, says, Pipinus Francorum regnum defecisse videns, jussu Zachariæ Papæ elevatur in regem. On the crowning of Pepin by Boniface, see Greenwood's Germany, p. 805.

(4) The first successor of Zachary was named Stephen, but he died before he was consecrated. The next was also named Stephen. Hence the actual ruler of Rome after Zachary is variously called Stephen II. or III.

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as the principal upholder and defender of the political and ecclesiastical interests of the see of Rome. Pepin died in the year 768.

Being thus identified with the progress of the papal power, and the establishment of the novel, yet revived idolatry of image worship, Pepin proved his attachment to the upholders of his own usurped authority by two measures, one of which refers to the use of images, the other to the more ferocious prosecution of the war against Waifar, the duke of Aquitaine. The original causes of the war against the duke of Aquitaine, were not merely the obtaining by certain disaffected Leudes,[1] an asylum in Aquitaine, and the refusal of Waifar, to surrender his guests; but the refusal also of the duke of Aquitaine to comply with the demands of Pepin, respecting the government of the churches of the duchy. The government of the churches was the privilege of the duke. Pepin, no doubt acting under the influence of Rome, interfered between the rights of the temporal prince and his ecclesiastical subjects,[2] and *it is in this war that the two names of the Waldenses and Albigenses, are first introduced in union* to the student of ecclesiastical history.

In the council of Chantilly, A. D. 766, the use of images was discussed and approved.[3] Immediately after the bishops who composed this council were dismissed, Pepin led his army into Aquitaine. He proceeded through Narbonne, attacked Toulouse, and in his way back to Paris, near which he soon after died, he received the surrender of two districts of Aquitaine, which are respectively called Albi, and Gavuldan, or Givauldan.[4] Much controversy has lately taken place, on the origin of the word Waldenses. *I believe the word originated in the name*

(1) See Greenwood's Germany, p. 853.

(2) The words of the historian, on the cause of the war, are these—His itaque gestis et duobus annis cum terra cessasset à prœliis, prædictus rex Pipinus legationem ad Wajofarium Aquitanum principem, mittens, petens per legatos suos, *ut res ecclesiæ regno ipsius*, quæ in Aquitania sita erant redderet, et sub immunitatis nomine, sicut ab antea fuerant conservatas esse deberent, et judices ac actores in supra dictas res ecclesiarum, quod a longo tempore factum non fuerat, committere non deberent, et Gothos prædicto regi, quos dudum Wajofarius contra legis ordinem occiderat, ei solvere deberet et homines suos, quod de regno Francorum ad ipsum Wajofarium principem confugium fecerunt, reddere deberet, hæc omnia Wajofarius, quæ prædictus rex per legatos suos ei mandaverat, hoc totum facere contempsit. Collectio Chronograph. ex Toromacho, lib. vi. apud Thesaur. Monumentorum, &c. Canisii. tom. ii. p. 222. Amsterdam, 1725.

(3) Concilium Gentiliacense de cultu Sanctarum Imaginum, ac de Sanctissima Trinitate celebratum in Gallia, anno 766, tempore Pauli Papæ.

Legatio illa, quam pro confederatione Pipini regis impetranda Constantinus imperator miserat in Franciam hæc impietatis zizania seminaverat; pro quibus extirpandis, hisce sarculis opus erat. Nemo quidem Scriptorum illud expressè affirmat; sed tamen quia Francorum Annales evidenter commemorant, per nobilissimam legationem aliquanto tempore actum fuisse de fœdere ineundo, haud dubie hæc impietatis semina ibidem sparsa fuerunt.

Præterea in hoc synodali conventu tractatum fuisse questionem hanc, An Spiritus Sanctus a Patre, Filioque procedat? tradit Ado Viennensis in Chronico. Cum enim Occidentales Constantino Copronymo, ejusque sectatoribus orientalibus sacrarum imaginum despectum, et contemptum vitio verterent; ille contra Latinis exprobrabat, quod ad symbolum vocem *Filioque*, adjecissent. Unde patet, quod, cum Græci schismatici hac in re Latinos impugnent, aperte profiteantur, se impiissimi Constantini Copronymi, quem suo ipsi judicio condemnant, causam turpissimam turpiter agere, tueri, et defendere.—Bail. Summa Conciliorum omnium, &c. tom. ii. pp. 290, 291. folio, Patav. 1701.

(4) Orta questione de Sancta Trinitate, et de sanctorum imaginibus, inter Orientalem et Occidentalem Ecclesiam (id est, Romanos et Græcos), rex Pipinus, conventu in Gentiliaco villa congregato, synodum de ipsa quæstione habuit: eoque peracto ad bellum prædictum conficiendum, post natalem domini in Aquitaniam proficiscitur: et per Narbonem iter agens, Tolosam aggressus cepit. Albiensem et Gavuldensem (aliis Gavuldanum) pagos in deditione accepit: et Viennam reversus, postquam ibi et paschalis festi sacra peregit, et exercitum à labore refecit, jam prope æstate confecto mense Augusto ad reliquias belli profectus est: et Bituricam veniens, conventum (more Francico) in campo egit: et inde iter agens, ad Garosunam fluvium pervenit: castella multa atque speluncas, in quibus se hostium manus plurima defensabat, cepit: inter quæ precipua fuere castra, Scoralia, Tormina, Petrotia. Reversus Bituricam, exercitum in hyberna dimisit: ipse ibi considens natalem Domini celebravit. Eo anno Paulus papa Romanus defunctus est: cujus rei nuntius ibi ad regem pervenit."— Adelmi, vel Adelmar, vel Adelmari Benedictini, Annales Francorum Regg. Pipini, Karoli Magni, etc. etc. ap. Corpus Francicæ Historia, etc. etc. Folio, p. 387. 1613.

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of the people of Gavuldan, who opposed the ecclesiastical usurpations of Pepin, and *were called Ga-vuldenses.* The Gavaldenses, in conjunction with the Albigenses of Aquitaine, preserved, I believe, the ancient faith which had been planted by the primitive apostolical bishops in Gaul; and were, from the earliest period, till the reformation found them in the valleys of Piedmont, the upholders of the ancient truth, the opposers of image-worship, and the impugners, in many changes of settlement, of the papal supremacy and usurpations.

There are two objections to this novel theory—one derived from the geographical position of the later Waldenses; the other from the etymology of their name.

The first objection seems at first to be unanswerable. It is, that the Waldenses of the modern controversies are situated in the four valleys on the south of the Cottian Alps; on the eastern side of the Rhone, very far from the district of Albi, and from the Givauldan, or Gavuldan, which surrendered to Pepin; both of which are on the western side of the Rhone. The pagus or district of Albi, with the pagus or district of Gavuldan, which were wrested from Waifar, were three degrees south-west of Lyons; the territory of the Vaudois in the four valleys is three degrees south-east of Lyons. The question is, in what manner, before the Albigenses were driven by the crusaders from the south of France to the valleys of the Alps, and before the time of Waldo of Lyons, can the Gavuldenses, in the time of Pepin, be shown to be the same as the Waldenses of the valleys?

I answer, that the histories which record the wars of Pepin inform us, that the Gavuldensian, or Waldensian, forces passed and repassed from the eastern side of the Rhone to the western—that is, from Dauphiné to Languedoc, by the Pont d'Esprit, over the Rhone—that the Albigenses remained in their country after the time of Pepin till they became the victims of the crusaders and of the inquisitors, but that the Vallenses or Valdenses of Aquitaine made their escape across the Rhone, both by the Pont d'Esprit, on that river, and by other passes,[1] to the territory between Grenoble and the Pennine Alps, on the borders of the river Ysere. That territory was subsequently called Givauldan. It is north of their present settlements. From thence they descended to the four valleys, where their posterity still remain. In these valleys they found other refugees, who retained the same faith which had been taught from the beginning, and resisted the worship of images. This faith was professed in the diocese of Turin, in which so many other opponents of the ever-increasing claims and novelties of Rome had also taken shelter.

I am not aware of any modern maps which will enable me to make my conclusions so plain to the student who may be interested in this inquiry, as those which I have before me: the maps in the Atlas of

(1) The devastations of Aquitaine by Pepin were intolerable. There was not, in some districts, a husbandman nor a vine-dresser left. "Vastavit," says the historian, "ita ut nullus colonus terræ ad laborandum, tam agros, quam vineas colere non audebat."—*Adelmar ut supra.*

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Janssonius, published at Amsterdam.[1] I beg the reader to refer in this Atlas to the Map of Languedoc, which is numbered XX. and to the Map of Dauphiné, which is numbered n n n; and to the Latin explanation of the latter map. He will see the Gavauldan territory in the former. In the latter he will see the district of Grais-Vauldan, which the explanation of the map tells us, is called by others, Givauldan. Thus the two names are found on each side of the Rhone, but in this Atlas only. From any other maps, however, I beg the reader to consider the countries on each side of the Rhone, from Albi, three degrees and a half west of the Rhone; to the four valleys three degrees and a half east of that river; and if he will include in his survey of this district the territory two degrees north, and two degrees south of Albi, and of the valleys, (Albi and the valleys lie on the same parallel of latitude), he will remember in his survey of this country, these remarkable coincidences—

He is contemplating the country where the apostolical Christianity of the primitive churches was preached in its greatest purity; he is surveying the district where opposition to Rome prevailed more extensively than in any other part of the world; for it includes not only Albi, and the valleys of Piedmont, but Carcassone, Bezieres, and the country in which the Inquisition originated to extirpate the real or supposed heresy of the inhabitants.

He will perceive that this country abounds with places beginning with the syllable "Val," almost any of which would give the name Vallenses to the inhabitants; such as Vallance, on the Rhone; Vallais, to the west of Lake Leman, in a deep vale of the Pennine Alps; and that the district Givauldan, or Gavuldensis, on the west of the Rhone, which surrendered, with Albi, in 767, to Pepin, is precisely the same as another Givauldan, on the eastern side of the Rhone. This Givauldan is called also Great Vaudan Valle, Graiswoulden, or Givauldan.[2]

The general conclusion, then, at which we may arrive from considering, in connexion with these facts, the various arguments of Mr. Maitland, Dr. Gilly, Mr. Faber, the papers in the British Magazine, and the several references to which their authors have appealed, may be, that the word Valdenses or Vallenses, was common to the inhabitants of this whole district, both before and after the time of Waldo of Lyons—that Waldo of Lyons was but a pious individual, who revived much of the pristine purity of religion, when the corruption had begun to be more general; and that he restored also, by the coincidence of his own name with that of the Givauldan or Wauldan territory on both sides of the Rhone, the common name Waldenses, when it was becoming obsolete, to the opposers of the papal corruptions.

If this theory be correct, all the accounts are reconciled, both of the antiquity and modernity of the name Waldenses—the antiquity affirmed

(1) Atlas Novus, sive Theatrum Orbis Terrarum in quo, Galliæ, Helvetiæ Universæ, et singulorum Cantonum necnon et Belgii Universi, Tabulæ Geographicæ cum suis descriptionibus. Tomus secundus. Amstelodami apud Albinum Janssonium, anno 1649.
(2) See the Novus Atlas, Amsterdam, 1642, vol. ii. art. Delphine.

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by Rainerius Saccho,[1] that the opinions of the Waldenses are traceable to Silvester or to the apostolic times, will be confirmed to the utmost—Peter of Valdy, to whom Mr. Faber assigns the origin of the name, will have been one of the Givaldenses or Waldenses of Languedoc; and Waldo of Lyons the same.

Aversion to the worship, or to the use, of images, characterised the first Christians on the Rhone. Aversion to images was one of the causes of their resisting Pepin, when he endeavoured to impose on the people of Gavauldan the united yoke of his own tyranny and the papal idolatry; first by the council of Chantilly, and immediately after, by his devastating army. Aversion to images, scattered the conquered Waldenses from Languedoc over the Pont d'Esprit to the eastern Givaldan, the Alps, and the valleys. Aversion to images, characterises their descendants to this moment. The idolatry of image-worship is one of the chief causes of the present impossibility of union among those Christians who desire the restoration of the primitive faith and worship, established among the episcopal churches, of the catholic church, by Christ and his apostles, and their earliest successors.

With respect to the etymological objection, that Waldensis cannot be properly derived from Gavuldensis, I answer, that the territorial divisions, over which the judicial officer, among the Teutonic nations, in these ages presided, who was called Graf; and which corresponds with the word pagus, the term used in Adelmar, to describe the extent of the districts of Albi, and Gavuldan—was always called, Gau.[2] Albi was the capital town of the Gau, or pagus of Albi, pagus Albiensis: and pagus Gavuldanum, would be the pagus, or Gau, of which Valdan would be the capital. The inhabitants of Gavuldanum are the Gavuldenses. The people of Valdan are Valdenses. The u at the end of Gau, and the W, or the V, at the beginning of Waldan, or Valdan, would merge also into each other. The word Gau would be omitted, when the people of the pagus, or Gau, left their territory. The word Waldensis from Valdan, and the term Vallensis from the towns beginning with Val, or from the numerous valleys of the district would become, and did become the common epithets, not of a sect, but (as the word protestant is now used) the name of the opponents of the errors, and usurpations of Rome. The subject requires a volume, rather than a few parenthetical paragraphs, when I am treating of other subjects; and I must return from this digression to the duller labour of following Mr. Maitland through his criticisms on Foxe. I shall only add, that the view I take confirms to the utmost the conclusions of the learned and eminent Mr. Faber, whom Mr. Maitland seems delighted to insult; and to whom, as well as to my friend Dr. Gilly, I am indebted for much pleasant reading on the controverted topics I have alluded to. I think I could prove

(1) See Maitland, etc.

(2) See Spelman's Glossary, verb. Gobia; Kemble's Introduction to the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, vol. i. Preface, p. 4; Eber's German Dictionary, (Leipzig, 1796,) under the word Gau. See also Serotini Lexicon German. Nuremberg, 1691, 4to. p. 13. Gau—Geu—et antiq. Gow—proprie tractus Vallensis.

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the certainty of every part of my theory, from the various materials they have collected, from the authors to whom they have referred—from the History of the Inquisition and of the Crusades—and from all the scattered notices of the people and countries of the districts between Gavauldan on the east, and Givaldan on the west, of the Rhone: but these flowers of literature must be gathered by others. I must return to the weeds.[1]

Mr. Maitland's review of Foxe's History of the Waldenses is a pamphlet of fifty-four pages.[2] The principal subject discussed in them is, whether Foxe is to be regarded as an historical authority; and the question is repeated from the Christian Observer, "*Does Foxe falsify, or unfairly abridge, or partially select historical documents?*" Mr. Maitland's conclusion[3] respecting Foxe as an authority of any kind is, that it is "perfectly absurd" so to regard him. He omits, however, till thirty pages are gone over, to meet the question, whether he falsifies, abridges, or unfairly selects his authorities.[4] He then alleges that he frequently gives no authority at all, or he gives them in a manner so vague and uncertain, that his quotations are useless; and,[5] that he sometimes gives one authority when he is, in fact, using another. Having discussed these points, Mr. M. proceeds to consider the charge of unfair abridgment, which he confesses it to be difficult to define;[6] and he confesses also, that though there is another species of abridgment, which by the suppression of truth, amounts almost to the allegation of falsehood, he is not "*prepared to say to what extent Foxe may have done this, for I have compared very few of his extracts with his authorities.*" That is—the candid critic, like Pope's Atticus,

> "Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
> Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike."

He says nothing whatever of the third topic of accusation—the partially selecting documents; but hastily concludes his pamphlet, by declaring that he is conscious, "that each case of misstatement exposed, may by itself seem trifling; but that the *popular delusion* about the Waldenses and Albigenses is only kept up by little suppressions, and omissions, and alterations in ancient testimonies, and therefore he desired to expose

(1) I shall only add here, that the reign of Charlemagne presents a continuation of the persecutions and devastations committed upon the survivors of the Albigenses and Waldenses who had escaped the ten years' successive havoc, cremations, and huntings among the Alps and Pyrenees, and their intermediate territories, by his father Pepin. Blondel, from the Annals of Pithou, mentions the fact in the Prolegomena to his Vindiciæ pro Sancta Veteri Romana Ecclesia, etc.; that a remnant of the fugitive Gavuldenses, or Waldenses, escaped into Ceritania, and sought protection among the Moors and Saracens, where they were found after a lapse of sixty years from the period when they were routed by Pepin from their native abode in Languedoc. The passages in Blondel state—"Anno sequenti (A. D. 827), defecit ad eum filius Beronis nomine Wiliemundus, et alii complures novarum rerum gentilitia levitate cupidi, junctique Sarracenis Ceritaniam et Vallensem rapinis atque incendiis quotidie infestabant." Then, after an account of a delegation from Charlemagne to admonish them, we read that, in 827 the emperor sent his son Pepin against them. "Contra quem imperator filium suum Pipinum Aquitania regem cum immodicis Francorum copiis mittens, regni sui terminos tueri præcepit."——"Eandem historiam vitæ Ludovici auctor describit his verbis—Præterea Aizone infestante eos qui in nostris finibus consistebant, et præcipue Ceritaniam Vallensemque regionem usquequaque vastante, eo usque immanitas illius processit, annitentibus Maurorum et Sarracenorum auxiliis," etc. —Blondel Prolegomena, pp. 29, 30. Genev. 1635.

(2) That is, the pages are numbered to fifty-four, but the first page is the ninth; it consists, therefore, of forty-five only.

(3) Page 13. (4) Page 43. (5) Page 46. (6) Page 52.

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that delusion. With this the pamphlet terminates. I shall briefly proceed through its pages. The allegations against Foxe are reduced to one only—the manner in which he uses his authorities. Mr. Maitland, we shall see, himself acquits him, both of falsehood, deception, and fraud; and thereby establishes his value as an historian.

Page 1 or 9 introduces the subject of the pamphlet by declaring the question to be, whether the Waldenses were a sect, ancient or modern. Foxe (and I think him in error) agrees with Mr. Maitland and Illyricus, that they originated from Waldo of Lyons.

Page 10 proposes the question, does Foxe falsify, unfairly abridge, or partially select documents.

Pages 11, 12, 13 contain a criticism on the publishers of the new edition, concluding with the declaration, that if Foxe had any character for accuracy of detail, it is quite undeserved.

Hitherto no criticism has been made upon the martyrologist. We are now brought to the three paragraphs, with which Foxe introduces the history of the Waldenses. The whole account which he gives of them is contained in eight pages of the new edition, vol. ii. p. 263—270. The reader is requested to keep those pages before him as we proceed.

Mr. Maitland begins his attack on the history itself by a criticism on the misprint of a date; 1109 is printed for 1160. He omits to mention that even this error is corrected in the following page. "*The* 6," says Mr. Maitland, "*appears to have jumped over the* 0, *and alighted on its head!*" What reply can I make to such trifling, minute criticisms? Shall I say that Mr. Maitland could not spell the word *were*, because in his Facts and Documents, p. 49, he has carelessly permitted himself to be guilty of writing the expression—"What *where* not thought worth printing"—instead of "what *were* not thought," &c. &c. I am sure I may as well suspect Mr. Maitland to be ignorant of orthography, as John Foxe of chronology. Yet—ex pede Herculem—such is the first specimen of the criticisms of this redoubted assailant on John Foxe! Such is his wit! He should remember with me, that "Dulness is sacred in a sound divine"—and not venture to tarnish his character for orthodoxy, by descending to the buffoonery of a joke, or even to the playfulness of a witticism.

"*The next paragraph*," says Mr. Maitland, "*is little more than a translation from Illyricus.*" This is alleged against Foxe in the 13th and following pages as a crime. I am really unable to conjecture why it should be so regarded. Dr. Dodd wrote some beautiful paragraphs on various passages of Scripture. They are quoted by many persons, but Dr. Dodd's name is not mentioned by the quoters. The reason is obvious. Dr. Dodd was hanged for forgery. The borrowers from his pages were ashamed to mention their authority. Does this dishonour them? So also it was with Illyricus. He was a disreputable writer. Yet the account of the Waldenses was deemed to be authentic, and Foxe therefore did not name his authority. This may have been the

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more to be added...