

LETTER XXII. (COVERDALE.)

To MASTER BRADFORD.

GRATIAM et pacem, &c. Although I ween it is not yet three days ago since you heard from me, yet having such a messenger and so diversely enforced, I cannot but say something to you. What shall I thank you for your golden token? What mean you, man? Do you not know that we have *victum et amictum e penario regio*¹? I was so moved with your token, that I commanded it straightway to be had to Bocardo, which is our common gaol. I am right glad of Austin's return, for I was (as I told you) careful^a for him. Blessed be God that all is well! I have seen what he brought from you, and shortly surveyed the whole, but in such celerity, that others also might see the same before Austin's return: so that I noted nothing but a confused sum of the matter, and as yet what the rest have done, I can tell nothing at all, and it was at the writing hereof in their hands. To your request and Austin's earnest demand of the same, I have answered him in a brief letter, and yet he hath replied again: but he must go without any further answer of me for this time. I have told Austin that I, for my part, as I can and may for my tardity and dulness, will think of the matter. We are so now ordered and straitly watched, that scantly our servants dare do anything for us: so much talk and so many tales (as is said) are told of us abroad. One of us cannot easily nor shortly *be of*² the knowledge of another's mind, and you know I am youngest many ways. Austin's persuasions may do more with me (in that I may do conveniently in this matter,) armed with your earnest and zealous letters, than any rhetoric either of Tully or Demosthenes, I ensure you thereof. With us it is said that Master Grimbold was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; of whom we hear now, that he is at liberty. So we heard of late, that Master Hooper was hanged, drawn, and quartered, indeed, not for heresy but for treason; but blessed be God, we

This token was a piece of gold, which he sent to relieve his brother Shippside, prisoner in Bocardo. M. C. ^a anxious.

He meaneth here Harry Hart, a forward free will man, who had written a treatise against God's free election, which Bradford sent to M. Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer to peruse, desiring M. Ridley to answer the same. M. C.

[¹ Food and clothing at the royal charge. Ed.]

[² Attain to. Ed.]

Note the lying spirit of the papists, whereby you may see whose children they are. M. C.

hear now that all is true in like. False tongues will not cease to lie, and mischievous hearts to imagine the worst. Farewell in Christ: and token for token now I send you not; but know this, that (as it is told me) I have two scarlet gowns that escaped, I cannot tell how, in the spoil, whereof you shall have your part. Commend me to all our brethren, and your fellow-prisoners in the Lord.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XXIII. (COVERDALE.)

To AUGUSTINE BERNEHER.

BROTHER Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts given unto our dear brethren in Christ; especially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt but of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise, blessed be God in the rest—as Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the fore-front of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all, so far as I can hear, to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospel's sake, to lose their life. And evermore, and without end, blessed be even the same our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved brother, Bradford, whom now the Lord, I perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those who are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high way, *'et sic currere uti tandem acciperent premium*. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr, Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher

Protomartyr is the first martyr: whom

[¹ And so to run that at length they might receive the prize. Ed.]

of London. And now because Grindall is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him), I trust to God it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity² out of Paul's church to suffer for Christ, whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper; I was constrained thus to write.

he so called, because he was the first that suffered here in those bloody days. M. C.

LETTER XXIV.

From AUGUSTINE BERNEHER to RIDLEY.

MSS. Bibl. Emm. Coll. apud Cantab.

ALTHOUGH I am so weary as any man can be, by the reason of my journey I have had this day, yet I cannot but write two or three words to your lordship, desiring you for God's sake to pardon me because of my long absence contrary to my promise: but if you had known whereabouts I had been occupied, I am sure you would pardon me, although your lordship shall understand that I had no time at all to write out your book, the which thing truly is a great sorrow unto me. I have brought them all again, lest peradventure you should have need of them; and if so be that your goodness would let me have them for a while, I would copy them out with all haste possible.

Good my lord, conceive nothing against me, for since my departure hence there hath been such turmoilings as never was in London, as I doubt not but your lordship hath heard of it. As yet all things go forward to the great pain of godly ministers and the perpetual shame of the people. The best tragedy to describe it would ask a great deal of time. If so be that your lordship hath not heard of the matter, I shall certify the same by my simple writing.

My lord, I pray you as you have at all times (preserved) your books, so I trust you will do forward; and if so be that God shall take your lordship out of this misery, I

[² The other two were Rogers and Bradford, prebendaries of St Paul's. Ed.]

would by all means possible get them in print beyond the seas, where I shall have the help of learned men.

Mr Bradford moveth to-morrow towards Lancashire with my lord of Derby. I have promised him to meet him at Coventry; therefore I pray you let me hear of you this day, for to-morrow I will be gone very early.

LETTER XXV. (COVERDALE.)

To AUGUSTINE BERNEHER.

This alms was sent him by the Lady Catherine Duchess of Suffolk, to whom he wrote again a worthy letter, which is lost, and many other written both to her and others.
M. C.

BROTHER Augustine, I thank you for your manifold kindness. I have received my lady's grace's alms, six royals¹, six shillings, and eight pence. I have written a letter here unto her grace, but I have made no mention thereof; wherefore I desire you to render her grace hearty thanks. Blessed be God, as for myself I want nothing, but my lady's alms cometh happily to relieve my poor brother's necessity, whom you know they have cast and keep in prison; as I suppose, you know the cause why. Farewell, brother Austin, and take good heed, I pray you, and let my brother's case make you the more wary. Read my letter to my lady's grace. I would Mistress Wilkinson and Mrs Warcup had a copy of it: for although the letter is directed to my lady's grace alone, yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to her grace and to all good women, which love God and his word in deed and truth.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XXVI. (FOX.)

To AUGUSTINE BERNEHER.

BROTHER Austin, where you desire so earnestly to know my mind in that part of the husband's letter unto his wife, wherein he permitting her "to do as she may, when she

[¹ Rial or royal, a gold coin worth in 1 Henry VIII. 11s. 3d., in 2 Ed. VI. 13s. 6d., and in 2 Elizabeth 15s. Ed.]

cannot do what she would," giving this reason, "that she must keep her religion as she may in this realm, and God shall accept her will, and shall impute the fault to others:" also saying, "What blame is in her, if she use the religion here as she may, though it be not as she would?"—this seemeth to me to be a perilous saying, wherein I fear me the man tendereth his wife too much. I wish rather he had counselled her to depart the realm: for peradventure, she tarrying, to have bidden her openly and boldly, when she should have been commanded to follow ungodliness—to have bidden her, I say, there [and] then to have confessed the truth, and to have stood in it—he thought, and peradventure knew, was more than she was like to do. But I suppose, if she had considered more deeply her husband's mind in writing—that his counsel savoured of his so tender a zeal towards her, [rather] than of the contempt of all worldly and carnal affections, which ought to be in Christ's cause; and upon the same had required licence to have departed the realm; yea, and then had departed indeed, rather than, after certain knowledge had of their ungodly ways, to seem to allow the same by her, in this case, open acts, and so not to have followed her husband's former counsel; I think she should less have offended her husband than she doth now, in that she hath made his letter,—not so warily written (methinks) as I would have wished it had been (if it were her deed²)—to have come to the knowledge of those that will use it, and construe it to the worst, to the defence of and maintenance of ungodly ways.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER XXVII. (COVERDALE.)

To MISTRESS GLOVER, a woman zealous and hearty in the cause and furtherance of God's gospel.

MISTRESS Glover, I wish you grace and peace; and although I am not acquainted with you, yet nevertheless.

[² If it were by her means that her husband's letter was made public. Ed.]

hearing that your husband, Master Glover¹, is in prison for God's word's sake, and also that you are a woman hearty in God's cause, and, thirdly, that old father Latimer is your uncle or near cousin, whom I do think the Lord hath placed to be his standard-bearer in our age and country against his mortal foe antichrist, I was thus bold to write unto you in God's behalf, to do according to the report which I hear of you; that is, that you be hearty in God's cause, and hearty to your Master Christ, in furthering of his cause and setting forth his soldiers to his wars to the uttermost of your power. Let no carnality nor worldly regard of any thing let^a you to declare your true heart, which you are said to bear to your Master Christ above all other things. Be hearty now also to your husband, and declare yourself to love him in God, as the true faithful christian woman unto her husband is bound to do. Now, seeing your husband, which is set by God's ordinance to be your head, is ready to suffer and abide in adversity by his Master's cause, and to cleave to his head Christ, see likewise that you do your duty accordingly, and cleave unto him your head: suffer with him that you may further his cause. His cause now I understand to be Christ's cause; and therefore beware, good sister in Christ, that in no wise ye hinder it. Love so his body, and the ease and wealth thereof, as your love may further him to the winning both of body and soul unto everlasting life. And this love shall both God allow, your husband shall have just cause to rejoice thereof, and all the godly to commend you therefore, and to number you, for the same, among the godly and holy women of God. To your husband I have written more. And thus fare you well now, good dear sister in our Saviour Christ. I was the bolder to write unto you, for that I understood my dearly beloved brother Austin, whom I call Faustus, should^b be the carrier; a man whom I think God hath appointed to do much pleasure for his prest³ servants to his wars.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

[¹ He was burned at Coventry a short time before Bishop Ridley suffered martyrdom. Ed.]

[² Ready, zealous. Ed.]

LETTER XXVIII. (COVERDALE.)

To a friend that came to visit him in prison, but could not speak with him.

WELL beloved, I thank you heartily for your manifold kindness, but the Lord shall (I trust) acquit you your meed^a. ^{a render you your re-ward.} Though Satan rage, the Lord is strong enough to bridle him, and to put an iron chain over his nose when it shall please him. In the mean time they that are the Lord's will flee unto him, and assuredly he will not forsake them that seek unto him in very deed and in truth. This bearer, my man, is trusty, you may send your token by him. Let Nicholas keep still the shirts. The Lord reward that lady Wyatt, which for his sake hath thus remembered me: I do not know her person. What can I render to Mistress Wilkin-son for all her benefits? Nothing surely, but to desire the Lord to acquit^b her with his heavenly grace. If you tarry^b ^{b requite.} I shall have more to say to you, peradventure, hereafter. Now, *Vale in Domino charissime.*

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XXIX. (COVERDALE.)

To a Cousin³ of his.

God's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen. When I call to remembrance, beloved cousin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and be assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case; being assured that the end thereof will be so pitiful, without speedy repentance, that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I write, as God knoweth, not of presumption, but only lamenting their state,

[³ According to Gloucester Ridley, this cousin was Mabel, granddaughter of Lord Dacre, married to his cousin Nicholas Ridley. Ed.]

^a hinder.

^b would.

who, I thought, now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instructions. But, alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament me to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry; yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scripture. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts. Amen.

Yours, N. R.

LETTER XXX. (COVERDALE.)

- 1564.

A Letter of MASTER EDMUND GRINDALL, then being in exile for the testimony of the truth, and now^a Bishop of London, to DR RIDLEY, prisoner in Oxford, which we thought good here to place; for that the letter following is an answer thereof.

GRATIAM¹ 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 other 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 captives, to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but he that hath called you and them, not only to believe upon him but also to suffer for him, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the school of the cross. He grant 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.

[¹ Grace and consolation from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Ed.]

Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these parts. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certain be at Tigury², good students of either university a number, very well entreated of Master Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole city. Another number of us remain at Argentine³, and take the commodity of Master Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Master Scory and certain other with him be in Friesland, and have an English church there, but not very frequent.^b crowded. The greatest number is at Frankfort, where I was at this present by occasion, a very fair 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 prudence of Master Coxe and other which met here for that purpose. So that now, we trust, God hath provided for such as will flee forth of Babylon a resting place, where they may truly serve him and hear the voice of their true pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God, to work diversely in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man. *Primus est victorie⁴ titulus, Gentilium manibus apprehensum Dominum confiteri. Secundus ad gloriam gradus est, cauta secessione subtractum Domino reservari. Illa publica, hæc privata confessio est. Ille judicem seculi vincit, hic contentus Deo suo judice conscientiam puram cordis integritate custodit. Illic fortitudo promptior, hic sollicitudo securior. Ille appropin-*

Cyprianus de lapsis.

[² Zurich. Ed.]

[³ Strasburg. Ed.]

[⁴ S. Cypriani de lapsis. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726, p. 182. The first title of victory is for one, who taken by the hands of the heathen confesses the Lord—the second path up to glory is taken by that man who by a prudent withdrawing is preserved to the Lord. The former is a public, the latter a private confession. The former challenges and obtains the verdict of this present world—the latter, content that God should be his judge, preserves a pure conscience in the integrity of his heart. In the former case is there a more prompt fortitude, in the latter a more secure sollicitude—the one, when his hour approaches, is found already mature; the other perchance is reserved, who having left his patrimony, on that account has departed, because he would not deny [his faith], but had he been detained, would also himself have confessed it. Ed.]

quante hora sua jam maturus inventus est. Hic fortasse dilatus est, qui patrimonio derelicto idcirco secessit, quia non erat negaturus, confiteretur utique si fuisset et ipse detentus. We have also here certain copies of your answers in the disputation; *Item Antoniana objecta cum responsione.* The treatise in English against transubstantiation, which in time shall be translated into Latin. It hath been thought best not to print them, till we see what God will do with you; ^c both for^c incensing of their malicious fury, and also for restraining you and others from writing hereafter, which should be a greater loss to the church of Christ, than forbearing of these for a time. If I shall know your will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed. Thus much I thought good to let you understand concerning these matters, and concerning the poor state of men here; who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto God for the delivery of his church, to behold the causes of the afflicted, and to hear the groans of his imprisoned, knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar access unto God, do not forget us. God comfort you, aid 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.

E. G.

From Frankfort, the 6th of May, 1555.

LETTER XXXI. (COVERDALE.)

The Answer of DR RIDLEY to the former Letter.

BLESSED be God, our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me; and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands: and over all this, I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly beloved brother Grindall, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord; and as ye love me and the other my reverend fathers and concepnives, (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*^a), lament not our state; but I beseech you and them all to give unto our heavenly Father, for his endless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us; and I trust, yea, by his grace, I doubt nothing, but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Tigury¹, at Frankfort, and elsewhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I ensure^b you it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Coxe, &c. Oh that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheeke, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but I trust to God, they be all well. And, Sir, seeing you say that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other but when it shall please God to say, "Come,") ye, blessed be God, are enough through his aid to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did wander and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except you have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English, *Contra transubstantiationem*²,

[¹ Zurich. Ed.]

[² As for the treatise in English against transubstantiation, I can scarcely be induced to believe it worth translating into Latin. As to the rest, whatever may happen, I should in no manner wish, that any

^c for fear of.

^a the glory of Christ.

^b assure.

vix possum adduci, ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Ceterum quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quicquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constituerit: and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose ye know a good part of our state here, (for we are forthcoming even as when ye departed, &c.) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months, close prisoner; and after that, had granted to me without my labour the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half-a-year; then, because I refused to allow^e the mass with my presence, I was shut up in close prison again.

^e sanction..

The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent¹, there was so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Mr Latimer, Mr Bradford, and I, were put altogether in one prison, where we remained still almost to the next Easter; and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following was our disputations at Oxford; after the which was all taken from us, as pen and ink, &c.; our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man; and we each one appointed to be kept in several² places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched; for we were all three on one day, within a day or two of our disputations, of Doctor Weston, (being the head commissioner), condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us; as I do not doubt, but by his grace it shall be to his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserved, above all our

thing should in any way be published in my name until you are made certainly acquainted with what it may have pleased the Lord to determine concerning us. Ed.]

[¹ Wyatt's Insurrection. Ed.]

[² Separate. Ed.]

expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered unto the secular power, and writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in again. Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raving of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these:—Farrar, the Bishop of St David's; Hooper, the Bishop of Worcester; Rogers, *tuus olim comprehendarius*³; Doctor Taylor, of Hadley; Mr Saunders; and one Tomkins, a weaver: and now, this last day, Mr Cardmaker with another were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas! hath relented, (as I have heard); but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon he died and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again; but I fear me he escaped not without some becking and bowing (alas) of his knee unto Baal.

This West when he had relented and said mass against his conscience, shortly after pined away and died for sorrow. M.C.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull Head in Cheape, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shippside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.

Of all us three con captives at Oxford I am kept most strait, and with least liberty; *vel quia viro in cujus aedibus*

[³ Once thy fellow prebendary. Ed.]

[⁴ Either because the man in whose house I am a prisoner is ruled (though he be the mayor of the city) by his wife, an old ill-tempered and most superstitious woman, who indeed takes it to herself as a matter of praise, that she is said to guard me most strictly and cautiously. The man himself, however, whose name is Irish, is good-tempered enough to every body, but to his wife most obsequious. Now although, as you

ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis) mulier vetula, morosa, et superstitiosissima; quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit, quod me dicatur arcissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori vero plusquam obsequentissimus. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi non nihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio colligari. Recte ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia a magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum; id quod illi, siquando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge, (as I hear say), *omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt, et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati; quod et de sociis collegiorum, qui nobuerunt flectere genu Baali, factum*

know, I have never myself had a wife, yet from my daily association with this couple I seem in some measure to understand, how great an evil and intolerable a yoke it is to be joined in wedlock with a bad woman. Rightly therefore has the wise man said, A good wife is the gift of God, and again, Blessed is the husband of a good woman— Either I say this is the cause, or because this has been so commanded them by the higher powers, (from what causes I know not)—which they, if ever I complain of my too strict imprisonment with them, often and diligently impress upon me. En.]

[All the reformations lately made with regard both to statutes and to studies are now again deformed and invalidated, and every thing reduced to its pristine chaos and ancient papistry. All those heads of Colleges who favoured the purity of the Gospel, or who were married, are removed from their places, and others of the popish faction placed in their stead; and this also I hear to be the case with those fellows of Colleges who would not bow the knee to Baal. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the same line of conduct has been every where pursued throughout all the realm of England—to all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, ministers of churches, and towards all the clergy; and to tell you much naughty matter in a few words, Papistry reigns every where among us in all its pristine strength. En.]

esse audio. Nec mirum; nam et istud passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ in omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero; and to tell you much naughty matter in a few words, Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness; for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, (alas) we did not serve him nor rendered unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors, many of us, were too cold, and bare too much (alas) with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same; the people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side, and of every sort, we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us. But blessed might he be, that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways, which so wholly have displeased his sacred majesty; but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. My daily prayer is (as God doth know), and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren that are fled out of your own country, because ye will rather forsake all worldly things, than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his Gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same, that there rise no root of bitterness among you, that may infect that good seed that God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally, that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the Gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake,

and so both in the brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

¹*Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arundellus, et dominus Pachetus, jam legatione funguntur una cum Cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, et Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus, etiam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare, nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.*

Omnium vestrum precibus me humillime et ex toto corde commendo; in primis tuis, o charissime in Christo frater et dilectissime Grindalle, et charissimorum fratrum et unice mihi in Domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chamberi, et omnium fratrum nostrorum et conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, et diligunt Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reveren-

[Certain great persons of our government—Winchester the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget are now engaged in an embassy together with Cardinal Pole, in the parts beyond sea, to negotiate, as they say, a peace between the emperor, our Sovereign*, and the king of the French. After the return of these our nobles, and the confinement of the Queen, which we now daily look for, and have indeed for some time expected, (and which may God for the glory of his name vouchsafe to render happy to her), we then expect nothing else than the immediate crowns of our confession from our ancient foe. I commend myself most humbly and with all my heart to the prayers of you all. In the first place to thine, my most dear and beloved brother in Christ Grindall, and of those brethren most dear to me and only beloved in the Lord, Cheke, Cox, Turner, Lever, Sampson, Chambers, and of all our brethren and fellow countrymen who are residing among you, and who in truth love our Lord Jesus Christ. I commend also unto you my most reverend fathers and fellow prisoners in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, most worthy indeed of the title of Chief Pastor and Archbishop, and that veteran, the true apostle of our Anglican people and of Christ, Hugh Latimer. Pardon me, my brother, the prolixity of this letter, for after this I believe you will never again be troubled, my dearest brother, with letters of mine. Oxford. Ed.]

[* Ridley uses the word "regem", referring without doubt to Philip, then king of Spain, and titular king of England; and possibly under the apprehension that should his letter be intercepted, an accusation of treason might otherwise be grounded on it against him. Ed.]

dissimos patres et concaptivos meos in Domino, Thomam Cranmerum, jam vere magni pastoris et Archipresulis nomine dignissimum; et veteranum illum nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum apostolum et Christi, H. Latimerum. Condone mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem; non enim posthac, credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonii.

LETTER XXXII. (COVERDALE.)

A Letter which he wrote as his last Farewell², To all his true and faithful friends in God, a little before he suffered: with a sharp admonition, by the way, to the papists, the enemies of the truth.

At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure; so likewise now I—looking daily when I should be called for to depart hence from you, (O all ye my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world!) having a like mind towards you all, and also (blessed be God) for this such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness,—do bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

Farewell, my dear brother, George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all other to

[² These Farewells appear to have been written between the first day of October, 1555, when he was condemned at Oxford by the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, and the sixteenth of the same month, when he was burned. It was during this interval that Lord Dacre offered ten thousand pounds to the Queen if she would spare Ridley's life, which was refused. Ed.]

me most friendly and stedfast, and (that which liked me best,) over all other things in God's cause ever hearty.

Farewell, my dear sister Alice, his wife: I am glad to hear of thee that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou GOD that hath given thee a godly and a loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law, his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him a heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

Farewell, my well-beloved brother, John Ridley, of the Waltowne, and you my gentle and loving sister, Elizabeth; whom, beside the natural league of amity, your tender love which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted^a it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them in the stead of their father; but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they will love him and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Willimountswick, and your wife; and I thank you for all your kindness, shewed both to me and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as GOD hath set you in that our stock and kindred, not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness, to be as it were the bel-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also endued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others; so I pray

you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you,) continue and increase in the maintenance of truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbid and condemned by the word and laws of God.

Farewell, my young cousin, Ralph Whitfield. Oh, your time was very short with me: my mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught^b in that little time a loss; but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God. ^{c sustained.}

Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen, farewell in Christ, altogether. The Lord which is the searcher of secrets knoweth, that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed Gospel; according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, king Edward, and so also denounced^c openly in his court by his privy council. ^{d announc- ed.}

I warn you, all my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed or astonied at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I ensure you I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life; and therefore I thank my Lord GOD heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and in his cause; unto the which honour he called the holy prophets, and his dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed, chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death are God's causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the Gospel of Christ, or that Paul's Epistles are the very word of GOD. And to have a heart willing to abide and stand in God's cause and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I ensure thee (O man) it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of GOD, given only to the true elects and dearly beloved children of GOD, "and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." For the holy Apostle and also martyr

^a required.

¹ Pet. iv. in Christ's cause, St Peter, saith; "If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you." If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy Apostle blessed and happy, how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness in myself but a sinful and a vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful Apostles, and of his holy, elect, and chosen martyrs; that is, to die, and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, where (alas) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand, if it chance a man to be slain of a thief, (as it oft chanceth there,) which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again; that, the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact^d, and his posterity, doth endure. Even so, ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye, (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, Apostles, and martyrs;) know ye, I say, that both before God and all them that be godly, and that truly know and follow the laws of God, ye have and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God to rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his gracious goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not, in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the

^d deed.

faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands, in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: "for the Lord saith that he will be both ^{Deut. vii.} to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations; the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs, which do love him in deed. And Christ saith again, "that no man can shew more love than ^{John xv.} to give his life for his friend."

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one; for both is God's cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother; although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten, whereupon he and his household should live, he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all, that even here (in the cause of my death) it is with the Church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein by God's grace I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of England had of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true and sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians. This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's Supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance

and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord's death was had, the bread in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do. All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be both easily heard and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole Divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also all things so set forth according to the commandment of the Lord and St Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue. It had also holy and wholesome Homilies, in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture; and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that useth (alas) to reign in this realm of England. This church had, in matters of controversy, Articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scripture, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time, if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church (alas) was almost overgone. But (alas) of late into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this heavenly treasure away. I may well complain on these thieves, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, *Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam*, etc. O Lord GOD, the Gentiles, heathen nations are come into thy heritage, they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones; that is, they have broken and beat down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves of Samaria, these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers have rushed out of their dens,

Psal. lxxix.

and have robbed the Church of England of all the aforesaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away and overthrown it; and in the stead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, as of baptism and others, they mixed their ministry with men's foolish phantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal. In the stead of the Lord's holy table they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass; but in deed and in truth it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of GOD unto pernicious idolatry; and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; and for^e this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, "Do this in the remembrance of me." And again, St Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament after the words of the consecration, saying, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth, with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again." And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ written in his gospel.

on account of.

Now, for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word. Wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but, as St Paul calleth it, barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness? For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what

do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, and feigned fables and miracles, to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things, but also in the stead of the same is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor, God willing, never shall so long as the breath is in my body, (because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plain contrary to God's word and to Christ's Gospel, it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood;) therefore, all ye my true lovers in GOD, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause, I say, know ye that I am put to death; which, by God's grace, I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to GOD therefore, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

case. Although the cause^f of the true man, slain of the thief helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one, (as I said before,) yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal, are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far diverse. These thieves are worse, I say, for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty; for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers: but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called "sacrilegi;" as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about but to spoil men of worldly things,

worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven so dearly purchased unto us with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live; these goods (I say) these thieves, these church-robbers go about to spoil us of. The which goods, as to the man of God they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God. These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful, than the thieves upon the borders: for these have not the craft so to commend their theft that they dare avouch it; and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night, they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oftentimes hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloke and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make the people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ, the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do, but stout and strong like Nembroth dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

The kind of fight against these church-robbers is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have; but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapon and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil; yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy, which are called of St Paul *principates* and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtilties concerning heavenly things: and therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such; not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly; we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and souls.

And therefore, as St Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood, that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God, to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword wherewith we smite our enemies, we beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke and Captain, Christ: and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when, enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain, Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles,

Ephes. vi.

Ephes. vi.

and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered down like a many^s of sheep. And the more cruel, ^{multitude.} the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of the death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities,) ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice, (if ye love me indeed,) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named. Yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause, (whereof I nothing doubt,) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, who is he, I say, that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience, (as I through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace, acknowledge myself to do,) who is he, I say, that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life—who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart, in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be, that should forsake this grace of God! I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly

substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth, that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands: whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolks, and the Lord doth lend me life and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God, of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the University of Cambridge? whereat I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits, (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted,) than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born.

Farewell therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees: of thy common offices, the chaplainship of the University, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader; and of thy private commodities, and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First, to be scholar, then fellow, and after my departure from thee thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness; and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge! What case thou art in now, God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever named sithens¹ I knew thee (which is now a thirty years ago,) to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's gospel and of God's true word: so I found thee, and, blessed be God! so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought

¹ since.

from that trade. In thy orchard¹ (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness,) I learned without book almost all Paul's epistles, yea and, I ween, all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my lifetime ever after; and I ween, of late (whether they abide there now or no I cannot tell,) there was that did the like. The Lord grant, that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and a true commentary to all holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college, so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to be vicar of Herne in East Kent². Wherefore farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish! the first cure whereunto I was called, to minister God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oftentimes the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after the Christ's gospel: oh that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper; which at that time, I acknowledge, God had not revealed unto me: but I bless God in^k all that godly³ ^{for} virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Phines³. The Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many other more.

Farewell, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitan see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what

[¹ There is a walk in the garden of Pembroke College still distinguished by the name of Ridley's walk. Ed.]

[² Instituted April 30, 1538. Resigned 1549. Ed.]

[³ Sir John Fineux, Knt: was Lord of the Manor of Herne, and his wife Elizabeth, who died A. D. 1589, was probably the lady here referred to. Ed.]

lieth in my heart, were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God (after thy name) Christ's church in deed and in truth.

Farewell, Rochester, sometime my cathedral see! in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience; and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and thine own profit in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee! then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas!) on the latter day.

To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say, than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him, after his own laws. And thus fare you well.

Oh London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were true setters forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prisons, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor I could never delight in them. Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment, as an unjust usurper of that room? Oh judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor never suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, that this judgment can be allowed either of God or of man? Well, as

for the cause and whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God, which is a just Judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong be not laid to thy charge in the latter day—this only can I pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Oh why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude the people, masking in thy masses, in the stead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord himself,) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue? wherein St Paul commandeth, in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified. Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of antichrist, thou bloody wolf; why slayest thou down and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor seely¹ sheep, which will not hear thy voice because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor Christ his voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make—that thy deaf and dumb¹ god (I say) will not indeed nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy Maker,) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth now on the right hand of his Father in glory—he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets!

[¹ The consecrated wafer. Ed.]

Yet, O thou London, I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt but in that great city there be many privy mourners which do daily mourn for that mischief; the which never did, nor shall, consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in office of the mayoralty, (yea, and in other citizens also whom to name now it shall not be necessary,) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland¹ Hill's year unto Sir George Barnes's year and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness, as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other for true Christian kindness, which is shewed in God's cause and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobbes, Dobbes, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor seely members, to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart (I say) was moved with pity: and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakest the matter for the poor, thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city, before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren, whereby the matter was brought

[¹ Sir Rowland Hill was Lord Mayor, A. D. 1549-50, and Sir Geo. Barnes, A. D. 1552-53. Maitland's *History of London*. Ed.]

to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city, by whom with an uniform consent it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, endued also with godliness and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city: and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of seely poor members of Christ, which else from extreme hunger and misery should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobbes², and those chosen men by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought; and that, so long through all ages as that godly work shall endure, which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, (the truth it is to be confessed to God's glory and to the good example of other,)* thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which, before thee, by thy predecessor was well begun, but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute^m thing, and a perfect spec^m complete. tacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up an house of occupations: both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst (not without great diligence and labour both of thee

[² Sir Richard Dobbs was Lord Mayor, A. D. 1551-52. He was very active in promoting the foundation of Christ's Hospital, also of those of Bethlehem, and St. Bartholomew, and Bridewell. These were all established by Royal Charter a few weeks before the death of the king. Maitland's *History of London*. Ed.]

His farewell to these mourners is in the letter next following. M. C.

and thy brethren,) of that godly king Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell; and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time; which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewell now, all ye citizens that be of God, of what state and condition soever you be! Undoubtedly, in London you have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, (as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable) that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist; whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places, where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of king Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore, (seeing my God hath given me leisure and the remembrance thereof,) I will bid my lords of the temporality farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it, that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already to the see of London. To you therefore, my lords of the temporality, will I speak: and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired. And therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God and Christian charity towards you, which moved me to write: for of you hereafter I look not, in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall

do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I displease you, you cannot hurt or harm me, for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God and to do you good, hearken to what I say.

I say unto you, as St Paul saith unto the Galatians, I wonder (my lords) what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist, from Christ's gospel unto men's traditions, from the Lord that bought you unto the bishop now of Rome. Gal. iii.

I warn you of your peril; be not deceived; except you will be found willingly consenters to your own death. For if ye think thus—We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame: my lords, this is true (I grant you) that both the false teacher, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet nevertheless shall that subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but (he saith) both shall fall in the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews, trow ye, which forsook Christ and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate, their governor and the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny did without cause put him to death.) Forsooth no, my lords, no: for notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent's blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly whip—ye are witty, and understand what I mean¹. Therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ, to his adversary the bishop of Rome. Ezek. iii. Luke vi.

[¹ There seems here to be some allusion to contemporaneous transactions, the meaning of which is now lost. Ed.]

And lest, my lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak it in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail: therefore, that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that "I speak the words of truth and of sobriety" (as St Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place.

Acts xxvi.

For I ensure your lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak), I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly; which therefore justly may be called *Apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the Apostles, and also that church and congregation of Christians an apostolic church, yea and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the Apostles themselves.

If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred of years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of years I will not be too bold: but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules, which that see received of the Apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the Apostles of Christ, and Christ of God; so long (I say) that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof Apostolicus, or a true disciple and successor of the Apostles, and a minister of Christ. But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the Apostles at the beginning; and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons and rules, than ever it received of the Apostles, or the Apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day and hath continued so doing (alas, alas!) of too too long a time

—since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed in truth, it ought, of duty and of right, to have the names changed, both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my lords: it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishop thereof were called Apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's Apostles, was called apostolic; so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his Apostles, that see and the bishop thereof at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

The see is the seat of Satan; and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St John calleth in his Revelation Babylon, ^{Apoc. xvii.} or the whore of Babylon, and spiritually Sodoma and Egyptus, ^{Apoc. xi.} the mother of fornications and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore doth spiritually mellⁿ, and ^{* meddle.} lieth with her and committeth most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for example sake) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing, and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to God's word and the Apostles' doctrine, whereof in particularity I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light,) it shall appear I trust by God's grace plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore

Apoc. xvii. of Babylon and the beast whereupon she doth sit main-
 Daniel vii. taineth at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with
 spoil and banishment (according to Daniel's prophecy), and
 finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of
 ungodliness—are as clean contrary to God's word as dark-
 ness is unto light, or light to darkness, white to black, or
 black to white, or as Belial unto Christ, or Christ unto
 antichrist himself.

I know, my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that
 so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before
 endued with the Spirit of grace and the light of God's word,
 so many (I say) would at these my words lordlike stamp and
 spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience,
 and be still; and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind
 was none other but in God (as the living God doth bear me
 witness,) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise,
 as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your
 knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and
 protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living
 Lord, which is (as St John saith) the greatest of all; and then
 I shall not need (I trow) to fear what any lord, no nor what
 king or prince, can do unto me.

My lords, if in times past ye have been contented to
 hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in
 the pulpit, and in the parliament house, and have not seemed
 to have despised what I have said; when as else, if ye had
 perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected in my
 talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly
 gain or fear of displeasure: how hath then your lordships
 more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently,
 seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case,
 appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to
 come before the eternal Judge,) otherwise but that I only
 study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which
 I am persuaded assuredly by God's word shall and doth please
 him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear
 and believe what I do say! And I do say even that I have
 said heretofore, both of the see of Rome, and of the bishop
 thereof—I mean after this their present state at this day.
 Wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true

preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo*
Domini, Except ye do repent betime, it shall turn to your
 confusion and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not
 what I say, my lords, for God's sake forget not, "but re-^{Psalm iv.}
 member it upon your bed." For I tell you moreover, as I
 know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speak-
 ing thus, to the eternal Judge, who will judge nothing amiss,
 so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing; and you
 shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not
 obeying to the truth.

Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is
 now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have
 thought of late, but your lordships had been persuaded indeed
 sufficiently, or else that ye could ever have agreed so uni-
 formly with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation
 of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a
 matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is
 it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy saith now, and
 so say the pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the
 catholic church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation?
 Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two
 last kings, Henry VIII. and Edward his son, altered the
 nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same
 nature and danger before God then as it is now, and be now
 (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth
 in English to the curates of the diocese of York,) indeed a
 matter of necessity to salvation, how then chanced it that
 ye were all, O my lords, so light and so little passed upon^o
 the catholic faith and the unity thereof (without the which^o
 no man can be saved), as for your princes' pleasures, which^o
 were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic
 faith, that is, to forsake Christ and his holy gospel? And
 furthermore, if it were both then and now so necessary to
 salvation, how chanced it also, that ye, all the whole body
 of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and
 expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your
 own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be
 taken of both the spirituality and temporalty, whosoever
 should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the
 commonwealth? But on the other side, if that law and

deeree, which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ a thing of necessity required unto salvation, be an anti-christian law (as it is indeed), and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting forth of the power of that beast of Babylon by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared unto God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be), then, my lords, never think other but the day shall come, when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in "judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law."

Jer. iv.

The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunk with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *a poena et culpa*), that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my lords, (I give your lordships warning in time, repent if ye be happy, and love your own soul's health, repent, I say, or else without all doubt ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord for the guilt of your perjury and the breach of your oath;) as ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and on the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth. Amen.

LETTER XXXIII. (COVERDALE.)

Another Farewell, to the Prisoners in Christ's Gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own country, choosing rather to leave all worldly commodity, than their master Christ.

FAREWELL, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ; both ye my fellow-prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity than the gospel of Christ.

Farewell, all ye together in Christ, farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such after trial, ye know, shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved: let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious and honourable. "For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content." Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps: for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth; when he was railed upon, and also reviled, he railed not again; when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour

Matt. v. Christ: "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you." Therefore let us always bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our master hath told us beforehand, "that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true Apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake; but he that shall abide patiently unto the end shall be saved." Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented therewith; for he suffered being our Master and Lord, how doth it not then become us to suffer? "For the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. "If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call so them of his household? Fear them not then," saith our Saviour, "for all privities shall be made plain: there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light."

Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our master commandeth us, saying, "That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill: but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire." Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect towards you, and a fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. "For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our

Luke xxi.

Luke vi.

Matt. x.

Matt. x.

head are numbered, fear not then," saith our master Christ, "for ye are more worth than many small sparrows." And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be; remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven."

Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide them from the world, and to join them unto himself; in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross, he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again and enjoy them for evermore; but if in his cause we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death.

What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant? yet we know that they shall not last in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye; and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of ^{2 Cor. iv.} death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. "Wonder not," saith St Peter, "as ^{1 Pet. iv.} though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire (he meaneth, of tribulation), which thing, saith he, is done to prove you. Nay rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions, rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified. Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause: for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God; and if it begin first at us, what shall be

the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well-doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker."

This (as I said) may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the Apostles had unto their master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt (by their faith) to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore, for these causes (I say) the Apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits, which he numbereth to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that that the carnal man loathed so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; "he will glory (he saith), in nothing else but in Christ's cross:" yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walketh after that rule and after none other.

1 Cor. ii.

2 Cor. xi.

O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there that he in Christ's cause did excel and pass them all,—what a wonderful spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings, his scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him! O Lord, is this Paul's pri-

macy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel other? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy, his own scholar, and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers?—"Bear thou, (saith he) the afflictions like ^{2 Tim. ii.} a good soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: if we die with him, (he meaneth Christ,) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself." This Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven, but Christ and his way, and "all that will live godly in Christ, shall ^{2 Tim. iii.} (saith St Paul) suffer persecution." By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his Apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning.

And as it hath been of old, "that he which was born ^{Gal. iv.} after the flesh persecuted him which was born after the spirit," for so it was in Isaac's time; so, said St Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, the self-same man (I mean) that is endued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of other, St Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, deaths, and torments, which the men of God in God's cause and for the truth's sake willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, "Others were ^{Heb. xi.} racked, and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection; other again were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheeps' pilches^a, in goats' pilches, forsaken, ^{a skins, Lat. pellis.} oppressed, afflicted, (such godly men as the world was unworthy of,) wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith." And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain as they were for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our master Christ in the

air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and in soul for evermore.

Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so sure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie, let us throw away whatsoever might let^b us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let "us run for the best game in this race that is set before us; ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the ringleader, captain, and prefecter of our faith; which, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, not passing upon^c the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin."

"Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise that speaketh unto us, as unto his children; the godly wisdom of God, saying thus, My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall not from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, whereas we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual father, that we might live? And they for a little time taught us after their own mind; but this father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant, but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen, or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping or halting bring us out of the way." Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes

of our faith let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather, in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's cross, than for this short lifetime to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world.

Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay, forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the ² Cor. v. which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, "that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, ² Cor. v. were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, &c., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home or absent abroad, that we may always please him."

And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above that that man's heart can either conceive or think, (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally,) and also that he is given us of the Father, "and ¹ Cor. i. made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption;"—who (I say) is he, that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted ^{Phil. i.} it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." To ^{Luke xxiii.} die in the defence of Christ's Gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, "for he ^{Rom. ix.}

^a hinder.

Heb. xii.

^c regarding.

Heb. xii.

died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord over all."

1 John iii. And seeing he died for us, "we also (saith St John) should jeopard, yea give, our life for our brethren." And this kind of giving and losing is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. "Blessed are they therefore, that die in the Lord;" and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all.

Apoc. xiv. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; for that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St John saith, "He that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." And John xi. "He shall depart from death unto life." John v. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and resolution; and both Peter and Paul, a putting off of this tabernacle or dwell-house, meaning thereby the mortal body, as where-in the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this death may be called, to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, "we must pass through many tribulations, before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven." And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can, and after that they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor "Lazarus, that lay at the rich man's gate"? his former penury and poverty, his miserable beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

Luke xvi. Farewell, dear brethren, farewell! and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God: for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse here wandering in this world, as in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction!

Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God, here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost! Farewell.

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastor Luke xii. Christ! for to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell.

Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won^d spouse! Farewell, farewell! ^{d purchased.}

N. R.

LETTER XXXIV. (COVERDALE.)

To the Queen's Majesty¹.

It may please your majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience, (and now not for myself, but for other poor men,) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this mine humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time while I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenancies and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their hold, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same. Now I hear say, that the bishop which occupieth the same room now will not allow the aforesaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore, this is mine

[¹ On the day previous to his martyrdom, after he had been degraded by bishop Brookes, Ridley read this letter to the bishop, and requested him to forward the petition contained in it. This was refused, and Ridley then delivered it to his brother to be presented to the Queen: it was dated for the day following. Ed.]

Behold the cruel and unjust dealing of Bonner. He cannot deal justly and truly with men, which is untrue to God and a hater of all truth. M.C.

humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the aforesaid poor men their gracious patron and defender, either that they may enjoy their aforesaid leases and years renewed, (as, when their matter shall be heard with conscience, I suppose, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require; for that their leases shall be found, I trust, made without fraud or coven^a, either of their part or of mine; and also the old rents always reserved to the see, without any kind of damage thereof;) or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and may have rendered to them again such sums of money, as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years so now taken from them; which thing, concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house to be given unto them. I suppose that half of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received; the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore (if that way shall please your highness,) they must be known by such ways and means as your majesty by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience shall appoint. But yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place. I have also a poor sister, that came to me out of the north with three fatherless children for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered: and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him which suffered indurance^b at my entrance to the see of London, one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almost half-a-year after his deposition, afore I did enter in that place; yea, and also if any were left known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe; and his officers do know, that I paid for the lead which I found there when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church

^a Collusion.

^b If to succour the widows and fatherless is pure and undefiled religion, as St James saith: then is Bonner and his religion filthy and abominable which doth such wrong to the widow and fatherless. M.C.

^c Hardship.

or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his moveable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Master Staunton, can testify,) I paid for him, towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three *li.* or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters, I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and especially the archbishop now of York¹; which, for that he was continually in my house a year and more before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief now unto your highness I make most humble suit.

The 16th day of October, 1555.

N. R.

[¹ Dr Heath. Ed.]

Notwithstanding these godly and just requests no justice could be had until that now of late some of these shameful injuries by order of law have been redressed. M.C.