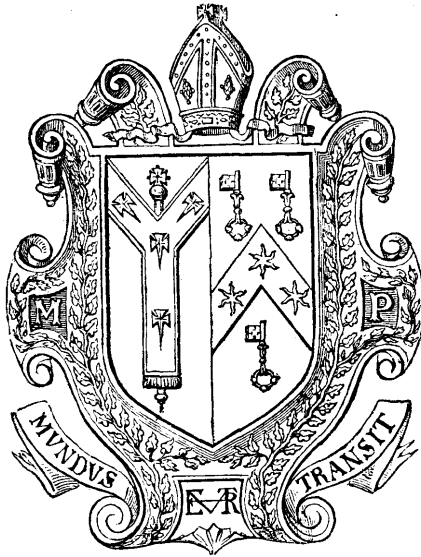


THE  
ZURICH LETTERS.

A. D. 1558—1579.

**The Parker Society.**

**Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.**



**For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers  
and Early Writers of the Reformed  
English Church.**

THE  
ZURICH LETTERS,

COMPRISING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SEVERAL ENGLISH BISHOPS  
AND OTHERS,

WITH SOME OF

THE HELVETIAN REFORMERS,

DURING THE EARLY PART OF

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

---

TRANSLATED FROM AUTHENTICATED COPIES OF THE AUTOGRAPHS  
PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES OF ZURICH,

AND EDITED FOR

**The Parker Society,**

BY THE

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## INTRODUCTION.

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ON the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England, A. D. 1553, she proceeded with much severity against the favourers of the Reformation; of whom upwards of a thousand persons, according to bishop Burnet<sup>1</sup>, sought refuge among the protestant churches on the continent. Many of them settled at Zurich, where "they were entertained both by the magistrates<sup>2</sup> and the ministers, Bullinger, Gualter, Weidner, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, and all the rest of that body, with a tenderness and affection that engaged them to the end of their lives to make the greatest acknowledgments possible for it." After their return home, upon queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, A. D. 1558, they maintained a close correspondence with their late hosts; and their letters, together with those of Bullinger, have long been regarded among the principal objects of interest in the Zurich archives.

Copies of these letters, or at least of a portion of them, were obtained by Bishop Burnet and Strype; both of whom have made frequent reference to them in their respective works. A few of the letters, chiefly those of Jewel, are printed, though very inaccurately, in the Historical Records appended to Burnet, who has also introduced occasional abstracts into the body of his history. The like may be said of Strype,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Reformation, vol. II. p. 388. The names of five bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and fifty-seven doctors in divinity and preachers, are given by Strype, Life of Cranmer, I. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, as above, III. 408. Strype adds, that the magistrates offered, by Bullinger, to supply the exiles with such a quantity of bread-corn and wine, as should serve to sustain thirteen or fourteen people; but they with thanks refused it. Cranmer, I. 509.

though to a far less extent; so that the collection, as a whole, may be considered as being now for the first time presented to the public.

An account of the original autographs is given by Burnet<sup>1</sup>, who saw them as he passed through Zurich, A. D. 1685. He says, "Among the archives of the dean and chapter there is a vast collection of letters written either to Bullinger or by him: they are bound up, and make a great many volumes in folio; and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the history of the Reformation. For as Bullinger lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our English exiles in queen Mary's reign; in particular to Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York, to Horn, afterwards bishop of Winchester, and to Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. He gave them lodgings in the close, and used them with all possible kindness: and as they presented some silver cups<sup>2</sup> to the college with an inscription acknowledging the kind reception they had found there, which I saw; so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with Bullinger after the happy establishment of the Reformation under queen Elizabeth; of which I read almost a whole volume while I was there."

A large portion of the letters here referred to are now before the reader, namely, those written during a period of about twenty-one years from the accession of queen Elizabeth. To them is added a letter of later date, written in 1590, by that monarch to the thirteen Swiss Cantons; as are also a few letters from Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Gualter, in reply to some of those of our own reformers above mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> See, *Some Letters, containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in travelling through Switzerland, &c.*, by G. Burnet, D.D. to the Hon. R[obert] B[oyle]. 8vo. Lond. 1724. p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 135.

These last contain the sentiments of these eminent divines upon the questions by which the Church of England was agitated at that period.

The copies from which the present collection is printed and the translation made, were procured from Zurich, for his own use, by the Rev. John Hunter, of Bath; who, on hearing of the formation of the Parker Society, with unsolicited kindness and liberality immediately placed them at its disposal. The accuracy of their collation with the original autographs is attested by M. de Meyer de Knonau, the keeper of the archives, to whose courtesy the Editor is considerably indebted for much valuable information respecting the letters in question. In a letter, written Nov. 28, 1841, he thus describes their present condition: "You have expressed a desire to know in what volumes the letters of your countrymen are to be found. The greater portion of them is in the archives of the state of Zurich, and the remainder in the library of that city<sup>1</sup>. The volumes in the archives which contain these letters are all bound in parchment, the margin not at all cut off, the leaves being filled throughout. On this account it is necessary to handle them with the greatest delicacy. They are numbered as follows, Class V. i. Nos. 108, 109, 113, 114, 164. The last number has for its title, "English Letters from the Reformation to the 17th century." The letters in the city library are dispersed through nine volumes, numbered, 38, 39, 42, 46, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, and are in the manuscript class F. They are also bound in parchment, as the volumes in the archives, to which they bear a great resemblance. Almost all these letters are original, and with the exception of those of Richard Cox, F. Bedford, and the duke of Norfolk, who have only added their

<sup>3</sup> M. de Meyer de Knonau here refers to the whole of the Letters, including those written before the accession of Queen Elizabeth, as well as those contained in the present volume.

signatures, are in the handwriting of their respective authors. That of queen Elizabeth is only a copy<sup>1</sup>."

M. de Meyer de Knonau has kindly favoured the Society with accurate fac-similes of the signatures, copies of which will be found in a subsequent part of this volume, and are presented to the reader, not only as being interesting in themselves, but also as affording additional evidence, if any were needful, of the authenticity of the documents from whence they have been taken. These fac-similes include some names which are not found among the letters of the present series; but as many of them are common to these letters and to another series, which will also form a volume of the publications of the Parker Society, it has appeared desirable to present the whole at one view.

With respect to the translation, it has been the object of the Editor to make it as plain and literal as the difference of idiom will admit, and thereby to convey to the mind of the reader the very thoughts and modes of expression intended by the respective writers. How far he has succeeded in this endeavour, the classical reader will be enabled to judge for himself; and he may be encouraged to make the

<sup>1</sup> Vous avez exprimé le désir de savoir dans quels volumes se trouvent les lettres de vos compatriotes. La plus grande partie en est dans les Archives de l'état de Zurich, et les autres à la bibliothèque de la ville. Aux archives les volumes qui les contiennent sont tous reliés en parchemin, et la marge n'en est point du tout rognée, les feuilles étant remplies jusqu'au bout. Par cette même raison, il faut les traiter avec la plus grande délicatesse. Ils sont numérotés de la manière suivante. Repository, V. 1. N. 108, 109, 113, 114, 164. Le dernier numéros a pour titre, *Anglicanae epistolæ, a reformatione usque ad seculum decimum septimum*. Les lettres à la Bibliothèque de la ville sont dispersées en neuf volumes, portant les numéros, 38, 39, 42, 46, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, et se trouvent dans le repository des manuscrits F. Ils sont reliés en parchemin comme les volumes aux Archives, auxquels ils ressemblent principalement. Presque toutes ces lettres sont originaires, et écrits des auteurs eux-mêmes, sauf celles de Richard Cox, F. Bedford, et du duc de Suffolk, qui n'ont fait que les signer. La lettre de la reine Elizabeth n'est qu'une copie.

trial, by the assurance, that the elegance of the Latinity will for the most part amply reward him for the labour of comparison<sup>2</sup>. The letters are printed in the order of their dates, which obviously appeared to be the most desirable arrangement for such documents, written as they are, almost exclusively, upon the public affairs of the period.

The notes, it should be observed, are added, not with the design of entering into any lengthened details of the circumstances referred to in the text, but simply by way of illustration and confirmation of the facts there recorded. To have aimed at less than this would have left the book unintelligible to a large portion of its readers; and to have endeavoured more, would have been inconsistent with the simple plan and objects of the Society under whose auspices it is published.

The edition of Strype, referred to in the notes, is that of Oxford, 1822, &c. That of Burnet, is the edition of Dr Nares, London, 1839.

H. R.

<sup>2</sup> For the inelegancies and inaccuracies in the letters of Richard Hilles, which form the chief exception to this remark, his own apology must be accepted, as given at the beginning of Letter LXXXIV.

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## CORRIGENDA.

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The reader is requested to correct the following passages in the translation, which will be found to vary from the original Latin, owing to some difficulty which arose as to a few words of the manuscript copy, which could not be finally cleared till these pages had been printed off.

- Page 119, line 4, *for* "He sent me, &c." *read* "He has come over to us from France, because he perceived that his studies there were interrupted by those disturbances to which he had heretofore been unaccustomed."
- 122, 15, *after* "the forger," *insert* "but not the subduer."  
133, 12, *after* "rushes down," *insert* "from the Aar."  
147, 5, *for* "to say nothing of," *read* "shall I call them? or."  
156, 12, 14, *for* "Camocensis," *read* "Camotensis."  
157, 5, from the bottom, *after* "we deny that," *add* "our propriety is to be borrowed from the enemies, &c."  
190, 18, *after* "but," *insert* "if not, I."  
231, 29, *for* "so to speak," *read* "to speak astronomically."
- 

In a few places the precise meaning is left uncertain by the want of regular punctuation in the originals, and the autographs shew that the writing is not always easily decyphered.

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## LETTER I.

THOMAS SAMPSON TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *December 17*, [1558.]<sup>1</sup>

I ENTREAT you for Christ's sake, my excellent father, not to refuse me an answer to these few inquiries, as soon as possible.

I. How ought we to act with respect to allowing or disallowing the title of "after Christ supreme head of the Church of England," &c.? All scripture seems to assign the title of head of the church to Christ alone.

II. In case the queen should invite me to any ecclesiastical office, such, I mean, as the government of a church, can I accept such appointment with a safe conscience, seeing that these things appear to me a sufficient excuse for non-compliance? 1. Because, through the want of church discipline, the bishop, or pastor, is unable properly to discharge his office. 2. Because there are so many civil burdens imposed upon the bishop, or pastor; those, for instance, of *first fruits*, as we call them, that is to say, the receipts of the first year, besides tenths; in addition to which, at least in the case of bishops, so much expence must always be incurred for their equipages, retainers, and attendance at court: so that, as you well know, a very small portion of their revenue is left for the discharge of the necessary duties of a bishop, namely, for the support of learned men, the relief of the poor, and other occasions of making his ministry more acceptable. 3. I am now writing with reference to the bishops more especially; and such is the degeneracy from the primitive institution, as regards their election, (for there is required neither the consent of the clergy, nor of the people;) such too is the vanity, not to say the unseemliness of their superstitious dresses, that I scarcely think it endurable, even if we are to act in all things according to the law of expediency.

[<sup>1</sup> The letters are arranged in chronological order, according to their dates, or the time at which they appear to have been written.]

As far as I am personally concerned, I am not writing as if I were expecting any thing of the kind ; so far from it, that I pray God from my heart that no such burden may ever be imposed upon me : but I ask your advice, as that of a most faithful father, that in case of any such event taking place, I may be the better prepared how to act. I should reply somewhat in this way, that I am quite ready to undertake the office of a preacher, in whatever place she [the queen] may choose ; but that I cannot take upon myself the government of the church, until, after having made an entire reformation in all ecclesiastical functions, she will concede to the clergy the right of ordering all things according to the word of God, both as regards doctrine and discipline, and the property of the church. And if it be demanded what kind of a reformation I wish for, you can easily conjecture, from the three articles above stated, what, in my opinion, ought to be required.

I deposit, my father, with all simplicity, with yourself alone, the secrets of my heart ; and I entreat you, for Christ's sake, to keep my secret to yourself, and return me an answer as soon as possible, as to what you think I ought to do in this case. Tell me also, what you would urge in addition for the furtherance of the reformation, and something too upon the reformation itself.

Send your letter to Eaton<sup>1</sup>, who will take care it shall be forwarded to me. But I implore you, for Christ's sake, to write to me with what haste you can. I shall shortly move towards England. We have papists, anabaptists, and very many gossellers, who are enemies both to learning and a godly reformation. Who is sufficient to defend the glory of Christ, and raise the banner of Christ against such adversaries ?

Oh ! my father, pray God for me without ceasing.

Wholly yours,

T. SAMPSON.

[<sup>1</sup> Or Heton. See p. 9.]

## LETTER II.

EDWIN SANDYS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *December 20, 1558.*

MUCH health in Christ. I am rather dilatory in writing to you, most esteemed sir; but it is only just now that I have any thing certain to communicate.

We yesterday received a letter from England, in which the death of Mary<sup>2</sup>, the accession of Elizabeth, and the decease of cardinal Pole is confirmed. That good cardinal, that he might not raise any disturbance, or impede the progress of the gospel, departed this life the day<sup>3</sup> after his friend [queen] Mary. Such was the love and harmony between them, that not even death itself could separate them. We have nothing therefore to fear from Pole, for *dead men do not bite.*

Mary, not long before her death, sent two members of her council to her sister Elizabeth, and commanded them to let her know in the first place, that it was her intention to bequeath to her the royal crown, together with all the dignity that she was then in possession of by right of inheritance. In return however for this great favour conferred upon her, she required of her these three things: first, that she would not change her privy council; secondly, that she would make no alteration in religion; and thirdly, that she would discharge her debts, and satisfy her creditors. Elizabeth replied in these terms: "I am very sorry to hear of the queen's illness; but there is no reason why I should thank her for her intention to give me the crown of this kingdom. For she has neither the power of

[<sup>2</sup> Queen Mary died on the morning of Friday, Nov. 17, 1558. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 118.]

[<sup>3</sup> i. e. Nov. 18, 1558, about sixteen hours after the death of queen Mary, according to Hume's account; to which Strype adds, that his death took place at Lambeth between five and six o'clock in the morning. Memor. III. ii. 118. He states however, in another place, Annals, I. i. 52, that he died on the 17th.]

bestowing it upon me, nor can I lawfully be deprived of it, since it is my peculiar and hereditary right. With respect to the council, I think myself," she said, "as much at liberty to choose my counsellors, as she was to choose her own. As to religion, I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion. And when, lastly, she requires the payment of her debts, she seems to me to require nothing more than what is just, and I will take care that they shall be paid, as far as may lie in my power." The messengers were dismissed with this answer.

Queen Elizabeth, on the Sunday<sup>1</sup> after her accession, caused the gospel to be preached at the celebrated Paul's Cross, which took place to the great delight of the people. But on the following Sunday the bishop of Chichester, by name Christopher-son, (the same who some time ago called at your house on his way to Italy,) and a notorious papist<sup>2</sup>, occupied the same place, and in his sermon, with great vehemence and freedom, (for the papists are always bold enough,) refuted every thing that had been said on the Sunday preceding; loudly exclaiming, "Believe not this new doctrine; it is not the gospel, but a new invention of new men and heretics, &c." In this way the good papist strove to confirm his own opinions, and to take away the truth of the gospel. As soon as this came to the ears of the queen, she caused this good bishop to be summoned into her presence; and after he had been examined respecting his sermon, commanded him to be sent to prison.

The queen has changed almost all her counsellors<sup>3</sup>, and has taken good Christians into her service in the room of pa-

[<sup>1</sup> Viz. on the 20th of November. The preacher was Dr Bill, her chaplain and almoner, a prudent and learned man. Strype, Memor. iii. ii. 118. Annals, i. i. 50. He was afterwards dean of Westminster, and provost of Eton.]

[<sup>2</sup> He was an examiner of heretics in the late reign, and in a commission for burning the bodies of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, where he was master of Trinity College. He died within a month after this sermon was preached, and was buried on Dec. 28, at Christ-church, London, with all the popish ceremonies. See Strype, Annals, i. i. 46.]

[<sup>3</sup> The queen's [Mary's] counsellors towards the latter end of her reign were those that follow; whereof, says Strype, Memor. iii. ii. 160, those that have asterisks were laid aside the next reign, as I took them

pists<sup>4</sup>; and there is great hope of her promoting the gospel, and advancing the kingdom of Christ to the utmost of her power. That she may do this, God must be entreated by all religious persons. Philip<sup>5</sup> has sent over to her a splendid and magnificent embassy; but we know not what he means by it. If, however, he is thinking about what your prudent fears anticipated, he will lose his labour, and get nothing by it.

[Sir Thomas] Wroth, [Sir Antony] Cook, and other persons of distinction, have begun their journey this day; I, with God's blessing, shall follow them to-morrow. As soon as I arrive in England, I will take care to let you know the state of

out of a journal of the Lord Burleigh's; the rest continued privy counsellors to queen Elizabeth, viz.

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| * Reginald, Cardinal Pole.                          | * Sir Thomas Cornwallays.        |
| * Nicholas, Archbishop of York,<br>Lord Chancellor. | * Sir Francis Englefield.        |
| Powlet, Marquis of Winchester,<br>Lord Treasurer.   | * Sir Edward Waldgrave.          |
| Fitzallen, Earl of Arundel.                         | * Sir John Mordaunt.             |
| Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.                         | Sir Thomas Cheyney.              |
| * Henry, Earl of Bath.                              | Sir William Petre.               |
| Stanley, Earl of Derby.                             | Sir John Mason.                  |
| Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.                          | Sir Richard Sackvil.             |
| Edward, Lord Clinton, Lord Ad-<br>miral.            | * Sir Thomas Warton.             |
| Lord Howard of Effingham.                           | * Sir John Brown.                |
| * Brown, Viscount Montague.                         | * Dr Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. |
| * Thirlby, Bishop of Ely.                           | * Dr Boxal.                      |
| * William, Lord Paget.                              | * Sir Henry Jernegam.            |
| * Lord Wentworth.                                   | * Sir Henry Beddingfield.        |
| * Richard, Lord Ryche.                              | * Sir Edmund Peckham.            |
| * Edward, Lord Hastings of Lough-<br>borough.       | * Sir Robert Peckham.            |
|   | * Sir William Cordell.           |
|   | * Sir Clement Higham.            |
|   | * Sir Richard Southwel.          |

[<sup>4</sup> Hume states that the queen [Elizabeth], not to alarm the partisans of the Roman Catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the Protestant Communion; the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created Lord Keeper, and Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State.]

[<sup>5</sup> Philip, who had long foreseen this event, [the queen's accession], and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the Duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen. Hume.]

affairs there. In the mean time, entreat God in behalf of the Church of England, and of us, miserable ministers of the word, upon whom a heavy and difficult burden is imposed. We in our turn will earnestly pray to God in behalf both of your church and yourselves. It is now midnight, and I am to quit this place early to-morrow morning; wherefore, most esteemed sir, I bid you farewell. In haste. Strasburgh, Dec. 20th, or if you choose, the 21st, 1558.

Your most devoted,

EDWIN SANDYS, *Anglus.*

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### LETTER III.

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JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *January 26*, [1559.]

RESPECTING my first setting out, and all the news which was then circulated at Basle, I wrote to you by our friend Simler. So wretchedly were we delayed by the badness of the roads, that it was with some difficulty that, on the fifth day after, we arrived at Strasburgh. Here we found all our friends in good health, and very anxious for your company. We have not yet heard what Sandys, Horn, and our other friends have been doing in England. Nor indeed is it to be wondered at; for, having left<sup>1</sup> Strasburgh on the 21st of December, they would hardly be able to reach Antwerp in twenty days after, because the Rhine being frozen over would prevent their travelling by water. All we hear is, that their return was very acceptable to the queen, and that she has openly declared her satisfaction.

If the bishops go on as they have begun, bishopricks will shortly become very cheap. For Christopherson<sup>2</sup>, that brawling bishop of Chichester, is certainly dead; the same is also re-

[<sup>1</sup> See the preceding letter.]

[<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 4.]

ported of Watson<sup>3</sup>, bishop of Lincoln; which if it be true, there are at this time no less than fourteen sees vacant. Your *friend* White, as I wrote to you when I was at Basle, delivered a most furious and turbulent<sup>4</sup> discourse at the funeral of [queen] Mary, in which he declared, that every thing was to be attempted, rather than that any alteration should be made in religion; and that it would be a meritorious act for any one to kill the exiles on their return. He was charged with sedition by the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, and Heath, archbishop of York.

The bishop of London has been ordered to restore to Ridley's<sup>5</sup> executors the property which he had forcibly and injuriously taken possession of. He will shortly be called upon for his defence; and is in the mean time ordered to confine himself to his own house as a prisoner.

The queen has forbidden any person, whether papist or gospeller, to preach<sup>6</sup> to the people. Some think the reason of this to be, that there was at that time only one minister of the word in London, namely, Bentham<sup>7</sup>, whereas the number of papists was very considerable; others think that it is owing to

[<sup>3</sup> He had the ague, but recovered, and was afterwards deprived. Strype, Annals, i. i. 139. 210.]

[<sup>4</sup> This sermon was preached Dec. 13, and the preacher was confined to his own house till Jan. 19, when being summoned before the Lords of the Council, "after a good admonition given to him," he was set at liberty. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 140, 536, where the whole sermon is preserved. The text was from Eccles. iv. 2.]

[<sup>5</sup> December ult., the council wrote to Sir John Mason and Sir Clement Throgmorton, to examine diligently a complaint made to the queen's highness by certain near kinsmen of Dr Ridley, late bishop of London, for divers parcels of his goods, that came into the hands of the bishop of London that now is, [viz. Bonner,] and to signify to them what they should find out therein. Strype, Annals, i. i. 47.]

[<sup>6</sup> The proclamation was sent to the Lord Mayor for the inhibition of preaching, Dec. 28. Strype, Annals, i. i. 59, who gives it at length in the appendix.]

[<sup>7</sup> It is not to be passed over without remark, that there was a congregation of godly men at London, in the very mouth of danger, who met together for religious worship all the queen's [Mary's] reign. Among their ministers were Edmund Scambler, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, and Thomas Bentham, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 147.]

the circumstance that, having heard only one public discourse of Bentham's, the people began to dispute among themselves about ceremonies, some declaring for Geneva, and some for Frankfort<sup>1</sup>. Whatever it be, I only wish that our party may not act with too much worldly prudence and policy in the cause of God.

Many persons are of opinion that [Sir Antony] Cook will be the Lord Chancellor: he is, as you know, a worthy and pious man, but I think hardly qualified for that office. The bishop of Ely [Thirlby] is still remaining with Philip, while some arrangement is making, if it please God, about this famous peace<sup>2</sup>, which, of what nature, or how firm or lasting it may be, God only can determine.

The lady Isabella will, I hope, be invited into England. For I perceive others also of our party seriously thinking upon that matter. Zanchius<sup>3</sup> too will write to the queen: he was on the point of writing to the whole parliament, if I had not dissuaded him; for it seemed to me quite out of place. The boy Cranmer was left with Abel at Strasburgh, to be delivered into my care. I borrowed from Abel some crowns in the youth's name. I wish Julius would forward to him at Strasburgh the portmanteau, and the money which I left in your keeping. He will give you a receipt for it, which he will either deposit with Zanchius, or, if you choose, send onwards to yourself. Farewell, my most beloved father, and my soul's better half. I will not write *all* the news to you; for I had occasion to write somewhat to master Bullinger, a man to whom I owe

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of the disputes among the English exiles at Frankfort, see Strype, Memor. iii. i. 404, &c. and Annals, i. i. 151, &c.

[<sup>2</sup> Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Dr Wotton, dean of Canterbury, were queen Mary's commissioners to treat with France about the restoration of Calais, and for making peace. To them queen Elizabeth sent a new commission, and in January 1558 [1559], by her council, writ to them to proceed according to that commission. The peace was concluded in the beginning of April between the queen, and the French, and Scots. Strype, Annals, i. i. 37.]

[<sup>3</sup> He was public professor at Strasburgh, and afterwards at Heidelberg, whence, in 1571, he wrote a letter to the queen on behalf of the puritan ministers, and, as he said, by command of the most noble prince, one of her majesty's most special friends, the prince elector Palatine. Strype, Annals, ii. i. 142.]

every thing for his exceeding kindness to me. But this, whatever it was, he will, I doubt not, communicate to you.

Masters Heton, Abel, Springham, and Parkhurst, salute you very much ; and though they desire for you all possible good, they desire for you at present nothing more than England. Salute in my name Muralt, Herman, Julius, his wife, and all our mutual friends. Master Fr. Beti and Acontius are now at Strasburgh. They both salute you much. I have returned to Beti the letter of the lady Isabella. I pray you let her know this.

Strasburgh, 26.

Januar.

JOHN JEWEL,

Yours from my heart,

And for ever.

## LETTER IV.

JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *March 20, 1559.*

MUCH health. We have at length arrived in England, that is to say, on the fifty seventh day after our leaving Zurich. But why should I enter into a long preamble, to you especially, who rather wish for facts, and set but little value upon these tedious narrations? It was, however, a wearisome life, when both water, and earth, and the very heavens themselves seemed angry with us, and in every possible way opposed our progress. What else? Every thing turned out most disagreeable and adverse to us, throughout the whole time. But I informed both you and Bullinger of these things more fully in a former letter, while I was delayed at Antwerp. You shall now hear the sequel; although, to say the truth, there is need of some art and flowers of rhetoric; not so much for adorning and embellishing any new intelligence, (which I know not whether

I have at this time any to communicate,) as for the purpose of retouching my old narrative over again. For almost every thing that I wrote to you about when on my journey, was at that time very different, and far more pleasant in the hearing, than I afterwards found it to be in reality on my return home. For the Roman pontiff was not yet cast out; no part of religion was yet restored; the country was still every where desecrated with the mass; the pomp and insolence of the bishops was unabated. All these things, however, are at length beginning to shake, and almost to fall.

The bishops' are a great hindrance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the upper house, and having none there on our side to expose their artifices and confute their falsehoods, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and weak men, and easily overreach our little party, either by their numbers, or their reputation for learning. The queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations: this is owing partly to her own friends, by whose advice every thing is carried on, and partly to the influence of Count Feria<sup>2</sup>, a Spaniard, and Philip's ambassador. She is however prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish. And though the beginnings have hitherto seemed somewhat unfavourable, there is nevertheless reason to hope that all will be well at last. In the mean time, that our bishops may have no ground of complaint that they are put down only by power and authority of law, a disputation is determined upon, wherein nine<sup>3</sup> on our side,

[<sup>1</sup> These were Heath, archbishop of York; Bonner, bishop of London; White, of Winchester; Pate, of Worcester; Kitchin, of Llandaff; Baine, of Coventry and Lichfield; Turberville, of Exeter; Scot, of Chester; and Oglethorp, of Carlisle; with Feckenham, Lord Abbot of Westminster. Strype, Annals, i. i. 82.]

[<sup>2</sup> He hated Elizabeth from the beginning of her reign, and stirred up pope Pius IV. to excommunicate her, and the king of Spain to be her enemy. Strype, Annals, i. ii. 53.]

[<sup>3</sup> Dr Cox in his letter to Weidner (Letter ix. below) mentions but *eight* disputants; as does also the account kept in the Paper office. The bishop of Carlisle on the papists' side, and Sandys on that of the protestants, are misadded, says Strype, to the aforesaid disputants, though probably they were present at the conference. Annals, i. i. 129.]

namely, Scory<sup>4</sup>, Cox, Whitehead<sup>5</sup>, Sandys, Grindal, Horn, Aylmer, a Cambridge man of the name of Gheast<sup>6</sup>, and myself, are to confer upon these matters before the council with five<sup>7</sup> bishops, the abbot of Westminster, Cole, Chedsey, and Harpsfield. Our first proposition is, that it is contrary to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church, to use in the public prayers and administration of the sacraments any other language than what is understood by the people. The second is, that every provincial church, even without the bidding of a general council, has power either to establish, or change, or abrogate ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, wherever it may seem to make for edification. The third is, that the propitiatory sacrifice, which the papists pretend to be in the mass, cannot be proved by the holy scriptures.

The first discussion is to take place on the 31st of March. The bishops in the mean time have been long mightily exulting, as though the victory were already achieved. When Froschover<sup>8</sup> comes over to this country, I will write you a more particular account of these matters. The queen regards you most highly : she made so much of your letter, that she read it over with the greatest eagerness a second and third time. I doubt not but that your book, when it arrives, will be yet more acceptable.

Two famous virtues, namely, ignorance and obstinacy, have wonderfully increased at Oxford since you left it : religion, and all hope of good learning and talent is altogether abandoned.

[<sup>4</sup> He had been chaplain to Cranmer and Ridley, and was bishop of Chichester in king Edward's reign. He afterwards became bishop of Hereford. Strype, Memor. ii. ii. 171.]

[<sup>5</sup> An exile for religion in queen Mary's time. He had been recommended by Cranmer for the see of Armagh. Strype, Memor. iii. i. 231.]

[<sup>6</sup> Edmund Gheast, or Guest, was consecrated bishop of Rochester, and afterwards translated to Salisbury. Strype, Parker, ii. 80.]

[<sup>7</sup> The *four* bishops, (see Note 3.) were White, Watson, Baine, and Scot, bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Coventry and Lichfield, and Chester ; and the Doctors Cole, dean of St Paul's ; *Langdale*, Harpsfield, and Chedsey, archdeacons of Lewes, Canterbury, and Middlesex. Strype, Annals, i. i. 129. The abbot of Westminster, Feckenham, appears hence to have taken no part in the conference.]

[<sup>8</sup> He was a printer at Zurich, and boarded twelve of the exiles in the reign of queen Mary. Among them were Laurence Humphrey, afterwards king's Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and bishop Parkhurst. Strype, Memor. iii. i. 232.]

Brooks<sup>1</sup>, bishop of Gloucester, a beast of most impure life, and yet more impure conscience, a short time before his death exclaimed in a most woeful manner, that he was now condemned by his own judgment. Your renowned [antagonist] Smith<sup>2</sup>, the patron of chastity, has been taken in adultery, and on that account is ordered to retire from the theological chair, by a new practice, and without a precedent, as the like was never done in Mary's time. Bruerne<sup>3</sup> too has been compelled, for a similar offence, only far more flagitious, to relinquish his professorship of Hebrew. I write nothing about Marshal<sup>4</sup>, for fear of defiling my paper. You have before heard respecting Weston<sup>5</sup>. But why, say you, do you make mention of such persons? Simply, that you may learn by what judges it was thought fit that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should be condemned.

I have no news to tell respecting the Scotch, whether about peace or war. I wrote you three letters during my journey, but know not whether they have reached you. But since we are so far distant, much farther indeed and for a much longer time than I could wish, our letters must sometimes be committed to the winds and to fortune.

Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master in Christ. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Lavater,

[<sup>1</sup> He had been the pope's subdelegate under cardinal Puteo in Cranmer's trial; and assisted also at that of Hoper. Strype, Cranmer, 532. &c. Memor. III. i. 286.]

[<sup>2</sup> Richard Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, had been deprived of his professorship before in 1547, and was succeeded by Peter Martyr, against whom he printed his book for the *Celibacy of Priests* and *Monastic Vows*. Strype, Memor. II. i. 63, &c.]

[<sup>3</sup> He was chosen provost of Eton without the queen's consent, and by her forced to resign in 1561. Strype, Parker, I. 205.]

[<sup>4</sup> Richard Marshal, dean of Christchurch, was a violent papist under queen Mary, and an enemy both to Jewel and Peter Martyr. He watched narrowly to have caught Jewel, when he fled from Oxford; and dug up the body of Peter Martyr's wife out of her grave in Christ's Church, where she had been some years buried, and cast it into his dunghill. Strype, Annals, I. II. 48, and Parker, I. 199. He was mentioned in a list of certain evil-disposed persons of whom complaint hath been made; which lurk so secretly, that process cannot be served upon them. Annals, I. i. 416.]

[<sup>5</sup> Hugh Weston, dean of Windsor, was deprived of his deanery by cardinal Pole for his scandalous life in adultery. Strype, Memor. III. i. 174.]

Julius, his wife, your little Martyr, [Martyrillus,] Herman, and your associates of Treves. All our friends salute you. London, 20 March, 1559.

Yours,

JOHN JEWEL.

This is the *first* letter I have written to you since my return to England. I will thus number all of them in future, that you may know whether any have been lost.

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## LETTER V.

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JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *April 6, 1559.*

MUCH health. Accept a brief account of the disputation<sup>6</sup> between us and the bishops, which I informed you in my last letter was appointed for the 31st of March; for it seems best thus to continue my narrative without any further preamble.

In the first place, then, to remove all ground of contention and idle debate, the council ordained that every thing, on either side, should be read from written papers, and that the time should be so marked out, that on the first day nothing should be proposed by either party beyond bare affirmations; and that at the next meeting we were to answer them, and they, in their turn, to reply to us. Accordingly, we assembled at Westminster on the 31st of March. Great were the expectations of the people, and the crowd<sup>7</sup>, I believe, still greater. The bishops, (such was their good faith,) produced not a single line either in writing or print; alleging that they had not had suffi-

[<sup>6</sup> For a full account of this disputation see Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 128, &c. Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* ii. 600, &c. and Soames, *Hist. Reform.* iv. 642, &c.]

[<sup>7</sup> The houses of parliament adjourned from March 24, till April 3, as Sir Simon D'Ewes thinks, by reason of this disputation. Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 98.]

cient time for the consideration of matters of such importance ; notwithstanding that they had been allowed ten days, more or less, and had in the mean time assembled their auxiliary troops both from Oxford and Cambridge, and every other corner. However, that so great a number might not seem to have come together to no purpose, Dr Cole, being suborned by the others, stepped forth in the midst, to harangue, in the name of them all, respecting the first point of discussion, namely, the use of a foreign language [in public worship.] After having assailed us most unworthily with all manner of contumely and invective, and stigmatized us as the authors and firebrands of every kind of sedition ; and having turned himself towards all quarters, and into every possible attitude, stamping with his feet, throwing about his arms, bending his sides, snapping his fingers, alternately elevating and depressing his eye-brows, (you know the look and modesty of the man,) he came at last to this, that England had now for thirteen hundred years received the gospel. And by what literary remains, he asked, by what annals, what monuments can it be made to appear, that the public prayers then in use in England were in the English tongue ? When he had sufficiently careered within that circle, he added seriously, and with a solemn countenance and admonitory tone, that all should especially attend to and mark this, as a most precious saying, that the apostles from the beginning so divided their labours among themselves, that some of them established the eastern, and others the western churches ; and that therefore Peter and Paul, in the church of Rome, which at that time comprehended nearly all Europe, gave all their instructions in the language of Rome, that is, in Latin ; and that the rest of the apostles in the east never employed any other language but the Greek. You will perhaps laugh at this ; yet I never heard any one rave after a more solemn and dictatorial manner. Had my friend Julius been present, he would have exclaimed a hundred times over, *Poh ! whoreson knave !*<sup>1</sup> The speaker, however, made no scruple of betraying, among other things, the very mysteries, and secrets, and inmost recesses of his own religion. For he did not hesitate gravely and solemn-

[<sup>1</sup> It is thus in the original manuscript, but it is suggested in a note by the transcriber that Jewel intended to have written *Poz ! hosenknopf*, a vulgar exclamation of that period.]

ly to affirm, that even were all other things to agree, it would nevertheless be inexpedient for the people to know what was going on in religious worship. For ignorance, said he, is the mother of true piety, which he called devotion. Oh! sacred mysteries, and secret rites of the *Bona Dea*! What do you imagine I thought all the while about the pontiff Cotta<sup>2</sup>? This truly it is to worship in spirit and in truth! But to proceed. When he had thus taken up a great part of the time allotted to us for disputation, in calumny, abuse, and falsehood, we<sup>3</sup> at last recited our arguments from written papers, with so much moderation as only to treat upon the matter in dispute, without wounding our opponents. The debate was at length concluded in such a manner, that there was hardly any one in the whole assembly, not even the Earl of Shrewsbury,<sup>4</sup> who did not adjudge that day's victory to be on our side. It was afterwards arranged, that we should speak in the same manner respecting the second question on the Monday following, and that on the Wednesday we should reply to their first day's arguments, and they in turn to ours. On the Monday, when a vast multitude of the nobility had assembled, exceedingly desirous of hearing the debate, the bishops, I know not whether from shame at [the defeat of] the preceding day, or from despair of victory, first began to shuffle,—that they had yet much to say upon the first question, and that the matter must not go off in that way. The council replied, that if they had any thing further to say, they might be heard on the third day following, as it had been originally agreed upon; but that they were now to confine themselves to the question before them, and not disturb the order of the disputation. Being driven from this position they nevertheless still evaded the question by saying, that if they must needs speak at all, they would not speak first;—that they were in possession of the ground, and that

[<sup>2</sup> See Cicero de Nat. Deor.]

[<sup>3</sup> Robert Horn, formerly dean of Durham, and soon afterwards bishop of Winchester, immediately rose, and produced the written argument of his party upon the question under discussion. Soames, Hist. Ref. iv. 648.]

[<sup>4</sup> Francis, 5th Earl. He had been distinguished in the Scottish military expeditions in the reigns of kings Henry and Edward, and by that prudence and fidelity to queen Mary, which induced Elizabeth to call him, although a Romanist, to her privy council. He died Sept 25, 1560.]

we, if we wished it, might try our strength in the first place ; for that they would be doing great injury to their cause, if they should allow us to depart last, with the applause of the people, and leave the stings of our discourse fresh in the minds of the audience. The council<sup>1</sup> replied on the other hand, that it was originally settled that they, as being first in dignity, should be first to speak ; and that this arrangement could not now be altered ; they were surprised, however, at there being all this mystery, since one party must of necessity begin the discussion, or else nothing could be said by either ; and it was the more extraordinary, because on the first day's disputation Cole sprung forth to speak first, even without being called upon. At last, when a great part of the time had been taken up in altercation, and the bishops would on no account consent to yield the [privilege of speaking in the] second place, the assembly broke up without any disputation at all. It is altogether incredible, how much this conduct has lessened the opinion that the people entertained of the bishops ; for they all begin to suspect that they refused to say any thing only because they had not any thing to say.

On the day after your friend White<sup>2</sup>, bishop of Winchester, and Watson, bishop of Lincoln, were committed to the tower for open contempt and contumacy. There they are now employed in *castrametation*, and<sup>3</sup> from weak premises draw bold conclusions. The rest are bound in recognizances to appear at court from day to day, and await the determination of the council respecting them.

Thus you have the account of an useless conference, and one which indeed can hardly be considered as such. I have, however, described it more copiously than there was any occasion for, that you might better understand the whole proceeding.

Farewell, my father, my pride, and even the half of my soul. Should there be at this time any farther news, I had rather it should be the subject of my next letter. Salute much,

[<sup>1</sup> The Lord Keeper, Bacon, who acted as president, or moderator, in conjunction with archbishop Heath. Soames.]

[<sup>2</sup> White had formerly attacked Peter Martyr in a book in verse, called *Diacosia Martyrion*, prefaced by an abusive epistle. Strype, Memor. ii. i. 423. See above, p. 7.]

[<sup>3</sup> A word is here illegible in the original MS.]

in my name, that reverend person, and my much esteemed master in Christ, master Bullinger, masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, Gesner, Haller, Frisius, Herman, and Julius, your friend and mine. All our friends salute you, and wish you every happiness. London, April 6, 1559.

Your

JOHN JEWEL.

This is the *second* letter I have written to you since my return to England.

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## LETTER VI.

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JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *April 14, 1559.*

MUCH health. Our friend Sandys has done me much wrong; for, notwithstanding I had already written to you, though I earnestly besought him not to do so, he sent you his own letter unaccompanied by mine. However, except that I feel this duty of mine has long been owing to you, nothing has hitherto occurred which it would give you much pleasure to hear. O [queen] Mary and the Marian times! With how much greater tenderness and moderation is truth now contended for, than falsehood was defended some time since! Our adversaries acted always with precipitancy, without precedent, without authority, without law; while we manage every thing with so much deliberation, and prudence, and wariness, and circumspection, as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that as heretofore Christ was *cast out* by his enemies, so he is now *kept out* by his friends. This dilatoriness has grievously damped the spirits of our brethren, while it has wonderfully encouraged the rage and fury of our opponents. Indeed, you would hardly believe with how much greater boldness they now conduct themselves than they ever did before; yet the people every where, and especially the

whole of the nobility, are both disgusted with their insolent exultation, and exceedingly thirsting for the gospel. Hence it has happened that the mass in many places has of itself fallen to the ground, without any laws for its discontinuance. If the queen herself would but banish it from her private chapel, the whole thing might easily be got rid of. Of such importance among us are the examples of princes. For whatever is done after the example of the sovereign, the people, as you well know, suppose to be done rightly. She has, however, so regulated this mass of hers, (which she has hitherto retained only from the circumstances of the times,) that although many things are done therein, which are scarcely to be endured, it may yet be heard without any great danger. But this woman, excellent as she is, and earnest in the cause of true religion, notwithstanding she desires a thorough change as early as possible, cannot however be induced to effect such change without the sanction of law; lest the matter should seem to have been accomplished, not so much by the judgment of discreet men, as in compliance with the impulse of a furious multitude. Meanwhile, many alterations in religion are effected in parliament, in spite of the opposition and gainsaying and disturbance of the bishops. These however I will not mention, as they are not yet publicly known, and are often brought on the anvil to be hammered over again.

Sandys, Grindal, Sampson, Scory, (and why should I particularize these?) all of us remain still in London, all in good health, in the same condition, the same circumstances, the same favour. Many persons make most honourable inquiry after you, where you are, how you live, what you are teaching, and whether, in case you should be recalled, you would feel disposed to return to England.

Sidall<sup>1</sup> lately desired me by letter, not to give credit to any injurious reports respecting him. I remember, when you were lecturing at Strasburgh respecting the power that sovereigns have over bishops, you stated that Sylverius<sup>2</sup> and Vigilius

[<sup>1</sup> Sidall was canon of Christ Church, and vicar of Walthamstow. Strype, Parker, 154. See p. 45.]

[<sup>2</sup> Sylverius, patriarch of Rome, was deposed and banished A.D. 537, through the machinations of the empress Theodora, and Vigilius was elected into the patriarchate by command of Belisarius. He was after-

were removed from their office [of patriarch] by the emperor Justinian. When you next write, I will thank you briefly to point out the place where this circumstance is recorded.

We have as yet heard nothing respecting the queen's marriage, an event which we all desire most earnestly. Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. London, April 14, 1559.

Yours wholly,

JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *third* letter. I mention the number, that you may know whether, as may possibly be the case<sup>3</sup>, any of them have been lost on the road.

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## LETTER VII.

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JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *April 28*, 1559.

MUCH health. I have received three letters from you, and all of them nearly at the same time. Though they were, as they certainly ought to be, most gratifying to me on many accounts, both as coming from you, and letting me know the state of your affairs, and your affection for myself; yet for no other reason did they seem more acceptable to me, than because they expressed a desire that I should write to you, and gently though silently charged me with either forgetfulness or dilatoriness; of which the former is as much forbidden by the extent of your kindness towards me, as the latter is by the magnitude of my engagements. I have indeed written to you *three* letters since my return to England; which I perceive, however, had not reached you at the time you wrote. And it may be, as is often the case, that they are either loitering wards thrown into prison by Justinian for opposing the decrees of the second council of Constantinople (the fifth general council), in 553, and died at Syracuse on his return to Rome two years after.]

[<sup>3</sup> *Ut sit*: but most probably it should be *ut fit*. So also at the bottom of this page the original is printed, *ut scæpe sit*.]

somewhere or other, and are, like religion among ourselves, reposing in listless inactivity, or else have been lost on the road. But however it be, there can be no great loss in that respect; inasmuch as they were almost empty, because there was not then much that either you would like to hear, or I to write. The cause of the pope is now agitated, and with much vehemence on both sides. For the bishops are labouring that they may not seem to have been in error; and this delays and hinders the progress of religion: but it is indeed no easy matter to accelerate its course, as the poet says, with such slow-paced horses. Feckenham, the abbot of Westminster, in order, I suppose, to exalt the authority of his own profession, in a speech that he made in the House of Lords, placed the Nazarites, the prophets, nay, even Christ himself and his apostles, in the monastic orders! No one more keenly opposes our cause than the bishop of Ely [Thirlby], who still retains his seat in parliament, and his disposition along with it. The lands<sup>1</sup> of the bishops are to be made over to the exchequer, and the rectories which heretofore belonged to the monasteries will be given them in exchange. In the mean time there is everywhere a profound silence respecting schools and the encouragement of learning. This indeed is driving out one devil, as they say, by another.

The queen both speaks and thinks most honourably of you: she lately told lord Russel that she was desirous of inviting<sup>2</sup> you to England, a measure which is urged both by himself and others, as far as they are able. But unless you should be seriously and earnestly and honourably recalled, I, for my part, will never advise your coming. For myself, indeed, there is nothing that I desire more, or with greater impatience, than to behold you, and enjoy your most delightful conversations, (which I heartily wish may one day be the case), either in England or at Zurich. But, as far as I can perceive, that inauspicious arrival<sup>3</sup> will present an obstacle to my wishes. For

[<sup>1</sup> For an account of this proceeding, see Strype, Annals, i. i. 142, &c. The bill passed the House of Lords on the 6th of April, 1559.]

[<sup>2</sup> Martyr was invited to return, in 1561, it is supposed, by the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, but excused himself, from his obligations to the city of Zurich. Strype, Annals, i. i. 382.]

<sup>3</sup> Inauspicata illa et saxis et Saxonibus damnata *παρουσία*.

our [queen] is now thinking of [joining] the league of Smalcald<sup>4</sup>; but there is one who writes to her from Germany, that this can by no means be brought about, if you should return to us. Who this person is,—if I tell you that he was once a bishop, that he is now an exile, an Italian,—a crafty knave,—a courtier,—either Peter or Paul,—you will perhaps know him better than I do. But however this may be, we have exhibited to the queen all our articles of religion and doctrine, and have not departed in the slightest degree from the confession of Zurich; although your friend Ἀρχιμάγειρος, [Sir Antony Cook] defends some scheme of his own, I know not what, most obstinately, and is mightily angry with us all. As yet not the slightest provision has been made for any of us; so that I have not yet abandoned the device which I designed for myself at Zurich, a book and a cross. I hear that Goodman<sup>5</sup> is in this country, but so that he dare not shew his face, and appear in public. How much better would it have been to have been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error<sup>6</sup>, there will be no danger. But as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in any thing that he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yield. Your books have not yet arrived, which I am the more surprised at, as so many of the English have long since returned from Frankfort. When your present arrives, it will, I doubt not, be most acceptable to the queen; and since you wish it, although it is in itself most excellent, yet, should I have an opportunity, I will set forth its value in my own words. As to the book which you sent to me individually, I know not in what words to express my thanks. I choose, therefore, to sink under the weight of your present kindness, and the magnitude of all your former good offices towards me. And though I should most certainly never have dismissed you from my remembrance, yet excited as I am by this additional memorial, I shall entertain a more ardent and

[<sup>4</sup> For an account of this, see Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 170.]

[<sup>5</sup> For an account of him, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 181, &c.]

[<sup>6</sup> Jewel probably alludes to a tract written by Goodman in queen Mary's time, entitled, *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, &c.* in which he spoke against the government of women, but was obliged to retract his opinions before the lords of the council. Strype, Annals, I. i. 184.]

reverential affection for your name, as long as I live. Your other books have long since been brought over by the book-sellers, and are purchased with the greatest eagerness; for every one is most anxious to see by what hunting spears the beast has been pierced.

Farewell, my father and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Gualter, Simler. I would add Frensham, did I not suppose that he was now at the bath, or on a journey; for at this season of the year, when one hears the cuckoo, he is rarely at home. London, April 28, 1559.

Your very affectionate  
and most devoted,

JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *fourth* letter.

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## LETTER VIII.

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JOHN FOXE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, *May 6, 1559.*

HEALTH in Christ. I send you an English [messenger] with some beer; and intend also to come myself, if I hear that [Frensham] is yet alive. I have thought fit therefore to send this express before hand with a hired horse, for I was unable to procure another, that I might know the sooner; and I pray you to order him, if Frensham is living, to hasten his return to me as soon as possible. Should there be any occasion for a further supply, the beer will be more easily procurable at Arau<sup>1</sup>, and at a less distance.

May the Lord Jesus, the fountain of all health, preserve us to his glory. May 6, 1559, the day after your letter was brought hither. Basle.

Yours in Christ,

J. FOXE.

[<sup>1</sup> Arau is twenty-seven miles from Zurich, where Frensham was now confined by illness.]

## LETTER IX.

JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

LONDON, [No date.]

MUCH health. And what, after all, can I write to you? For we are all of us hitherto as strangers at home. Return then, you will say, to Zurich. Most earnestly do I wish, my father, that this may some time be possible: for, so far as I can see, there is no hope of your ever coming to England. O Zurich! Zurich! how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zurich! But though, as I observed, we are yet strangers in our own country, we hear sometimes ineffable and inexplicable things. Mischief, however, is often better kept at home<sup>2</sup>.

As to religion, it has been effected, I hope, under good auspices, that it shall be restored to the same state as it was during your latest residence among us, under Edward. But, as far as I can perceive at present, there is not the same alacrity among our friends, as there lately was among the papists. So miserably is it ordered, that falsehood is armed, while truth is not only unarmed, but also frequently offensive. The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons, (for *we* are not consulted,) as if the christian religion could not exist without something tawdry. Our minds indeed are not sufficiently disengaged to make these fooleries of much importance. Others are seeking after a *golden*, or as it rather seems to me, a *leaden* mediocrity; and are crying out, that the half is better than the whole.

Some of our friends are marked out for bishops: Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, Barlow for Chichester, Scory for Hereford, and Grindal for London; for Bonner is ordered to vacate his see. When they will take possession, I know not.

<sup>2</sup> Πολλάκι γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον. Theognis.

From this flowering I can easily guess beforehand, as you do of wine, what kind of a vintage it will be. Our enemies in the mean time are watching their opportunity, and promise themselves that these things cannot last.

In Scotland we hear that there have been some disturbances, I know not of what kind, respecting matters of religion; that the nobles have driven out the monks, and taken possession of the monasteries; that some French soldiers of the garrison have been slain in a riot; and that the queen was so incensed as to proclaim the banishment of the preacher Knox by sound of horn, according to the usual custom in Scotland, when they mean to send any one into exile. What has become of him, I know not.

A commission is now appointed for the whole of England, with a view to the establishment of religion. Sandys will go into Lancashire, I into Devonshire, others into other parts. The queen declines being stiled the head of the church, at which I certainly am not much displeas'd. Meanwhile, what *the hangman*<sup>1</sup> of the church [*cavezzo della Chiesa*] may think, or murmur, or what trouble he may give us, you who are less distant can hear more easily than ourselves. Our papists oppose us most spitefully, and none more obstinately than those who have abandoned us. This it is to have once tasted of the mass! He who drinks of it is mad. Depart from it, all ye who value a sound mind; who drinks of it is mad<sup>2</sup>. They perceive that when that palladium is removed, every thing else will be endangered.

A peace has been concluded between us and the French, on condition that Calais shall be restored, after eight years, into the possession of the English. It will need a marvellously strong faith to make my friend Julius believe this. However it be, we are expecting sureties from France to that effect. Nothing is yet talk'd of about the queen's marriage; yet there are now courting her the king of Sweden, the Saxon<sup>3</sup>, and Charles the son of [the emperor] Ferdinand, to say nothing of the Englishman, [Sir William] Pickering. I know however,

[<sup>1</sup> The pope is probably intended by this expression.]

<sup>2</sup> Qui bibit inde furit; procul hinc discedite, quis est Mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde furit.

[<sup>3</sup> The son of John Frederic, Duke of Saxony.]

what I should prefer; but matters of this kind, as you are aware, are rather mysterious; and we have a common proverb that *marriages are made in heaven*.

Farewell, my father and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute, I pray you, in my name, the excellent old man master Bernardine, with masters Muralt and Wolf. The book which you sent as a present<sup>4</sup> to the queen, was delivered to her by Cecil. By some accident or other, it never came into my hands: as often, however, as I go to court, I inquire very particularly whether she has any thing to say about it; but as yet I hear nothing. Whatever it be, I will take care to let you know. London.

JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *fifth* letter: you will find out whether any have been lost.

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## LETTER X.

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JOHN FOXE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, *May* 13, 1559.

MUCH health, most learned and very dear [friend] in Christ our Lord. Master Abel, an English merchant, has within these few days written to me from Strasburgh, in which letter of his were inclosed some from England, written to yourself and masters Simler, Gualter, and Gesner. Should they reach you, I wish my letter, in which they were inclosed, to be forwarded to me at this place. Should they not reach you, I would not have you ignorant of the fact of their existence; for I have been informed of it by another letter of Abel written to myself. These letters, as far as I can learn, were dispatched to you from England in the month of March, and sent here in April; and now, in the month of May, I understand they have not yet been delivered. I had moreover written to Frensham, who is with you, on the 23rd of

[<sup>4</sup> See p. 21.]

April, and do not yet know whether my letter has been received. I am exceedingly anxious to learn the state of his health. Your excellence will condescend to advise him in this respect, and at the same time to afford him, in case of necessity, any assistance in your power.

I am here harassed to the utmost of my strength, and almost beyond my strength, in collecting the histories of the Martyrs. Should you be in any way able to help me in this matter, I shall be glad of your assistance. And this you may do, if you will obtain from master Bernardine, and the other Italians resident in your city, a short statement of such occurrences of this kind as may have taken place in Italy; and also, if you will put down in a few words, whatever your memory may retain respecting events which have happened in your own neighbourhood, noting at least the names of the individuals and the places. For although I am more immediately concerned with British history, yet I shall not pass over the sacred history of other nations, should it come in my way.

May the Lord Jesus direct your health, studies, and labours for his glory! Basle. The day before the feast of Pentecost, 1559.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN FOXE.

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## LETTER XI.

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RICHARD COX TO WOLFGANG WEIDNER.

Dated at LONDON, *May* 20, 1559.

WHENEVER I should leave Worms, my venerable friend, and much esteemed brother in Christ, I always determined with myself to write to you, and give you information some time or other respecting the state and condition of our affairs; which I considered it would not be disagreeable to you to hear, by reason of that ardent and sincere zeal with which you are always affected towards the gospel of Christ Jesus. I must

confess that I have hitherto been constrained unwillingly to be silent, lest I should have to relate matters which would afford you no pleasure. Under the cruel reign of Mary, though but for the space of five years, popery so much increased both in numbers and strength, that it was hardly to be imagined how much the minds of the papists were hardened; so that it was not without great difficulty that our pious queen, with those about her who stood forth with alacrity on the side of truth, could obtain room for the sincere religion of Christ. The bishops, the *scribes* and *Pharisees*, opposed it in our great council, which from a French word we call the parliament; and because they had in that place but few who durst even open their mouths against them, they always appeared to gain the victory. Meanwhile we, that little flock, who for these last five years, by the blessing of God, have been hidden among you in Germany, are thundering forth in our pulpits, and especially before our queen Elizabeth, that the Roman pontiff is truly antichrist, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies. At length many of the nobility, and vast numbers of the people, began by degrees to return to their senses; but of the clergy none at all. For the whole body remain unmoved,

“*Tanquam dura silex, aut stet Marpesia cautes,*”

as the poet sings. The matter at last came to this, that eight of their leaders, either bishops, or the most select from among their men of learning, were to dispute concerning some heads of religion with eight of our abject and exiled party. And, to avoid a war of words, it was agreed to manage the debate in writing. The day was fixed: we are all present. The queen's council are present, and almost all the nobility. It was decided that the opposite party should first deliver their sentiments about the matters in dispute. One of them<sup>2</sup>, in the name of the rest, like Goliath against David, comes vauntingly forward with his own statement, defends, and as it would seem, confirms it by irrefragable arguments, and congratulates himself as having already obtained the victory. <sup>3</sup>One of our party replied, relying on the truth, and not upon high-flown language; in the fear of the Lord, and not with the boasted affectation of learning. When the reply was concluded, an incre-

[<sup>1</sup> See above p. 10, and Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 123, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> Dr Cole. See above p. 14.]

[<sup>3</sup> Dr Horn. See above p. 15.]

dible applause of the audience was excited, to the great perturbation and confusion of our opponents. The other day arrives, appointed for a similar disputation. The opposite party is requested by the president<sup>1</sup> to proceed in the order before agreed upon, namely, that they should first declare their opinion respecting the next point in dispute, and that we should follow them. This however they refuse to do, being alarmed at the ill success of the preceding day's contest; and cry out that it is unjust for them to begin the dispute, who had so many years continued in possession of the catholic church; and that if we had any thing to say against them, we should bring it forward, that they might refute us by their authority, and silence us as degenerate sons, who had long since departed from the unity of the church. Thanks to Christ our Lord, they are very properly checked in their resistance to the order of the president, and lose their cause. The sincere religion of Christ is therefore established among us in all parts of the kingdom, just in the same manner as it was formerly promulgated under our Edward, of most blessed memory.

I have thought fit to write this brief but certain intelligence to one, who will, I know, truly rejoice in our joy; that you may together with us return thanks to the Lord our God, who of his truly fatherly compassion has regarded and comforted us in our low estate of humiliation and distress. May he grant that these his so great and inestimable benefits may never be forgotten by us! Your kindness will do me a great favour, if you will be pleased to communicate the above intelligence to my excellent friends master James Cornicius, the physician, and Vespasian Fittich. We are already endeavouring to break down and destroy the popish fences, and to repair under happy auspices the vineyard of the Lord. We are now at work; but the harvest is plenteous, and the labourers few: let us ask the Lord to send labourers into his harvest. These few things I had to communicate to you, as my regard dictates. May the Lord Jesus preserve you, and increase your piety even unto your last breath! London in England, May 20, 1559.

Your most devoted,

RICHARD COX.

[<sup>1</sup> The Lord Keeper Bacon.]

## LETTER XII.

JOHN PARKHURST TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *May 21, 1559.*

JEWEL and I received your very courteous letter at the beginning of April, by which I perceived your intention of sending your son Rodolph, at some appointed time, to improve his education at the university of Oxford. This, however, as things now are, I would not advise you to do; for it is as yet a den of thieves, and of those who hate the light. There are but few gospellers there, and many papists. But when it shall have been reformed, which we both hope and desire may ere long be the case, let your Rodolph at length come over. I will not now tell you how much I shall be gratified by his arrival in England; for I would express my regard towards him by deeds rather than words.

The Book<sup>2</sup> of Common Prayer, set forth in the time of king Edward, is now again in general use throughout England, and will be every where, in spite of the struggles and opposition of the pseudo-bishops. The queen is not willing to be called the *head* of the church of England, although this title has been offered her; but she willingly accepts the title of *governor*, which amounts to the same thing. The pope is again driven from England, to the great regret of the bishops and the whole tribe of shavelings. The mass is abolished. The parliament broke up on the eighth<sup>3</sup> of May. The earl of Bedford has made a present of three crowns to our friend Wolfgang, who in this respect is more fortunate than many others.

The bishops are in future to have no palaces, estates, or country seats. The present owners are to enjoy for life those

[<sup>2</sup> By the act for the uniformity of Common Prayer passed this parliament. For a note of the differences between the two books, see Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 122.]

[<sup>3</sup> For the Lord Keeper's speech at the dissolution of parliament, see Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 99.]

they are now in possession of. They are worthy of being suspended, not only from their office, but from a halter; for they are as so many Davuses, throwing every thing into confusion. The monasteries will be dissolved in a short time.

I cannot now write more, for within four days I have to contend in my native<sup>1</sup> place, both from the pulpit and in mutual conference, with those horrid monsters of Arianism; for which end I have read with much attention your very learned treatise on both natures in Christ. I hope to come sufficiently prepared to the contest, and so to overcome the enemies of Christ. Christ lives, he reigns, and will reign, in spite of Arians, Anabaptists, and papists.

Farewell! most excellent and very dear sir. Overwhelm, so to speak, with salutations in my name your good wife, sons<sup>2</sup> and daughters, and most honourable sons-in-law. The good Lavater has done me a very great kindness in sending me so excellent a book, and one too which is *Zurich all over*. Salute for me masters Bibliander, Collin, Haller, Wolfius, Wickius, Frisius, Bernardine, Ammian, Meyer, Sebastian, Coler, Funcius, Pellican, Froshover, and all friends. My wife salutes you, your wife, sons and daughters, and all friends. She very frequently falls into tears when any mention is made of the ladies of Zurich.

To your honourable magistrates, to the city and all the territory of Zurich, I wish every happiness. City<sup>3</sup> of Zurich, farewell. Woe betide those who wish thee not all prosperity. City of Zurich, farewell. In haste. London, May 21, 1559.

Most entirely yours,

JOHN PARKHURST.

[<sup>1</sup> Viz. Guildford in Surrey.]

[<sup>2</sup> Bullinger had six sons and five daughters. Of the former, three died young; two were ministers, and another died in France, in the troops of the prince of Orange, in 1569. Three of the daughters were married to ministers of Zurich: namely, to Hulric Zuinglius, son of the Reformer, to Lewis Lavater; and to Josiah Simler.]

<sup>3</sup> Urbs Tigurina, vale: valeant male, prospera cuncta  
Qui tibi non optant: urbs Tigurina, vale.

## LETTER XIII.

JOHN PARKHURST TO CONRAD GESNER.

Dated at LONDON, *May* 21, 1559.

HAIL ! again and again, most illustrious and very dear Gesner. As soon as I came to London, I sought out your friend Caius<sup>4</sup>, that I might give him your letter ; and, as he was from home, I delivered it to his maid servant ; for he has no wife, nor ever had one. Not a week passes in which I do not go to his house two or three times. I knock at the door ; a girl answers the knock, but without opening the door, and, peeping through a crevice, asks me what I want. I ask in reply, where is her master ? whether he is ever at home, or means to be ? She always denies him to be in the house. He seems to be every where and no where, and is now abroad, so that I do not know what to write about him. I shall certainly tell him something to his face, whenever I have the chance to meet him ; and he shall know what kind of a man he has to deal with.

The pope is again cast out of England. This sadly annoys the mass-mongers. The pseudo-bishops opposed with all their might the pious designs of the queen ; and, to be brief, brought upon themselves a consummation much desired by all good men. They are now abhorred both by God and man, and never creep out into public unless they are compelled to do so, lest perchance a tumult should arise among the people. Many call them *butchers* to their face. Whatever other news there may be, I have already written in my letters to our other friends. As I think the trifle I now send you will not be sufficient, I will send more ; but it must be when I am richer than I am at present, (for we are all of us at this time poorer

[<sup>4</sup> This was the celebrated co-founder of Caius College, Cambridge, and court physician in the reigns of Edward VI., queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth. Between him and Gesner an intimate friendship existed, and the latter, who was so eminent a scholar, philosopher and naturalist, as to have acquired the name of the Pliny of Germany, speaks of Caius in terms of the highest commendation, calling him, in an epistle to queen Elizabeth, "the most learned physician of his age."]

than Irus himself,) and you shall then perceive that I am not unmindful of you.

Farewell. Salute in my name your wife, Frisius, Simler, and all my other friends. My wife salutes you all. In haste. London, May 21, 1559.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST.

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## LETTER XIV.

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JOHN JEWEL TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *May 22*, 1559.

MUCH health. Your letter, most accomplished sir, was most gratifying to my friend Parkhurst and myself, both as coming from one to whom we can never forget how greatly we are indebted, and also, as retaining the deepest traces of that courtesy and kindness of yours towards us, which we so largely experienced during the whole time of our exile. And I wish we may be able, some time or other, in some measure to requite your kindness: but however this may be, the inclination, at least, shall not be wanting. Your exhortation that we should act with firmness and resolution, was a stimulus so far from being unacceptable to us, that it was almost necessary. For we have at this time not only to contend with our adversaries, but even with those of our friends who, of late years, have fallen away from us, and gone over to the opposite party; and who are now opposing us with a bitterness and obstinacy far exceeding that of any common enemy; and, what is most vexatious, we have to struggle with what has been left us by the Spaniards, that is, with the foulest vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness. We are doing, however, and have done, all that is in our power: may God prosper our exertions, and give them a happy issue! But at present we are so living, as scarcely to seem like persons returned from exile; for to say nothing

else, not one of us has yet had even his own property restored to him<sup>1</sup>. Yet, although this long waiting is very tiresome to us, we doubt not but that in a short time all will be well. For we have a wise and religious queen, and one too who is favourably and propitiously disposed towards us. Religion<sup>2</sup> is again placed on the same footing on which it stood in king Edward's time; to which event, I doubt not, but that your own letters and exhortations, and those of your republic, have powerfully contributed. The queen is unwilling to be addressed, either by word of mouth, or in writing, as the head<sup>3</sup> of the church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being soever; besides which, these titles have been so foully contaminated by antichrist, that they can no longer be adopted by any one without impiety.

Our universities are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford<sup>4</sup> there are scarcely two individuals who think with us; and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit, that they can do nothing. That despicable friar Soto and another<sup>5</sup> Spanish monk, I know not who, have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness. You would scarcely believe so much desolation could have been effected in so short a time. So that, although it would give me the greatest pleasure, under other circumstances, to see even a dog from Zurich in England, yet I cannot at this time recommend you to send your young men to us, either for a learned or religious education, unless you would have them sent back to you wicked and barbarous.

[<sup>1</sup> A bill for this purpose passed the commons May 2, and was read a third time in the upper house. Yet, says Strype, I do not find it was enacted and passed into a law. *Annals*, i. i. 99.]

[<sup>2</sup> See p. 28. The 24th day of June was the day appointed by the late parliament, from which the new service book was to be only used in the churches throughout England. Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 200. He says, p. 199, that the new morning prayer began in September at St Antholin's, London, the bell beginning to ring at five; when a psalm was sung after the Geneva fashion, all the congregation, men, women, and boys, singing together.]

[<sup>3</sup> See pp. 24, 29.]

[<sup>4</sup> See pp. 11, 29.]

[<sup>5</sup> John de Villa Garsya. Strype, *Mem.* iii. ii. 29.]

The Lord Russel lately asked me in what way he could most oblige both yourself and your other brethren and fellow ministers. He felt, in truth, an inclination to send you some acknowledgment of your kindness and hospitality, which he is continually commending. I told him, that nothing could be more acceptable to yourself and your friends, than for him studiously and boldly to promote the religion of Christ, and repress the insolence of the papists. This he promised that he would do, and he certainly does, as far as lies in his power.

The ambassadors<sup>1</sup> of the French king arrived to-day in London, to offer their congratulations about the peace. The head of the embassy is the young duke de Montmorenci. Nothing is yet said respecting the queen's marriage. The son of John Frederick [duke of Saxony,] and the second brother of [the emperor] Maximilian, are her suitors<sup>2</sup>. The public opinion, however, inclines towards [Sir William] Pickering, an Englishman, a wise and religious man, and highly gifted as to personal qualities. May God prosper the event, whatever it be!

This is the *first* letter that I have written separately to yourself since my return to England. But as I know that Peter Martyr, from the great intimacy that subsists between you, has communicated to you my letter to him, so I have no hesitation in regarding what I have written to him just the same as if it had been addressed to yourself.

Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute that excellent lady your wife, masters Gualter, Simler, Zuinglius and Lavater. Should there be any thing in which I can conduce either to the comfort or advantage of yourself or your friends, I promise you not only my labour, zeal, and diligence, but also every effort both of mind and body. London, May 22, 1559.

Your much attached,

JOHN JEWEL.

[<sup>1</sup> For the account of their arrival, see Strype, Annals, i. i. 285.]

[<sup>2</sup> The queen was courted almost at the same time by Charles, Duke of Austria; James, Earl of Arran; Erick, King of Sweden; Adolph, Duke of Holstein; Sir William Pickering, a brave, wise, comely English gentleman; the Earl of Arundel, of very ancient nobility; and the Lord Robert Dudley, the late Duke of Northumberland's son, and the queen's especial favourite. Strype, Parker, i. 164.]

## LETTER XV.

JOHN FOXE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, *June 17, 1559.*

HEALTH in the Lord. There was no need of your using any entreaty, my dearest Bullinger, whenever you might perceive any occasion for the employment of my services. Respecting the letters you mention, I have again called upon Peter Maclaine, a bookseller of this place, to whom those letters were directed by Abel, as he writes me word. My friend Lawrence was also with me, to whom Abel had directed (as he wrote me word) the entire packet of my letters. Peter replied to us in this way; that some one came to him with letters, who was not a carrier himself, but either hired by a carrier, or else one who had bought the letters from the carrier, that he might afterwards resell them with greater profit [upon the carriage]. Peter, being displeased at the unreasonableness of his demand, and seeing that the matter was no business of his, but of the English, for the sake of sparing his money sent the man to the neighbouring public-house, [the sign of] the Wild Man, telling him that he would there meet with some Englishmen who would take the letters off his hands. And yet I know that, besides ourselves, there were at that time no Englishmen in the town; and I cannot sufficiently wonder how it could come into Peter's mind to send the person to the Wild Man, when he knew well enough whereabouts in the town we ourselves dwelt, to whom he might much more properly have sent the man. But when I expostulated with Peter on this point, he replied, that he thought, and had heard, that there were some English at that time living at the Wild Man, &c. The case is this: because this Peter was unwilling to lay out his money on this covetous fellow, we have lost our letters. At which, however, I am not so much concerned on my own account, and that of my letters, which I have lost, (for they were inclosed in the same packet,) as for the sake of your letter, my best and dearest master

Bullinger, which, as I learn from you, was written to you by an old friend. And I wish, as I then told Peter, that I had given him three times the money, if he had but satisfied the letter-carrier, or rather, I should say, the letter-stealer. And to confess to you ingenuously and sincerely, in proportion as I perceive you to be anxious about the letter, this same thing occasions greater uneasiness to myself; nor do I know what I can do more, or where I can make any farther inquiry on the subject.

Although your letter gives me but little hope respecting Frensham, yet, as he is still alive, and as long as he continues so, we must not cease to have some hopes of him. There was an English youth here of sixteen years old, who was in this present year not only on the borders of death through a similar cough and consumption, but even looked like death itself; and yet, to the astonishment of our physicians, he recovered, and is gone with his parents into England. To Christ the Lord be the praise! And I wish that our friend Frensham may sometime have to laugh at your physicians in the same way, should it seem good to the Lord Christ, the chief Physician. But may his holy will be done.

If you have any thing concerning master Grinæus, whom you mention in your letter, I pray you to forward it hither, and let me know as soon as possible. I wish to know whether Hoper married a wife<sup>1</sup> from among you yonder, or here at Basle.

While I am collecting accounts of the other German martyrs, I would not have Zuinglius alone to be passed over. If you have, or if you choose, to communicate any thing respecting him, I will take care, God willing, that it shall be printed in England, if it cannot be done so conveniently by the printers in Germany.

I am desirous, if the Lord shall spare my life, of visiting and saluting you yonder, most kind and learned Bullinger, before my return home. Exhort Frensham, I pray you, if he is yet living, not to be so desponding in his mind as to cast

[<sup>1</sup> Strype Mem. ii. i. 399, says that Hoper's wife was an *Helvetian* woman; but in another place he calls her "a discreet woman of the *Low Countries*." Mem. ii. i. 170. Other accounts make her a native of Burgundy.]

away all hope of recovery ; and not to let his mental anxiety seem greater than his bodily disease. Salute, I pray you, master Peter Martyr very much in my name. May the Lord Jesus advance your labours together with your safety, to the advantage of his church ! Amen. Basle, June 17, 1559.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN FOXE.

P. S. Give, I pray you, this second letter to Frensham, if he is yet alive.

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## LETTER XV\*<sup>2</sup>.

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JOHN FOXE TO — FRENHAM.

Dated at BASLE, *June 17*, [1559].

D. Frenshamo, animi et corporis salutem in Christo.

MASTER FRENHAM. AS you in your letters have oft comforted me, so I would I should likewise comfort you: but where my comfort is small, the Lord infuse the Comforter of all, and work in you sure consolation which may comfort both your body and soul ! In whom I desire you to be strong and valiant, so much as the weakness of your disease can bear. Be nothing discouraged, nor be out of hope in yourself. I have seen some of our countrymen in the like disease of utter weakness return full well.

I desire you in your contemplation of Christ, let your spirit be so noble and high in him, that you may tread under your feet all other things, seem they never so strong, mighty,

[<sup>2</sup> This letter is transcribed from the original *English*, which was inclosed in the preceding one to Bullinger, and did not probably reach Zurich till after the death of the person to whom it was addressed. (See Letter XIX.) It is numbered as above, to preserve the continuity of the series translated from the *Latin* originals.]

terrible, or great in this world ; for he that hath overcome the world, what hath he not overcome in this world ? Life or death, sickness or health, things present or to come, height or low, are nothing in Christ. Only, my brother, master Frensham, a hearty faith in Jesus Christ is altogether whereby alone we miserable and contemptible nothings are saved, do stand, do triumph, yea, in death, yea, over death, in sin, yea, over sin, and finally have victory over all evils, sin, death, hell, Satan, and all. For so it hath pleased the Father, to save us by this faith only in his Son, to the end that we seeing his justice should not otherwise be satisfied but by his Son, we might the more fear him for his great righteousness, and love him for his great mercy, being saved by this faith in his Son. To this all the scripture beareth witness. The Lord Jesus shew us the quickening and sealing of this faith in our dull senses ! To will you this is my prayer ; as I do not cease, so I do not despair of your recovery altogether : the mighty Lord Jesus, if it be his pleasure, put to his helping hand in restoring you again ! His good will be done. The bottle ye sent is not yet come to me. Basileæ, June 27, [1559].

Truly in Christ,

JOHN FOXE.

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## LETTER XVI.

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JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *Aug.* 1, 1559.

I HAVE hitherto, my father, written to you less frequently, because many engagements, both of a public and private nature, have prevented my correspondence. I now write, not because I have more leisure than heretofore, but because I shall have much less in future than I have at present. For I have now one foot on the ground, and the other almost on my

horse's back. I am on the point of setting out upon a long and troublesome commission<sup>1</sup> for the establishment of religion, through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury. The extent of my journey will be about seven hundred miles, so that I imagine we shall hardly be able to return in less than four months. Wherefore, lest you should in the mean time suppose me dead, notwithstanding I wrote to you twelve days since upon our common affairs, I think it not unmeet to send you this short greeting at the very moment of my setting out. Our affairs are now in a favourable condition. The queen is exceedingly well disposed; and the people everywhere thirsting after religion. The bishops, rather than abandon the pope, whom they have so often abjured before, are willing to submit to every thing. Not, however, that they do so for the sake of religion, of which they have none; but for the sake of *consistency*, which the miserable knaves now choose to call their *conscience*. Now that religion is everywhere changed, the mass-priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have any thing in common with the people of God. But the fury of these wretches is so great that nothing can exceed it. They are altogether full of hopes and anticipations, (for, as you know, they are a most *anticipative* race, and mightily addicted to *furitions*;) that these things cannot last long. But, whatever may happen in future, we render thanks to Almighty God that our affairs are as they are.

Every thing is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox<sup>2</sup>, surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom. The old queen (dowager) has been compelled to shut herself up in garrison. The nobility with united hearts and hands are restoring religion throughout the country, in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are every where levelled with the ground: the theatrical dresses,

[<sup>1</sup> This commission was dated July 19, 1559, and addressed to William, Earl of Pembroke, John Jewel, S. Th. P., Henry Parry, Licentiate in Laws, and Will. Lovelace, lawyer. Strype, Annals i. i. 248.]

[<sup>2</sup> Knox arrived in Edinburgh from France, May 2, 1559. Strype, Annals, i. i. 176.]

the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. What do you ask for? You have often heard of *drinking like a Scythian*; but this is *churching it like a Scythian*. The king of France that now is, styles himself king of Scotland, and in case of any thing happening to our queen, (which God forefend!) heir of England. You must not be surprised if our people are indignant at this; and how the matter will at length turn out, God only can determine. A common enemy perhaps, as is sometimes the case, may be the occasion of reconciling with us our neighbour Scotland; in which event, although the [queen's] marriage should also take place,—but I will not prognosticate. Master Heton salutes you, and that not less affectionately than if you were his father. Some of us are appointed to bishopricks; Cox to Ely, Scory to Hereford, Allen to Rochester, Grindal to London, Barlow to Chichester, and I, the least of the apostles, to Salisbury. But this burden I have positively determined to shake off. In the mean time there is a dismal solitude in our Universities. The young men are flying about in all directions, rather than come to an agreement in matters of religion.

But my companions are waiting for me, and calling to me to set off. Farewell, therefore, my father, and my pride. Salute that reverend man, and on so many accounts dearly-beloved in Christ, master Bullinger, to whom also, if I had time, I would send a separate letter. Salute masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Herman. I have five golden pistoles from master Bartholomew Compagni, for the venerable old man master Bernardine, with a letter to him from the same. I would write to him concerning the whole business, were I not prevented by want of time. I pray you, however, to let him know, that, except [the payment of] this money, nothing else is settled. Court affairs, as far as I can see, are so difficult of management, that I know not whether any thing can be made of it. The queen is now a long way off in Kent<sup>1</sup>, so that nothing can be done.

[<sup>1</sup> July 17th. The Queen removed from Greenwich in her progress, and goes to Dartford in Kent. August 5th she was at Eltham. Strype, Annals, i. i. 289.]

Farewell my father, farewell. May you be as happy as I can wish you! Salute in my name your Julius, and Anna, and your little son, [Martyrillus.] London, Aug. 1, 1559.

Your every way most attached,

JOHN JEWEL.

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## LETTER XVII.

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### JOHN FOXE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, *August 2, 1559.*

GRACE and health through Christ our Lord. Either all my conjectures deceive me, most courteous Henry, or I have at last discovered those letters of ours which were so long lost. In which matter I am more indebted to some sort of accident, than to any pains taken about it. The occasion was this: there came into a merchant's house by reason of some letters, I know not what, a certain honest Italian, the husband of Peter Perne's sister. The master and head manager of that house offered him some letters to read, thinking they were written in Italian. Although this Italian was unacquainted with English, yet seeing my name on the address, he forthwith came to me with the letters, and told me that the master of the house [above-mentioned] desired I would come to him immediately. I went forthwith, taking with me my friend Lawrence, and a certain under-schoolmaster of Basle to act as interpreter. The master states that this letter, long since thrown aside, had been lately discovered by a servant boy; and that there had also been found other letters written both to yourself and master Gesner, which he had already given to Peter Maclaine to forward to you. On opening mine, I find it to be the same as was sent to me from Abel at the same time and in the same packet with yours; which circumstance leads me to conjecture that they are the very same letters of ours which we were looking for. You will better ascertain

this when you have opened them; and I wish that you would let me know at your leisure.

If master Frensham is still living, I pray God that he may long live. Do you bid and exhort him not to despair of himself, and much less of the divine favour, which, should it seem expedient, can easily exceed all the powers of medicine, and deceive the expectations of the physicians themselves. Yet I have not heard of any physician who openly and positively despaired of him. And if they did despair, they are better judges perhaps of German [constitutions] than of English ones.

I desire that you would inform me in time, if you have any information respecting the martyrs, either about Bartholomew Grinæus, as you seem to intimate in your letter, or about the whole affair and cause of Zuinglius. If the history of Zuinglius cannot be printed here, it can nevertheless be done in England, and no where better. Salute in Christ master Frensham among others, and master Peter Martyr. Be mindful of me in your prayers to the Lord. Basle, Aug. 2, 1559.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN FOXE.

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## LETTER XVIII.

JOHN FOXE TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BASLE, *Sept.* 26, 1559.

MUCH health. Though it was neither my inclination nor design, most learned Bullinger, to send forth in these times the<sup>1</sup> books on the Eucharist by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

[<sup>1</sup> Foxe alludes to a Latin translation, finished by him in June 1557, of the controversy between Archbishop Cranmer and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, about the Eucharist. While he was preparing to publish this book, as appears from this letter, an order was set forth in those parts, forbidding printing of any books; and though, in fine, Froshover undertook the printing of it, and Foxe delivered part of the copy to him,

translated by me [into Latin], especially when I perceive a general conflict of judgments and opinions no less than of arms; yet as your friend Christopher here has of his own accord, and with so much candour, promised his aid and assistance in this matter, I have again begun to apply my mind to a subject long intermitted and almost despaired of. But I should be loth to occasion any delay, if only the thing shall appear either to him or yourself to be of such a nature, that the interests of the church demand my services; and I have already stated this in my former letters to you. Having at last consulted with Froschover, it has seemed necessary to both of us, and especially to myself, not to take any steps in this matter without your advice and approval beforehand. I request you therefore, most learned Bullinger, to undertake a diligent investigation into the subject. For I have determined to send you in a few days (Christ willing), by Froschover's advice, some portion [of my translation]; which I should have done at this time, only that it requires to be more accurately written out for your more easy perusal. For I am still so much busied in translating the Greek councils with a double commentary, and also in compiling the history of our martyrs, and other engagements, that I have hardly a spare moment for writing out any thing: so that you will be less surprised at my having written this present letter with so little attention. I wish, most learned Sir, that you may live in happiness. Basle, Sept. 26, 1559.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN FOXE.

the business still underwent delay; and Foxe himself seemed to be cooler in it, knowing how exulcerated those times were with sacramental controversies: so that only some part of the work was printed. See Strype's Grindal, p. 19, &c., and Cranmer, p. 375.]

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## LETTER XIX.

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JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON *Nov. 2, 1559.*

I HAVE at last returned to London, with a body worn out by a most fatiguing journey. You probably supposed me dead, because I did not write: meanwhile, I was kept away three whole months by this very tedious and troublesome commission. While I was at Bristol, there was delivered to me that letter from you which our friend Randolph<sup>1</sup> had brought with him; written in so friendly and agreeable a manner, as altogether to remove from my mind the wearisomeness both of the journey and of my employments. For I could then fancy myself to be conversing with you just as if you had been present. Randolph had gone away into France before my return: so that poor I was deprived of a great part of those delightful communications which you had personally charged him with. My letter, I perceive, was lost on the road; for that which I had sent you as the *eighth*, was, I find, only the *fifth* that had reached you.

But what, you will say, has been done after all by this commission of yours? Receive then in one word, what it took me a long time to investigate. We found every where the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness of superstition had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times. We found in all places votive relics of saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and I know not what small fragments of the sacred cross. The number of witches and sorceresses<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> It would seem from the extract from the state papers given in pp. 56, 57, (No. 7) that Randolph, who was entrusted with the safe conveyance of the earl of Arran from France into Scotland, visited Peter Martyr at Zurich during this journey, from whom he brought the letter here referred to.]

[<sup>2</sup> A Bill against witchcraft and enchantments was brought into the house of Lords from the lower house April 27, 1559, and was passed in the following session. Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 88.]

had every where become enormous. The cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves, or worse, if any thing worse or more foul can be mentioned. If inveterate obstinacy was found any where, it was altogether among the priests, those especially who had once been on our side. They are now throwing all things into confusion, in order, I suppose, that they may not seem to have changed their opinions without due consideration. But let them make what disturbance they please; we have in the mean time disturbed them from their rank and office.

That *consistent* man, Harding<sup>3</sup>, has preferred to change his condition rather than his opinions. Sidall<sup>4</sup> has subscribed too, and with equal consistency, that is, sorely against his will. But your friend Smith<sup>5</sup>, what has he done? you will ask. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Believe me, that he might retain his old consistency, he has now at last recanted for the fifth time! The silly man, when he saw religion change, changed his habit, and forthwith prepared to take refuge in Scotland; but while he was loitering on the borders, he was apprehended, and brought back from his travels. And now this grave personage, this prop and support of religion, has come over to us, deserted all his party, and become all of a sudden the most inveterate enemy of the papists. Go now and deny transubstantiation, if you can.

The ranks of the papists have fallen almost of their own accord. Oh! if we were not wanting in our exertions, there might yet be good hopes of religion. But it is no easy matter to drag the chariot without horses, especially up hill.

Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from the Archbishop of Canterbury that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is kept open for you. I know not how true this may be; I can only affirm thus much, that

[<sup>3</sup> T. Harding, of New College, Oxford; who under King Edward VI. had been a very zealous protestant, but under queen Mary came about, and was as hot the other way, being preferred under her to a prebend of Winchester, and the treasurership of Sarum. Strype, Annals, i. ii. 175.]

[<sup>4</sup> Henry Sidall, a vigorous defender of the truth in king Edward's time, recanted under queen Mary, and subscribed to queen Elizabeth's supremacy. Strype, Cranmer, 285; Parker, i. 154. See p. 18.]

[<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 12.]

no Professor of Divinity is yet appointed at Oxford. For my own part, my father, I most exceedingly long to see you, and especially in England; and how can I do otherwise than desire this, who am so perpetually desiring to see you even at Zurich? But I know your prudence; and you know the character and disposition of us islanders. I pray that what we now see the beginning of may be lasting. Nothing can be in a more desperate condition than the [Divinity] school is at present. You will think, that when you were formerly there, you had employed all your exertions to no purpose.

<sup>1</sup>“Thus in the garden that was once so gay,  
The darnel and the barren weed bear sway.”

Your book on Vows<sup>2</sup>, like all your other works, is caught up with the greatest avidity. We are all now looking for you to publish your further commentaries on the book of Judges, and on the two books of Samuel; for all our friends are now aware that you have those books in hand, and are intending to publish them. The Swede<sup>3</sup>, and Charles<sup>4</sup>, the son of [the emperor] Ferdinand, are courting at a most marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains<sup>5</sup> of silver in case of success. The lady however is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home. My friend Allen<sup>6</sup> has departed this life, after having been nominated bishop of Rochester. We hear at this time nothing from Scotland that can be new to you. The gospel is taught; churches are diligently brought together, and all the monuments of the old superstition demolished. The

<sup>1</sup> Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ.—VIRG.

[<sup>2</sup> A refutation of Richard Smith's two books, concerning single life and monkish vows.]

[<sup>3</sup> The prince of Sweden, whose title was duke of Finland, landed at Harwich on Sept. 27, 1559, and reached London Oct. 5. His object was to make suit to the queen on behalf of the king [Eric XIV.] his brother. Strype, Annals, i. i. 291. 368.]

[<sup>4</sup> Archduke of Austria, and brother of the emperor Maximilian.]

[<sup>5</sup> Aug. 30, 1561, the news was that the king of Sweden was sending a great number of waggons laden with massy bullion, and other things of value to England. He continued his courtship most eagerly till 1562. Strype, Annals, i. i. 405.]

[<sup>6</sup> Edmund Allen, an exile for religion in the reign of queen Mary. He was buried on the 30th of August. Strype, Annals, i. i. 199.]

French however are still hoping to retain both the kingdom and their religion. Whatever may happen, I will write to you fully at another time. That sixtieth year is now approaching, concerning which you were sometimes wont to relate some wonderful predictions of a certain Italian, named Torquatus<sup>7</sup>. God grant us the enjoyment of real and substantial joy, that the man of perdition may at length be made manifest to the whole world, and the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ be universally exhibited!

Farewell, my father, and salute your wife<sup>8</sup> in my name, a lady indeed personally unknown to me, but with whom I am nevertheless now well acquainted, both by your letter, and our friend Abel's commendation of her. I congratulate you on her account, and her on yours. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Bernardine, Herman, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr. A long farewell to my friend Frensham<sup>9</sup>, who I imagine has now departed from you to be with Christ. All our friends salute you, and wish you every happiness. London, November 2, 1559.

Yours most heartily,

JOHN JEWEL.

Master Heton<sup>10</sup> urgently entreated me to salute you in his name. Could he write Latin himself, he would not make use of my pen: believe me, there is no one who speaks of you more frequently, or with greater commendation. His wife also sends her respects both to you and yours.

[<sup>7</sup> Torquatus was a physician and astrologer at Ferrara, in the 15th century. He wrote a "prognostic" of the ruin of Europe, dedicated to Matthias king of Hungary, in which he foretold events from 1480 to 1540.]

[<sup>8</sup> Catherine Merenda, Peter Martyr's second wife, was recommended to him from the Italian church at Geneva, where she lived an exile for religion.]

[<sup>9</sup> See Letter XV\*.]

[<sup>10</sup> Thomas Heton, a merchant of London, who had been a liberal contributor to the relief of the Marian exiles.]

## LETTER XX.

JOHN JEWEL TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *Nov. 2. 1559.*

MUCH health. That you so kindly congratulate, not myself so much on this accession of care and anxiety, as our church, respecting which you tell me that you no longer despair, I return you my thanks, most accomplished sir, not indeed on my own account, upon whom I feel such a heavy burden is imposed, but in the name of our church, concerning which I perceive your thoughts are so anxiously occupied. For, as it regards myself, you well know what an undertaking it is, especially for a man unskilled in business, and always brought up in inactivity and obscurity, to be raised at once to the government of the church; and though scarcely able to manage his own affairs, to take upon himself the management of those of others. Since however it is the cause of God, I will endeavour to make up by diligence what is wanting in ability; for though I am deficient in other respects, I shall not, I hope, be wanting in inclination. Do you meanwhile, since you have safely landed your vessels, and brought them ashore, pray to God that we may at length bring our vessel, hitherto tossed by the waves, and attacked on all sides by pirates and robbers, into harbour. For the rage of the papists among us at this time is scarcely credible; and rather than seem to have been in error in any respect, they most impotently precipitate and throw all things into confusion. May that God whose honour and glory alone we look to, aid our endeavours, and confound the conspiracies and wicked designs of his enemies! Parkhurst is gone to his people at Cleeve<sup>1</sup>, where he now reigns like a king, and looks down upon all bishops. Whatever news I had to communicate, which, indeed, was neither certain nor of much importance, I have written at some length, both to masters Bullinger and

[<sup>1</sup> He was at this time rector of Bishop's Cleeve near Cheltenham.]