

The Examinations of Anne Askew

Edited by

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EDITORIAL NOTE

This edition makes available a modern-spelling electronic version of the two examinations of Anne Askew, similar to Elaine Beilin's standard print edition (referred to as 'Beilin' in footnotes). Other modern editions consulted are Randall Martin ed. *Women Writers in Renaissance England: An Annotated Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1997), cited as 'Martin', which prints the two *Examinations* without Bale's commentary; and Mary Loughlin et. al eds. *The Broadview Anthology of sixteenth Century Poetry and Prose* (Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press, 2011), which also prints extracts. Another source consulted is Henry Christmas ed. *Select Works of John Bale, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. Containing The Examinations of Lord Cobham, William Thorpe, and Anne Asken, and The Image of Both Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849). Christmas' edition is a fully collated version and reveals the extent of the differences in later editions of the texts. In the present edition textual variants have not been noted because one of the aims of this project is to use digital tools for the collation of variant readings. This will be implemented in this website after all witnesses have been marked up in TEI XML, work for which is in progress. This edition of both *Examinations*, therefore, is meant to be supplementary to the TEI encoded early editions of the texts that are going to be available under the 'Texts' page of this website and may be used most profitably perhaps as a handy teaching edition.

This version contains the two *Examinations* of Anne Askew with John Bale's prefaces and commentary, and also includes the verse pieces published in both first editions. At the moment only the *First Examination* is available, the *Latter Examination* will follow shortly as work progresses. The second text will be incorporated into the present PDF document when complete. The base text for the *First Examination* is the STC 848 British Library copy available as a digital surrogate from *Early English Books Online*, access provided by the University of Amsterdam's library subscription.

As in modern editions, use of i/j and u/v has been standardised, along with the long s. Abbreviations, contractions and ligatures have been expanded and punctuation normalised. Capitalisation of the original is retained in the text. Bibliographical references in the apparatus follow Chicago style. Bale's spelling of proper names has not been retained where the names have greater modern currency in varying orthography but Latin names have not been changed. The spelling and mode of abbreviation Bale uses for biblical references, too, have not been standardised since all are accompanied by notes: only printing contractions (but not abbreviations) in biblical citations have been expanded. Biblical names, however, when referred to within the running text, have been standardised, for e.g. Isaiah for Esaye/Esay/Esaië. Latin quotations and titles of works have been italicised following modern practice.

Like his sixteenth-century contemporaries Bale uses the Latin Vulgate or the Greek Septuagint in his biblical references. This edition provides chapter and verse references of all the biblical books cited by Bale and the Latin Vulgate text of relevant verses in footnotes at appropriate places followed by an English translation. English versions have been provided from the Authorised (King James) Version (KJV) with appropriate references. The choice of KJV (1611) in modern spelling over the Douay-Rheims (1588) translation was decided by the greater common use of the former, although neither was published during Bale's writing. In some cases the Coverdale Bible or Wycliffe's version have been used when the translation is nearer to Bale's usage than the KJV version. A list of all biblical references used in the texts with corresponding page numbers will be compiled as an appendix to this edition and be available elsewhere on the website for users interested in analysing patterns of Bible citation in reformist literature. Although at a micro level, the data generated from citations in these texts might be of interest in a larger context.

Explanatory notes and hyperlinks to embedded or external material (always to free and open source content) comprise the rest of the apparatus. Bale's notes are presented in the margin as they are in the base texts. The position of these notes are an approximation of the location of the originals. Editorial notes appear as footnotes in Arabic numerals. Printing errors have been corrected and punctuation has been normalised. End of line hyphenation in the source has not been retained but new hyphenation has been introduced, if necessary, when words are broken across pages. Signature marks and other forme work have not been noted in this version since the proposed literatim transcriptions of the individual witnesses will contain them.

All word meanings are from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), online version at www.oed.com, access provided by the University of Amsterdam's library subscription. For contextual information in the textual and footnote hyperlinks, websites such as www.brittanica.com, www.luminarium.org, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* at www.newadvent.org (archived website of the Library of Congress, more information about the site [here](#)), <http://oldebible.com> and www.jewishencyclopedia.com have been privileged over www.wikipedia.com. Another resource used for biographical information and hyperlinking is the Wikisource ODNB project with sparing use of digested data from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB), online version at www.odnb.com, access provided by the University of Amsterdam's library subscription. Information about the Wikisource ODNB project available [here](#). Bibliographic citation follows Chicago humanities style.

This edition follows the page breaks of the base texts. For the *First Examination*, STC 848 contains Arabic page numbers on the top right hand margin of recto pages apart from signature marks. These recto numbers have been indicated within square brackets in the bottom left corner of the text blocks on each page of the document. Verso pages, unnumbered in the original, have been noted by a ‘v’ added to the number within the square brackets. Thus, for example, page 2 is noted as [2] and its verso as [2v]. The page numbers of the contents lists follow the numbering of the base texts. Text and notes are set in Garamond 12 point and 11 point respectively, and sections are bookmarked.

Debapriya Basu,
Amsterdam
2015

**The first examination of Anne Askew, lately
martyred in Smithfield, by the Romish Pope's
upholders, with the Elucidation of John Bale.¹**

¹ This is the title page of the base text, i.e. 848. The following scriptural quotations decorate the title page in clockwise arrangement around a woodcut of a female figure displaying a Bible in her right hand and a flail in her left, trampling upon a serpent with the papal crown on its head: 'Anne Askew stood fast by this verity of God to the end.' 'Favour is deceitful/and beauty is a vain thing. But a woman that feareth the lord/is worthy to be praised. She openeth her mouth to wisdom/ and in her language is the law of grace. Proverb. 31.' 'Psalm 116. The verity of the lord endureth for ever. Title page of 849: 'The First Examination of the worthy Servant of God, Mistress Anne Askew, the younger Daughter of Sir William Askew Knight of Lincoln-shire, lately martyred in Smith-field, by the Romish Antichristian Brood.' The title is followed by Robert Waldegrave's emblem, a swan in a decorated oval with his motto 'God is my helper' printed vertically in upper case flanking the emblem. Following this is 'At London; Printed by Robert Waldegrave, dwelling without Temple-bar, in the Strand, near unto Somerset-house.' The title page and blank title page verso has been kept unnumbered in this edition following modern practice although the title page is counted as p. 1 in the source.

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John Bale to the Christian readers

Among other most singular offices (diligent reader) which the lord hath appointed to be done in the earnest spirit of Elijah, by the forerunners of his latter appearance, this is one very special to be noted. They shall turn the hearts of their ancient elders into the children. Mala. 4.¹ And the unbelievers of their time, to the wisdom of those righteous fathers, as did John Baptist afore his first coming, Luce 1.² That is (saith Bede ca. 68. *de temporum ratione*³ the faith and fervent zeal of the prophets and apostles shall they plant in their hearts, which shall in those days live and be among men conversant, and then will break fourth (sayth he as a very true prophet) such horrible persecution, as will first of all take from the world, those mighty Elijahs by triumphant martyrdom, to the terrifying of other in the same faith,

Bede's
prophecy

[2]

¹ Malachi 4:6 'et convertet cor patrum ad filios et cor filiorum ad patres eorum ne forte veniam et percutiam terram anathemate'. KJV: 'And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.'

² Luke 1:17 'et ipse praecedet ante illum in spiritu et virtute Heliae ut convertat corda patrum in filios et incredibiles ad prudentiam iustorum parare Domino plebem perfectam.' KJV: 'And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.'

³ Chapter 68 of *On the Reckoning of Time*

2 sorts. of whom some shall become through that occasion, most glorious martyrs unto Christ also, and some very wicked apostates forsaking his lively doctrine. For by the said Bede's testimony in the beginning of the same chapter, two most certain signs shall we then have that the latter judgement day is at hand. The return of Israel's remnant unto their lord God, and the horrible persecution of Antichrist.⁴

2 signs. Confer⁵ with this treated scripture and former prophecy of that virtuous man Bede the world's alteration now with the terrible turmoilings of our time. And as in a most clear mirror ye shall well perceive them at this present to be in most quick working. And as concerning the Israelites or Jews, I have both seen and known of them in Germany, most faithful Christian believers. Neither is it in the prophecy (Osee 3.)⁶ that they should at that day be all converted, no more than they were at John Baptist's preaching, Luce 1.⁷ For as Isaiah reporteth, though the posterity of Jacob be as the sea sand (innumerable)

Israelites.

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⁴ i.e. the Roman Catholic papacy, commonly used by Reformers.

⁵ compare

⁶ Hosea 3:4-5 'quia dies multos sedebunt filii Israhel sine rege et sine principe et sine sacrificio et sine altari et sine ephod et sine therafin/ et post haec revertentur filii Israhel et quaerent Dominum Deum suum et David regem suum et pavebunt ad Dominum et ad bonum eius in novissimo dierum.' KJV: 'For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim:/ Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.'

⁷ Luke 1:16 'et multos filiorum Israhel convertet ad Dominum Deum ipsorum.' KJV: 'And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God.'

yet shall but a remnant of them convert than unto their lord God. Esaie 10.⁸ And though the Lord hath sifted that house of Israel (as bruised corn in a sieve) among all other nations, Amos 9.⁹ Yet shall not that remnant of theirs perish, but at that day be saved, through the only election of preacher's grace, Romano. 11.¹⁰ Now concerning the aforesaid forerunners, in this most wonderful change of the world before the latter end thereof. I think within this realm of England, besides other nations abroad, the spirit of Elijah was not all asleep in good William Tyndale, Robert Barnes, and such other more, whom Antichrist's violence hath sent hence in fire to heaven, as Elijah went afore in the fiery chariot, 4 Regum 2.¹¹

preachers

Tyndale.
Barnes.

These turned the hearts of the fathers into the children such time as they took from a great number of our nation by their godly preachings and writings, the corrupted belief of the Pope and his mystery workers (which were no fathers, but cruel robbers and destroyers, John. 10.)¹² reducing bringing back, returning them again

[3]

⁸ Isaiah 10:22 'si enim fuerit populus tuus Israhel quasi harena maris reliquiae convertentur ex eo consummatio abbreviata inundabit iustitiam.' KJV: 'For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness.'

⁹ Amos 9:9 'ecce enim ego mandabo et concutiam in omnibus gentibus domum Israhel sicut concutitur in cribro et non cadet lapillus super terram.' KJV: 'For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.'

¹⁰ Romans 11:5 'sic ergo et in hoc tempore reliquiae secundum electionem gratiae factae sunt.' KJV: 'Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace.'

¹¹ 2 Kings 2:11 'cumque pergerent et incedentes sermocinarentur ecce currus igneus et equi ignei dividerunt utrumque et ascendit Helias per turbinem in caelum.' KJV: 'And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.' Bale, following the Septuagint and Vulgate numbering, counts Samuel 1 and 2 as Kings 1 and 2, and Kings 1 and 2 as Kings 3 and 4.

¹² John 10:1: 'amen amen dico vobis qui non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium sed ascendit aliunde ille fur est et latro.' KJV: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.'

The fathers. to the true faith of Abraham and Peter, Gene. 15 and Math. 16.¹³ The pure belief in Christ's birth and passion, which Adam and Noah sucked out of the first promise of God, Jacob and Moses out of the second, David and the prophets out of the third, and so forth the Apostles and fathers out of the other scriptures, so firmly planted they in the consciences of many, that no cruel kind of death could avert them from it. As we have for example their constant disciples and now strong witnesses of Jesus Christ, John Lascelles and Anne Askew with their other 2 companions, very glorious martyrs afore God what though they be not so afore the wrong judging eyes of the world whom the bloody remnant of Antichrist put unto most cruel death in Smithfield at London, in the year of our lord, 1546 in July.

Martyrs

If they be only (as was John Baptist) great afore the lord by the holy scripture's allowance, which are strongly adorned with the graces of his spirit, as faith, force, understanding, wisdom, patience, love, long sufferan-

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¹³ Genesis 15: God's covenant with Abraham. Matthew 16: Christ's recognition of Peter as a true disciple.

ce and such like. I dare boldly affirm these 4 mighty witnesses also to be the same, so well as the martyrs of the primitive or Apostles' church. For so strongly had these those virtues as they, and so boldly objected placed opposite or adjacent; presented to the view or perception their bodies to the death for the undefiled Christian belief, against the malignant synagogue of Satan, as ever did they, for no tyranny admitting any create or corruptible substance for their eternal living God. If their blind babies to prove them unlike, do object against me, the miracles showed at their deaths more than at these, as that unfaithful generation is ever desirous of wonders Math. 12.¹⁴ I would but know of them, what miracles were showed when John Baptiste's head was cut off in the prison? Marci 6¹⁵ and when James the Apostle was beheaded at Jerusalem? Acto. 12.¹⁶ These 2 were excellent afore God, what though they were but miserable wretches, light fellows, seditious heretics, busy knaves, and lousy beggars in the sight of noble king Herod and his honourable council of prelates. For had not ¹⁷and side

Christian martyrs.

Bread.

miracles

rochets

[4]

¹⁴ Matthew 12. Bale refers to the first part of the chapter in which Christ declares himself the Lord of the Sabbath and performs miraculous acts of healing.

¹⁵ Mark 6. In which the tale of John's beheading is narrated.

¹⁶ Acts 12:2 'occidit autem Iacobum fratrem Iohannis gladio.' KJV: 'And he killed James the brother of John with the sword'. Taken to imply beheading.

¹⁷ rochets. An ecclesiastical vestment similar to a surplice, typically of white linen and chiefly worn by a bishop. Also used metonymically, as here, designating bishops or the episcopacy.

gowns been at hand, haply they had not so lightly died.

Stephen. If they allege Stephen, to maintain their purpose, that he at his death beheld heaven open.¹⁸ I ask of them again what they were which see it more than his own person? Sure I am that their wicked predecessors there present see it not. For they stopped their ears, when he told them thereof, Actorum 7.¹⁹ If they yet bring forth the other histories of apostles and martyrs, I Legends. answer them that all they are of no such authority, as these here afore. The Pope's martyrs indeed were much fuller of miracles than ever were Christ's, as hisself told us they should be so, Mathei 24.²⁰ Yet wrought friar Forest, John Fisher and Thomas More no miracles, what though many be now registered in their lives and legends by the friars of France, Italy, and Spain. Forest. Fisher. more. Besides that Johann Cochleus hath written of them *ad Paulum Pontificem ad regem Henricum*²¹ and also in their defence against Doctor Sampson. With that Writers. Erasmus did also *ad Huttenum*.²² P. M.²³ *ad Gasparem Agrippam*,²⁴ Albertus

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¹⁸ Acts 7:55 'cum autem esset plenus Spiritu Sancto intendens in caelum vidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei et ait ecce video caelos apertos et Filium hominis a dextris stantem Dei.' KJV: 'But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God.'

¹⁹ Acts 7:56 'exclamantes autem voce magna continuerunt aures suas et impetum fecerunt unanimiter in eum'. KJV 7:57 'Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord'.

²⁰ Matthew 24:24 'surgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetae et dabunt signa magna et prodigia ita ut in errorem inducantur si fieri potest etiam electi.' KJV: 'For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.'

²¹ Johannes Cochlaeus, *Ad Paulum III Pont. Max. Congratulatio super eius electione recens facta nuperque promulgate*, Lipsiae/Leipzig: Blum, 1535. See <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00024143/images/>, accessed 02 February, 2015, *ad regem Henricum* Johannes Cochlaeus, *De Matrimonio Serenissimi Regis Angliae Henrici Octavi, Congratulatio disputatoria Ad Paulum Tertium Pont. Max.*(Lipsiae/Leipzig: Blum, 1535. See <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00022535/images/>, accessed 02 February, 2015.

²² Probably refers to Erasmus' letter to Huttenus or Ulrich von Hutten. Desiderius Erasmus, 'Epistola ad U. Huttenum de vita et moribus Thomae Mori', letter dated 1519, Francof., Germany: Egenolphus, 1536. See http://erasmus.cyltr.nl//pdf/2707/EOL2707_059.pdf, accessed 02 February, 2015. For Huttenus see <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/613311/Ulrich-von-Hutten>, accessed 02 February, 2015

²³ Philip Melanchthon, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_Melanchthon, accessed 02 February 2015

²⁴ unidentified work

Pighius, Rivius, Fichardus,²⁵ and a great sort more. And as for the holy maid of Kent²⁶ with Doctor Bocking,²⁷ though they wrought great wonders by their life, yet appeared none at their deaths. Of his own chosen martyrs, Christ looketh for Christian martyrs none other miracle but that only they persevere faithful to the end, Math. 10.²⁸ And never deny his verity afore men. Luce 12.²⁹ For that worthy victory of the sinful world, standeth in the invincibleness of faith, and not in miracles and wonders, as those wavering wits suppose 1. Joan. 5.³⁰

Christian
martyrs.

Right wonderfully will this appear in the 2 mighty conflicts here after following, which the faithful servant of Jesus Anne Askew, a gentlewoman very young, dainty³¹ and tender had with that outraging synagogue, in her 2 examinations, about the 25 year of her age, whom she sent abroad by her own hand writing. The handlings of her other 3 companions shall be showed in other several treatises at leisure.³² For the glory and great power of the

Anne
Askew.

God's
power.

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²⁵ Probably Johann Fichard, see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Fichard, accessed 02 February, 2015. Beilin identifies him as Thomas Fich, but Johann Fichard seems a likelier candidate. Henry Summerson's ODNB article on Fich/Fyche, d. 1518, defines him as an ecclesiastical writer and canon of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Dublin. His two major works were the cathedral's *Liber albus*, a miscellany of charters, papal bulls, memoranda and other administrative documents; and a book of obituaries naming the cathedral's benefactors from the twelfth century. In contradistinction, Johann/Johannes Fichard/Fichardus, 1512–1581, was one of the most prominent jurists of his time and a syndic of Frankfurt am Main. Fichard published his collection of lives, the *Virorum qui superiori nostroque seculo erudition et doctrina illustres atque memorabiles fuerunt Vitae iamprimum in hoc volume collectae* in 1536 in Frankfurt with Christian Egenolphus, the publisher of Erasmus' letter to Huttenum cited above. The slim volume of 18 lives seeks to explore the parallel virtues of Northern and Southern humanism. Ten of these lives are of Italian humanists, six of Germans and only two of Englishmen, being Erasmus' accounts of Colet and More. See Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Renaissance Europe: Lives of Reformers by Friends, Disciples and Foes* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2008).

²⁶ Elizabeth Barton. See <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/54446/Elizabeth-Barton>, and <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/nunofkent.htm>, accessed 02 February, 2015.

²⁷ Edward Bocking. See http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Bocking,_Edward_%28DNB00%29, accessed 02 February, 2015.

²⁸ Matthew 10:37–42 in which Jesus outlines the conditions and rewards of discipleship.

²⁹ Luke 12:9 'qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus denegabitur coram angelis Dei.' KJV: 'But he that denieth me before men shall be denied before the angels of God.'

³⁰ Bale refers to the exposition on faith in the incarnate Son of God leading to salvation, especially 1 John 5:20 'et scimus quoniam Filius Dei venit et dedit nobis sensum ut cognoscamus verum Deum et simus in vero Filio eius hic est verus Deus et vita aeterna.' KJV: 'And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.'

³¹ When used of persons, 'Of delicate or tender beauty or grace' or 'Possessing or displaying delicate taste, perception, or sensibility'.

³² However, no accounts of the trials of John Lascelles, John Hemley and John Hadlam by Bale have been recorded

Books
condemned.

Latin.

God will
be known.

lord, so manifestly appearing in his elect vessels may not now perish at all hands, and be unthankfully neglected but be spread the world over, as well in Latin as English, to the perpetual infamy of so wilfully cruel and spiteful tyrants. Nothing at all shall it terrify us, nor yet in any point let us of our purpose that our books are now in England condemned and burnt³³ by the Bishops and priests with their frantic affinity, the great Antichrist's upholders, which seek by all practices possible to turn over the king's most noble and godly enterprise. But it will from henceforth occasion us to set in the Latin forth also that afore we wrote only in the English, and so make their spiritual wickedness and treason known much further off. What availed it Joachim to burn Jeremiah's prophecy by the ungracious counsel of his prelates? Hier. 36.³⁴ Either yet Antiochus to set fire on the other scriptures? 1. Macha. 1.³⁵

After the Apostles were brought afore the council and straightly comman-

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³³ Proclamation for collection and burning of books by Tyndale, Coverdale, Wycliffe, Bale, Barnes, and others. 08 July 1546. Confiscated books were burned at St Paul's cross on 26 September. See http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/commentary/uk_1538/uk_1538_com_972007121733.html, accessed 05 February 2015.

³⁴ Jeremiah 36:22–29

³⁵ 1 Maccabees/ Apocryphal Book of the Maccabees 1:59 'et libros legis Dei conbuserunt igni scindentes eos.' KJV 1 Maccabees 1:56 'And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire.'

ded to cease from preaching, they preached much more than afore. Acto. 4.³⁶
In most terrible persecutions of the primitive church were the examinations
and answers, torments and deaths of the constant martyrs written, and sent
abroad all the whole world over, as testifieth Eusebius Cesariensis in his
ecclesiastic history. Their copies abound yet every where. Great slaughter and
burning hath been here in England for John Wycliffe's books, ever since the
year of our lord 1382. Yet have not one of them thoroughly perished. I have
at this hour the titles of a 100 and 44 of them, which are many more in
number. For some of them under one title comprehendeth 2 books, some 3
some 4. Yea, one of them containeth 12. I think not the contrary but ere the
world be at a full end, God will so glorify that twenty times condemned
heretic, execrated, cursed, spitted, and spatled,³⁷ that all your popish writers
before his time and after, will be reckoned but vile swineherds to him, for the
good favour he bore to Christ's holy Gospel. A very madness is it to strive

John
Wycliffe's
books.

Canonise

[6]

³⁶ Acts 4:17–20

³⁷ spat at

gamaliel against God, when he will have the long hidden iniquities known. As the godly wise man Gamaliel said, Acto. Gamaliel 5.³⁸ If this enterprize that is now taken against you be of God, ye shall never be able with all your tyrannous practises to dissolve it.

Anne Askew. Now concerning that blessed woman Anne Askew, which lately suffered the tyranny of this world for righteousness' sake. In Lincolnshire was she born of a very ancient and noble stock, Sir William Askew a worthy knight being her father. But no worthiness in the flesh, neither yet any worldly nobleness availeth to God ward, afore whom is no acceptation of person, Actorum 10.³⁹ Only is it faith with his true love and fear which maketh us the accept, noble and worthy children unto God, Joan. 1.⁴⁰ Whereof by his gift, she had wonderful abundance. Such a one was she, as was Lydia the purple seller, whose heart the lord opened by the godly preaching of Paul at Thyatira, Acto. 16.⁴¹ For diligent heed gave she to his word when it was once taught without su-

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³⁸ Acts 5:39 'si vero ex Deo est non poteritis dissolvere eos ne forte et Deo repugnare inveniamini consenserunt autem illi.' KJV: 'But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.'

³⁹ Acts 10:34 'aperiens autem Petrus os dixit in veritate conperi quoniam non est personarum acceptor Deus.' KJV: 'Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons.'

⁴⁰ Probably John 1:12 'quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius.' KJV: 'But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.'

⁴¹ Acts 16:14 'et quaedam mulier nomine Lydia purpuraria civitatis Thyatirenorum colens Deum audivit cuius Dominus aperuit cor intendere his quae dicebantur a Paulo.' KJV: 'And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul.'

perstition and would no longer be a false worshipper or idolater after the wicked school of Antichrist. But became from thenceforth a true worshipper, worshipping her lord God (which is a spirit and not bread) in spirit and in verity according to that word of his, Joan. 4.⁴² The Gospel of Christ bare she in her heart, as did the holy maid Cecilia and never after ceased from the study thereof, nor from godly communication and prayer, till she was clearly by most cruel torments taken from this wretched world.

Cecilia

By her do I here (dear friends in the lord) as did the faithful Brethren in France, at the eyries of Lyons and Vienna a like faithful young woman called Blandina.⁴³ Which was there put to death with 3 mighty companions more among other (as this was) for her Christian belief, about the year of our lord 100 and 70 in the primitive spring of their Christianity. They wrote unto their brethren in the lands of Asia and Phrygia very far off, her mighty strong sufferings for Christ's faith, which they knew nothing of afore. I write here unto

Blandina

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⁴² John 4:24 'spiritus est Deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare.' KJV: 'God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.'

⁴³ Vienne, in Gaul. Eusebius reproduces parts of the letter sent by the brethren of the church of Vienne and Lyons to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia in Book 5, Chapter 1. Blandina's sufferings are narrated in 5.1:18–19. For an electronic text see the Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Arthur C. McGiffert trans. 'The Church History of Eusebius: Translated with Prolegomena and Notes' in Philip Schaff and Henry Wade eds., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Series 2, Vol. 1. Print. Electronic text available at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.x.ii.html>, accessed 02 February 2015.

Anne
Askew.

companions.

Recanters.

Tried
Gold.

you in England the double process of this noble woman, whereof ye are not ignorant, for so much as it was there so manifestly done among you. Coupled I have these 2 examples together, because I find them in so many points agree. Blandina was young and tender. So was Anne Askew also. But that which was frail of nature in them both Christ made most strong by his grace. Blandina had 3 earnest companions in Christ, Maturus, Sanctes, and Attalus, so fervently faithful as herself. So had Anne Askew 3 fine fellows, a gentleman called John Lascelles her instructor, a priest, and a tailor called John Adlam,⁴⁴ men in Christ's verity unto the end most constant. With Blandina were in prison to the number of 10 which renyed⁴⁵ the truth and were clearly forsaken of God for it. How many fell from Christ besides Crome⁴⁶ and Shaxton when Anne Askew stood fast by him, I am uncertain. He preached the sermon at Askew's execution after having recanted. But I counsel them, as Saint John counselled the Laodiceans, in the miserable estate they are now in to buy them, through tried gold of Christ, lest they perish

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⁴⁴ 'John Lascelles, John Hadlam, who was a tailor, and John Hemley, formerly an Observant friar.' Diane Watt. 'Askew , Anne (c.1521–1546)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. 2004. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/798>, accessed 18 Feb 2015. DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/798.

⁴⁵ renyed: that has renounced or abandoned a religious or political belief, principle, or affiliation; apostate; treacherous, disloyal.

⁴⁶ Edward Crome, d. 1562, clergyman and religious controversialist. Although known for his political savvy in negotiating the dangerous waters of the reformist movement, in 1547 he attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation in sermons delivered at St Mary Aldermary and at the Mercer's chapel, St Thomas Acon, preaching that the mass was a commemoration of Christs' death. He was accused of heresy like Askew, seemed to submit but was urged not to by fellow reformers like Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton. He appeared at Paul's Cross on 27 June to deliver an ambiguous apology. Askew, who had attended his sermons, was burned on 16 July. See <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6749>, accessed 22 January 2015. DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/6749

all together, Apoca. 3.⁴⁷ If they had not still remained in that chancel whom Christ commanded John in no wise to measure, Apoca. 11.⁴⁸ They had never so shamefully blasphemed, like as Bede also toucheth in his former prophecy.

The
chancel

Prompt was Blandina and of most lusty courage in rendering her life for the liberty of her faith. No less lively and quick was Anne Askew in all her enprisonings and torments. Great was the love Blandina had to Christ. No less was the love of Anne Askew. Blandina never fainted in torment. No more did Anne Askew in spirit, when she was so terribly racked of Wriothesley the chancellor and Rich, that the strings of her arms and eyes were perished. Blandina derided the cruelty of the tyrants. So did Anne Askew the madness of the Bishops and their speech men.⁴⁹ Red burning plates of iron and of brass had Blandina put to her sides. So had Anne Askew the flaming brands of fire. Full of God and his verity was Blandina. So was Anne Askew to the very end. Christ wonderfully

Courage.

Racked.

Burned.

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⁴⁷ Revelation 3:18 ‘suadeo tibi emere a me aurum ignitum probatum ut locuples fias et vestimentis albis induaris et non appareat confusio nuditatis tuae et collyrio inungue oculos tuos ut videas.’ KJV: ‘I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see.’

⁴⁸ Revelation 13:2 ‘atrium autem quod est foris templum eice foras et ne metieris eum quoniam datum est gentibus et civitatem sanctam calcabunt mensibus quadraginta duobus.’ KJV: ‘But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.’

⁴⁹ spokesmen

triumphed in Blandina. So did he in Anne Askew when she made no noise on the rack and so earnestly afterward rejoiced in him. Blandina was given forth to wild beasts to be devoured. So was Anne Askew to cruel Bishops and priests whom Christ calleth ravening wolves, devourers, and thieves. Math. 7.⁵⁰ and Joan. 10.⁵¹ Blandina upon the scaffold boldly reprehended the pagan priests of their error. So did Anne Askew when she was fast tied to the stake with stomach⁵² rebuke that blasphemous apostate Shaxton with the Bishops and priests generation for their manifest maintenance of idolatry.

Blandina at the stake showed a visage unterrified. So did Anne Askew a countenance stout, mighty and earnest. Infatigable⁵³ was the spirit of Blandina. So was the spirit of Anne Askew. The love of Jesus Christ, the gift of the holy Ghost, and hope of the crown of martyrdom greatly mitigated the pain in Blandina. So did these 3 worthy graces the terror of all torments in Anne Askew. The strong

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⁵⁰ Matthew 7:15 'ad tēdite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces.' KJV: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.'

⁵¹ The parable of the good shepherd, esp. John 10:8: 'omnes quotquot venerunt fures sunt et latrones sed non audierunt eos oves.' KJV: 'All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them.'

⁵² spirit, courage, valour

⁵³ indefatigable

spirit of Christ gave stomach to Blandina both to laugh and dance. The same mighty spirit (and not the pope's desperate spirit) made Anne Askew both to rejoice and sing in the prison.⁵⁴ So bold was Blandina (saith Eusebius) that with a presumption of stomach she commoved⁵⁵ with Christ unseen. I suppose Anne Askew's latter examination will show her nor to do much less. Gentle was Blandina to the Christian believers and terrible to their adversaries. So was Anne Askew very lowly to true teachers, but scornful and high stomached⁵⁶ to the enemies of truth. Many were converted by the sufferance of Blandina. A far greater number by the burning of Anne Askew. Though Blandina were young, yet was she called the mother of martyrs. Many men have supposed Anne Askew for her Christian constancy to be no less. Blandina prayed for her persecutors. So did Anne Askew most fervently. The ashes of Blandina and of other martyrs, were thrown into the flood of Rhodanus.⁵⁷ What was done with the Ashes of Anne Askew and her companions, I cannot yet tell.

Spirit.

High stomach

Mother

Ashes

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⁵⁴ 'The Balade which Anne Askew made and sange whan she was in Newgate.' Printed in the *Latter Examination*.

⁵⁵ to move in mind or feeling, stir to emotion, rouse to passion; to excite

⁵⁶ high stomach: pride, haughtiness, obstinacy, stubbornness

⁵⁷ river Rhône

Authors. All these former reports of Blandina and many more besides, hath Eusebius in *Ecclesiastica historia*, libro 5. cap. 1. 2. and 3. Hugo Floriacensis, Hermannus Contractus, Vincentius, Antoninus, Petrus Equilinus, and other historians more. And as touching Anne Askew, these 2 examinations with her other known handlings in England are witnesses for her sufficient. Thus hath not the fire taken Anne Askew all whole from the world but left her here unto it more pure, perfect, and precious than afore, as it will also Johan Lascelles within short space. So that concerning her, it may well be said, that Paul verifieth, 2. Cor. 12.⁵⁸ The strength of God is here made perfect by weakness. When she seemed most feeble, then was she most strong. And gladly she rejoiced in that weakness, that Christ's power might strongly dwell in her. Thus choseth the lord, the foolish of this world to confound the wise and the weak to deface the mighty. Yea, things despised and thought very vile, to bring things unto nought which the world hath in most⁵⁹ reputa-

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⁵⁸ 2 Corinthians 12:10 'propter quod placeo mihi in infirmitatibus in contumeliis in necessitatibus in persecutionibus in angustiis pro Christo cum enim infirmior tunc potens sum.' KJV: 'Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I strong.'

⁵⁹ high Emended from 'hyght' following Beilin

tion. I think if this martyr were rightly conferred, with those canonised martyrs, which have had, and yet hath still, censings⁶⁰ and singings, massings and ringings⁶¹ in the pope's English church, cause with cause and reason with reason (as haply here after they shall) she should be a great blemish unto them. An example of strong sufferance might this holy martyr be unto all them that the lord shall after like manner put forward in this horrible fury of Antichrist, to the glory of his persecuted church.

Martyrs

Example

Amen

A table compendious of this first book.

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⁶⁰ burning incense

⁶¹ of bells for canonised martyrs. Roman Catholic rituals

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The First Examination

of the worthy servant of God mistress Anne Askew the younger daughter of Sir William Askew knight of lincoln shire, lately martyred in Smithfield by the Romish pope's upholders.

The censure or judgement of John Bale thereupon, after the sacred Scriptures and Chronicles.

Of no less Christian constancy was this faithful witness and holy martyr of God, Anne Askew, nor no less a fast member of Christ⁶² by her mighty persistence in his verity at this time of mischief, than was the afore named Blandina in the primitive chur-

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⁶² Limb of Christ's 'body.' Beilin.

Spirits

ch. This shall well appear in her 2 examinations or tyrannous handlings here following, whom⁶³ she wrote with her own hand, at the instant⁶⁴ desire of certain faithful men and women, yea rather at the secret motion of God that the truth thereof might be known the world over. As within short space it will be, if the latin speech can carry⁶⁵ it. Mark well the communications⁶⁶ here both of her and of her examiners, so proving their spirits as S. Johan the Apostle giveth you counsel. 1 Jo. 4.⁶⁷ And then shall ye know the tree by his fruit⁶⁸ and the man by his work.

Anne Askew.

Christopher dare.

To satisfy your expectation, good people (saith she) this was my first examination in the year of our Lord 1545 and in the month of March, first Christopher dare⁶⁹ examined me at Sadler's hall,⁷⁰ being one of the quest,⁷¹ and asked if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was

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⁶³ i.e. which

⁶⁴ pressing, urgent, importunate

⁶⁵ emended from 'cayrye' following Beilin.

⁶⁶ interactions

⁶⁷ First Epistle of John. 1 John 4:1–6 cautions against heeding false prophets who pretend to the Spirit.

⁶⁸ common motif in the Gospels, for example, Matthew 7:17 and Luke 6:44

⁶⁹ one of the twelve appointed to conduct the quest, otherwise unidentified. Beilin.

⁷⁰ belonging to the Saddler's Company on Gutter Lane. Ben Weinreb et. al. eds. *The London Encyclopaedia*, London: Macmillan, 2008, p. 184, provides the first location of the hall on adjacent Foster Lane dating from the end of the 14th century, but destroyed in 1666. The third rebuilding of the hall was destroyed by the WWII bombings in 1940.

⁷¹ body of people appointed to hold an inquiry

the very body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him, wherefore S. Stephen was stoned to death? And he said he could not tell. Then I answered that no more would I assoil⁷² his vain question.

John Bale.

A sacrament (saith Saint Augustine) is a sign, shape, or similitude of that it representeth, and no God nor yet thing represented. This word real or really is not of belief,⁷³ for it is not in all the sacred scriptures. Only is it sophistically⁷⁴ borrowed of the pagans' learning by Winchester and his fellows, to corrupt our Christian faith. Beware of that filthy poison. The perfect belief of Stephen, Actorum 7, of Paul, Act. 17, and of Solomon, 3. Regum 8. et 2. Paral. 6 was, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.⁷⁵ Agreeable unto this was the faith of this godly woman, which neither could believe that he dwelleth in the box. God saith, Esaie 66, Heaven is my seat,⁷⁶

Really.

The box

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⁷² resolve

⁷³ part of belief

⁷⁴ from sophistry, i.e. fallaciously

⁷⁵ Acts 7:48 'sed non Excelsus in manufactis habitat sicut propheta dicit.' KJV: 'Howbeit the most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the prophet.' Paul's discourse to the Athenians, Acts 17:24 'Deus qui fecit mundum et omnia quae in eo sunt hic caeli et terrae cum sit Dominus non in manufactis templis inhabitat.' KJV: 'God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands.'

3 Kings is 1 Kings in the modern division. 1 and 2 Kings thus refer to 1 and 2 Samuel, while 3 and 4 Kings refer to the modern 1 and 2 Kings. 1 Kings 8:27 'ergone putandum est quod vere Deus habitat super terram si enim caelum et caeli caelorum te capere non possunt quanto magis domus haec quam aedificavi.' KJV: 'But will God indeed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded?'

Variation of same narrative in Paralipomenon/Chronicles. 2 Chronicles 6:18 'ergone credibile est ut habitat Deus cum hominibus super terram si caelum et caeli caelorum non te capiunt quanto magis domus ista quam aedificavi'. KJV: 'But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built!'

⁷⁶ Isaiah 66:1 'haec dicit Dominus caelum sedis mea et terra scabillum pedum meorum quae ista domus quam aedificabitis mihi et quis iste locus quietis meae. KJV: 'Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: whereis the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?'

not the box. David saith, Psalm 113⁷⁷ our God is in heaven, not in the pyx.⁷⁸ Christ taught us to say, when we pray, Matth. 6. Luce 11,⁷⁹ our father which art in heaven, and not our father which art in the box. Now discern and judge.

Anne Askew.

Temples. Secondly he said, that there was a woman, which did testify that I should read how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I showed him the 7 and the 17 Chapter of the Apostles acts, what Stephen and Paul had said therein.⁸⁰ Whereupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered that I would not throw pearls among swine,⁸¹ for acorns were good enough.

John Bale.

An ignorant woman, yea a beast with out faith, is herein allowed to judge the holy scriptures heresy and against all good laws admitted to accuse this

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⁷⁷ Vulgate/Septuagint numbering following Greek numbering. KJV splits it into 114 and 115, following the Masoretic or Hebrew divisions. Psalm 113:11 'Deus autem noster in caelo universa quae voluit fecit.' KJV Psalm 115:3 'But our God is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased.'

⁷⁸ box in which the consecrated Eucharistic bread is kept

⁷⁹ The Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6:5–15 and Luke 11:1–13

⁸⁰ Acts 7:48 and 17:24 see note on p. 25 above. Bale refers to this numerous times

⁸¹ Matthew 7:6 'nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis et conversi dirumpant vos.' KJV: 'Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.'

godly woman the servant of Christ for an heinous heretic for the only reading of them. As perverse and blasphemous was this questmonger⁸² as she, and as beastly ignorant in the doctrine of health,⁸³ yet is neither of them judged ill of the world,⁸⁴ but the one permitted to accuse this true member of Christ and the other to condemn her. Wherefore her answer out of the 7 chapter of Matthew was most fit for them. For they are no better than swine that so condemn the precious treasure of the Gospel for the mire of men's traditions.

Accusers.

Anne Askew.

Thirdly he asked me, wherefore I said that I had rather to read five lines in the Bible than to hear five masses in the temple. I confessed, that I said no less. Not for the dispraise of either the Epistle or Gospel. But because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As saint Paul doth witness in the 14

Masses

[3]

⁸² person who conducts or participates in judicial inquiries; especially one who habitually profits by initiating lawsuits

⁸³ salvation

⁸⁴ evil by the world

chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians whereas he doth say, If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?⁸⁵

John Bale.

God's
word.

A commandment hath Christ given us to search the holy scriptures, Johan 5, for in them only is the life eternal.⁸⁶ Blessed is he (saith Christ unto John) which readeth and heareth the words of this prophecy, Apo. 1.⁸⁷ But of the latin popish masse, is not one word in all the Bible and therefore it pertaineth not to faith. A straight commandment have almighty God given, Deutro. 12.⁸⁸ that nothing be added to his word, nor yet taken from it. Put thou nothing unto his words (saith Solomon, Prov. 30.)⁸⁹ lest thou be found in so doing a reprobate person and a liar. S. Paul willed nothing to be uttered in a dead speech, 1 Corin. 14 (as are your mass and matins), but silence always to be in the congregations, where as is no interpreter; for five words (saith he) availeth

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⁸⁵ 1 Corinthians 14:8 'etenim si incertam vocem det tuba quis parabit se ad bellum.' KJV: 'For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?'

⁸⁶ John 5:39 'scrutamini scripturas quia vos putatis in ipsis vitam aeternam habere et illae sunt quae testimonium perhibent de me.' KJV: 'Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.'

⁸⁷ Revelation 1:3 'beatus qui legit et qui audiunt verba prophetiae et servant ea quae in ea scripta sunt tempus enim prope est.' KJV: 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.'

⁸⁸ Deuteronomy 12:32 'quod praecipio tibi hoc tantum facito Domino nec addas quicquam nec minuas.' KJV: 'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.'

⁸⁹ Proverbs 30:6 'ne addas quicquam verbis illius et arguaris inveniarisque mendax.' KJV: 'Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.'

more to understanding, than 10 thousand words with the tongue.⁹⁰ This proveth temple service of the papists all the year, to be worth nothing.

Anne Askew.

Fourthly he laid unto my charge, that I should say, If an ill priest ministered, it was the devil and not God. My answer was, that I never spoke such thing. The priest
But this was my saying, That what so ever he were, which ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith. But in spirit I received never the less the body and blood of Christ.

John Bale.

Christ saith, Joan. 6,⁹¹ Have not I chosen you 12 and yet one of you is a devil, meaning Judas that false and unfaithful priest. No less saith Peter. 2 Judas.
Pet. 2⁹² of those lying curates, by whom the truth is blasphemed, and the people made

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⁹⁰ 1 Corinthians 14:9–23 privileges prophecy over the ability to speak in tongues. Especially 14:19 ‘sed in ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui ut et alios instruam quam decem milia verborum in lingua.’ KJV: ‘Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.’

⁹¹ the miracle of the feeding of five thousand men with five loaves of bread and in which Christ reveals himself to be the bread of life culminating in the assertion in John 6:48 ‘ego sum panis vitae.’ KJV: ‘I am that bread of life.’ Bale, naturally, refers to this chapter numerous times since this is a pivotal text in the sacramental debate. Here the reference is to John 6:71 ‘respondit eis Iesus nonne ego vos duodecim elegi et ex vobis unus diabolus est.’ KJV 6:70 ‘Jesus answered them, Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?’

⁹² 2 Peter 2:3 ‘et in avaritia fictis verbis de vobis negotiabuntur quibus iudicium iam olim non cessat et perditio eorum non dormitat.’ KJV: ‘And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.’

Sacrifices.

The 6 of
John

merchandise of in their covetousness. If the ill fruit then be all one with the ill tree in naughtiness, the work of a devil must be devilish. God said unto the wicked priests, Esa. 1, Hier. 6, Amos 5, and Mala. 2⁹³ that he abhorred their sacrifices, and also hated them, even at the very heart, willing both heaven and earth to mark it. Into Judas entered Satan, after the sop was given him, Joan. 13.⁹⁴ where as the other Apostles received the body and blood of Christ. The table was all one to them both, so was the bread which their mouths received. The inward receivings then in Peter and in Judas made all the diversity, which was belief and unbelief, or faith and unfaithfulness, as Christ largely declareth in the 6 of Johan, where as he showed afore hand, the full doctrine of that mystical supper. Only he that believeth, hath there the promise of the life everlasting, and not he that eateth the material bread. Of God are they taught, and not of men, which truly understand this doctrine.⁹⁵

Anne Askew.

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⁹³ Isaiah 1:13 ‘ne adferatis ultra sacrificium frustra incensum abominatio est mihi neomeniam et sabbatum et festivitates alias non feram iniqui sunt coetus vestri.’ KJV: ‘Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.’

Jeremiah 6:20 ‘ut quid mihi tus de Saba adfertis et calamum suave olentem de terra longinqua holocaustomata vestra non sunt accepta et victimae vestrae non placuerunt mihi.’ KJV: ‘To what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country? your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me.’

Amos 5:25 ‘numquid hostias et sacrificium obtulistis mihi in deserto quadraginta annis domus Israhel.’ KJV: ‘Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?’

Malachi 2:13 ‘et hoc rursum fecistis operiebatis lacrimis altare Domini fletu et mugitu ita ut ultra non respiciam ad sacrificium nec accipiam placabile quid de manu vestra.’ KJV: ‘And this have ye done again, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that he regardeth not the offering any more, or receiveth it with good will at your hand.’

⁹⁴ John 13:27 ‘et post buccellam tunc introivit in illum Satanias dicit ei Iesus quod facis fac citius.’ KJV: ‘And after the sop Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly.’

⁹⁵ John 6, see note on p. 29

Fifthly he asked me, what I said concerning confession? I answered him my meaning, which was as Saint James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other.⁹⁶ Confession

John Bale.

This confession only do the scripture appoint us, Jac. 5⁹⁷ as we have offended our neighbour: But if we have offended God, we must sorrowfully acknowledge it before him—And⁹⁸ he (saith Saint John, 1 Johan. 1)⁹⁹ hath faithfully promised to forgive us our sins, if we so do, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If the law of truth be in the priest's mouth, he is to be sought unto for godly counsel, Mala. 2.¹⁰⁰ But if he be a blasphemous hypocrite or superstitious fool, he is to be shourned¹⁰¹ as a most pestilent poison. Priests.

Anne Askew.

Sixthly he asked me, what I said to the king's book?¹⁰² And I answered him, that I could The king's book.

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⁹⁶ James 5:16 'confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra et orate pro invicem ut salvemini multum enim valet deprecatio iusti adsidua.' KJV: 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.' For the Epistle of St James see <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08275b.htm> accessed 28 February 2015.

⁹⁷ Jacobus 5 i.e. Epistle of St. James. See note on James 5:16 above.

⁹⁸ Beilin emends the hyphen between 'him' and 'And' to a period. However, in view of the preceding colon, and the traditional usage of colons and dashes to expand an idea and carry it forward, it seems logical to infer a dash in place of the angled double-stroke hyphen used at this point in the source.

⁹⁹ Closing parenthesis omitted in source. 1 John 1:9 'si confiteamur peccata nostra fidelis est et iustus ut remittat nobis peccata et emundet nos ab omni iniquitate.' KJV: 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.'

¹⁰⁰ Malachi 2:7 'labia enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam et legem requirent ex ore eius quia angelus Domini exercituum est.' KJV: 'For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.'

¹⁰¹ shunned

¹⁰² *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man, set furthe by the kynges maiestie of Englande*, ostensibly by Henry VII, printed by the royal printer Thomas Bartlet, 1543. Commonly called *The King's Book*. STC 2nd. ed. 5169. This is a revised and enlarged version of *The institution of a Christen man*, 1537, known as *The Bishops' Book*, STC 2nd ed. 5164. Both publications reflect Henry's policy to pursue the tricky middle path by reconciling Catholic theology with reforms already accomplished as the official national doctrine. For an electronic text of an 1895 edition see <http://anglicanhistory.org/henry/book/> accessed 28 February 2015.

say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

John Bale.

Pharisees. All crafty ways possible sought this quarrelling questmonger, or else the devil in him, to bring this poor innocent lamb to the slaughter place of Antichrist. Much after this sort sought the wicked Pharisees by certain of their own faction or hired satellites with the Herodians, to bring Christ in danger of Caesar, and so to have him slain, Mat. 22. Mar. 12. Luce 21.¹⁰³

Anne Askew.

Seventhly he asked me if I had the spirit of God in me? I answered if I had not I was but a reprobate or cast away.

John Bale.

The spirit. Elect are we of God (saith Peter) through the sanctifying of the spirit. 1 Petri 1.¹⁰⁴ In every true Christian belief dwelleth the spirit of God. Jo. 14.¹⁰⁵ Their souls are the sanctified temples of the holy Ghost. 1 Corin. 3.¹⁰⁶ He that hath not the spirit of Christ (saith Paul) is none of Christ's, Roma. 8.¹⁰⁷ To them is the ho-

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¹⁰³ Matthew 22:15–22, Mark 12:13–17 and Luke 20:20–26, erroneously printed 21 in original. The ‘render unto Caesar’ verses in the synoptic gospels. All three agree that hostile questioners tried to trap Jesus into answering whether Jews should pay taxes to Caesar. The accounts in Matthew and Mark say that the questioners were Pharisees and Herodians, while Luke mentions only ‘insidiatores’ or ‘spies’ sent by ‘principes sacerdotum et scribae’ or ‘chief priests and scribes.’

¹⁰⁴ 1 Peter 1:1–2 ‘Petrus apostolus Iesu Christi electis advenis dispersionis Ponti Galatiae Cappadociae Asiae et Bithyniae/ secundum praescientiam Dei Patris in sanctificatione Spiritus in oboedientiam et aspersionem sanguinis Iesu Christi gratia vobis et pax multiplicetur.’ KJV: ‘Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,/ Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, be multiplied.’

¹⁰⁵ John 14:17 ‘Spiritum veritatis quem mundus non potest accipere quia non videt eum nec scit eum vos autem cognoscitis eum quia apud vos manebit et in vobis erit.’ KJV: ‘Even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.’

¹⁰⁶ 1 Corinthians 3:16 ‘nescitis quia templum Dei estis et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis.’ KJV: ‘Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?’

¹⁰⁷ Romans 8:9 ‘vos autem in carne non estis sed in Spiritu si tamen Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet hic non est eius.’ KJV: ‘But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.’

ly Ghost given which heareth the Gospel and believeth it, and not unto them which will be justified by their works, Gala. 2.¹⁰⁸ All these worthy scriptures confirm her saying.

Anne Askew.

Then he said, he had sent for a priest to examine me, which was there at hand. The priest asked me, what I said to the Sacrament of the altar?¹⁰⁹ And required much to know therein my meaning. But I desired him again, to hold me excused concerning that matter. None other answer would I make him, because I perceived him a papist. i.e. Roman Catholic Ap:

John Bale.

Mocking priests (saith Esay) hath rule of the lord's people. Whose voices are in their drunkenness. Bid that may be bidden, forbid that may be forbidden. Keep¹¹⁰ back that may be kept back, here a little and there a little. Esaie 28.¹¹¹ A plague shall come upon these, for why, they have changed the ordinances, and made the everlasting testa- Mockers.

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¹⁰⁸ Galatians 2:16 'scientes autem quod non iustificatur homo ex operibus legis nisi per fidem Iesu Christi et nos in Christo Iesu credidimus ut iustificemur ex fide Christi et non ex operibus legis propter quod ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro.' KJV: 'Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.'

¹⁰⁹ i.e. the rite of the Eucharist

¹¹⁰ 'keep' in source. Sentence case introduced here.

¹¹¹ Isaiah 28:7–13. The tribe of Ephraim likened to drunks and incontinent. The repetitions in the Hebrew of v. 10, 'quia manda remanda manda remanda expecta reexpecta expecta reexpecta modicum ibi modicum ibi?' 'For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little' is a derisive jingle, indicating the mockery of Isaiah's message as nonsense by the people of Ephraim.

A serpent
riseth.

ment of none effect, Esa. 24.¹¹² They withhold (saith S. Paul) the verity of God in unrighteousness, Roma. 1.¹¹³ They breed cockatrice¹¹⁴ eggs (saith Isaiah) and weave the spider's web. Who so eateth of their eggs, dieth. But if one treadeth upon them, there cometh up a serpent, Esaie 59.¹¹⁵

Anne Askew.

Eighthly he asked me, if I did not think, that private masses did help souls departed. And I said, it was great Idololatri¹¹⁶ to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

John Bale.

Masses
private.

Here, riseth the serpent of the cockatrice eggs, workmanly¹¹⁷ to fulfil the afore alleged prophecy. If their Masses had been of God's creation, ordinance or commandment, or if they had been in any point necessary for man's behoof,¹¹⁸ they had been registered in the book of life, which is the sacred Bible. But therein is, neither mention of Mass pri-

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¹¹² Isaiah 24:5 'et terra interfecta est ab habitatoribus suis quia transgressi sunt leges mutaverunt ius dissipaverunt foedus sempiternum.' KJV: 'The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant.'

¹¹³ Romans 1:18 'revelatur enim ira Dei de caelo super omnem impietatem et iniustitiam hominum eorum qui veritatem in iniustitiam detinent.' KJV: 'For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.'

¹¹⁴ serpent, identified with the basilisk, fabulously said to kill by its mere glance, and to be hatched from a cock's egg

¹¹⁵ Isaiah 59:5 'ova aspidum ruperunt et telas araneae texuerunt qui comederit de ovis eorum morietur et quod confotum est erumpet in regulum.' KJV: 'They hatch cockatrice' eggs, and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper.'

¹¹⁶ idolatry

¹¹⁷ workmanlike, skilfully, competently; efficiently

¹¹⁸ benefit, profit

vate nor public, several nor common,¹¹⁹ single nor double, high nor low,¹²⁰ by foot nor on horseback, or by note¹²¹ as they call it. If they be things added by man's invention (as they can be none other, not being there named) than am I sure that the scriptures call them filthiness, rust, chaff, draffe,¹²² swill, drunkenness, fornication, menstrie,¹²³ man's dirt, adders' eggs, poison, snares, the bread of wicked lies, and the cup of God's curse. Their original ground should seem to be taken of the Druids or pagan Priests, which inhabited this realm long afore Christ's incarnation, and had then practised sacrifices public and private. Look¹²⁴ Cornelius Tacitus, Caius Julius Plinius,¹²⁵ Strabo¹²⁶ and such other authors. That name of privation¹²⁷ added unto their Mass, clearly depriveth it of Christian communion, where one man eateth up all, and distributeth nothing.

Druids

How such ware should help the souls departed, I cannot tell. But well I wote¹²⁸ that the wounded man betwixt Jerusalem and Jericho, had no help of them, Luce 10.¹²⁹ The Samaritan which was reckoned but a pagan among them, was

For souls

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¹¹⁹ individual nor communal. Beilin.

¹²⁰ high mass: celebrated with deacon, subdeacon, insense, music, i.e. full ceremonial mass. Low mass: often only read, without music and with minimal ceremony.

¹²¹ music

¹²² refuse, dregs, lees; wash or swill given to swine

¹²³ menstrual discharge

¹²⁴ see

¹²⁵ Beilin identifies this as Pliny the Younger, author of the *Epistolae* that reflect contemporary Roman society. However, Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* is more context-appropriate, especially the discussion of plants used in tattooing in Book 22 Chapter 2. See <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D22%3Achapter%3D2> accessed 28 February 2015.

¹²⁶ Greek author of the *Geographica*. See the Loeb Classical Library edition Book 4 Chapter 5 at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/4E*.html#ref156 accessed 28 February 2015

¹²⁷ private mass at which the congregation is present, but does not receive communion. Beilin.

¹²⁸ know

¹²⁹ parable of the Good Samaritan, Luke 10:29–37

The priest's
receiving.

his only comfort. In the most popish time was never more horrible blasphemy, than this is. This wickedness impugneeth all the promises of God concerning faith and remission of sins. It repugneth¹³⁰ also to the whole doctrine of the Gospel. The application of Christ's supper availeth them only that be alive, taking, eating, and drinking that is therein ministered. No more can the priest's receiving of that sacrament profit another man, than can his receiving of Baptism or of penance, as they call it. If it profiteth not the quick, how can it profit the dead? No sacrifice is the Mass, nor yet good work, but a blasphemous profanation of the Lord's holy supper, a manifest wickedness, an horrible Idololatriy, and a foul abomination, being thus a rite of worshipping without the word, yea against the express word of God.

Anne Askew.

Mayor

Then they had me from thence, unto my Lord Mayor.¹³¹ And he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him di-

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¹³⁰ is contrary or opposed

¹³¹ William Laxton, October 1544–October 1545; Martin Bowes, October 1545–October 1546. Beilin

rectly in all things, as I answered the quest afore.

John Bale.

After this sort was Christ led from the examination of the clergy to Pilate, Matth. 27.¹³² In that the examination of the quest and of the Mayor was all one, ye may well know that they had both one school master, even the brutish Bishop of London. The ignorant magistrates of England will neither be godly wise with David and Salomon, nor yet embrace the earnest instructions of God, to be learned in the scriptures, Psa. 2, Sapient. 6¹³³ but still be wicked ministers, and cruel servant slaves to Antichrist and the devil, Apoc. 17.¹³⁴ More fit are such witless mayors and graceless officers as knoweth not white from black and light from darkness, Esa. 5,¹³⁵ to feed swine or to keep caddows,¹³⁶ than to rule a Christian¹³⁷ communality. A terrible day abideth them, which thus ordereth the innocent. Jaco. 2.¹³⁸

Bonner.

Ignorance.

Anne Askew.

Besides this my lord mayor laid one thing unto my

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¹³² Matthew 27:2 'et vinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi.' KJV: 'And when they had bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.'

¹³³ Psalm 2:10 'nunc ergo reges intellegite erudimini iudices terrae.' KJV: 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth.'

The apocryphal Book of Wisdom of Solomon 6:27 'ergo accipite disciplinam per sermones meos et proderit vobis.' KJV Wisdom of Solomon 6:25 'Receive therefore instruction through my words, and it shall do you good.'

¹³⁴ Revelation 17 contains the vision of the scarlet woman riding the scarlet beast, revealed to be Babylon, the city of vice and debauchery that holds sway over the kings of the earth. Bale, like his fellow reformers associates the symbol with the Roman Catholic Church and the papacy.

¹³⁵ Isaiah 5:20 'vae qui dicitis malum bonum et bonum malum ponentes tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras ponentes amarum in dulce et dulce in amarum.' KJV: 'Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!'

¹³⁶ crows

¹³⁷ lower case in source

¹³⁸ Bale probably refers to the devils in James 2:19 'tu credis quoniam unus est Deus bene facis et daemones credunt et contremescunt.' KJV: 'Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble.'

charge, which was never spoken of me, but of them. And that was, whether a mouse eating the host received God or no? This question did I never ask, but in deed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer, but smiled.

John Bale.

Winchester. Is not here (think you) well favoured and well fashioned divinity,¹³⁹ to establish an article of the Christian faith? Wily Winchester¹⁴⁰ answereth this question as foolish as it is, in his wise detection of the devil's sophistry, fo. 16.¹⁴¹ Believe (saith he) that a mouse can not devour God. Yet reporteth he after, in fo. 21 that Christ's body may as well dwell in a mouse as it did in Judas. Then followeth friar fink,¹⁴² friar Peryn I should say, a bachelor¹⁴³ of the same scale. And he answereth in the end of his third sermon,¹⁴⁴ that the Sacrament eaten of a mouse, is the very and real body of Christ. And when he hath affirmed it to be no derogation to Christ's presence, to lie in the

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¹³⁹ in the earliest sense, meaning theology

¹⁴⁰ lower case in source

¹⁴¹ *A detection of the Devils sophistrie, wherewith he robbeth the vnlearned people, of the true byleef, in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter*, London, John Herford, 1546, STC 2nd ed. 11591

¹⁴² insult for an unpleasant or contemptible person predating *OED* record by several centuries. However Peryn also had a connection with the parish of St Benet Fink: his sermons were preached at St. Anthony's Hall, connected to the parish. For more on the parish name see <http://www.stbenetfink.org.uk/history.html> accessed 5 April 2015

¹⁴³ i.e. graduate

¹⁴⁴ *Thre godly and notable sermons, of the moost honorable and blessed sacrament of the aulter. Preached in the Hospitall of S. Antony in London, by Wyllyam Peryn preest, bachelor of diuinite, and now set forth for the anaouncement of goddes honor: the truthe of his worde, and edification of good christen people*, London, Nicholas Hill, 1546, STC 2nd ed. 19786

maw of that mouse. He divideth me the one from the other, the sacrament from Christ's body, concluding that though the sacrament be digested in the mouse's maw, yet is not Christ's body there consumed. O blasphemous beasts, and blind blundering¹⁴⁵ Balaamites.¹⁴⁶

Divisio

Because these 2 workmen be scant witty in their own occupation, I shall bring them forth here 2 old artificers of theirs to help them, Guimundus Aversanus a bishop, to help bishop Stephen,¹⁴⁷ and Thomas Walden a friar, to help Friar Peryn. The sacraments (say they both) are not eaten of mice, though they seem so to be in the exterior similitudes. For the virtues (saith Guimundus) of holy men, are not eaten of beasts, when they are eaten of them, li. 2 *de corpore & sanguine domini*.¹⁴⁸ No marry (quoth Walden) no more is the painter's occupation destroyed when a picture is destroyed. Mark this gere¹⁴⁹ for your learning. But now cometh Algerus a monk, more crafty than they both, and he saith li. 2 cap. 1 *de Eucharistia*,¹⁵⁰ that as well is this meat spiritual, as material, because David calleth it the bread of An-

Guimundus.
Waldenus.

Algerus.

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¹⁴⁵ 'bloderynge' in source

¹⁴⁶ one who follows religion for the sake of gain. Derived from Balaam, the Hebrew prophet who is shown in an unsympathetic light in Numbers 22–24. His ass sees the angel of God before he does.

¹⁴⁷ i.e. Gardiner

¹⁴⁸ Book 2 of the *De Corpore Et Sanguine Domini*, i.e. 'of the body and blood of Christ.' A copy in British Library, Arundel MS 180.

¹⁴⁹ transient fancy

¹⁵⁰ Beilin gives the title as *De Sacramento [corporis et sanguinis domini]*, 'Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord' written by Algerus against Berenger of Tours who had argued that the Eucharist was a symbol. Bale probably refers to the variant *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Dominici in Eucharistia* 'Of the truth of the body and blood of the Lord in the Eucharist' published by Joannes Faber Emmens, Freiburg, 1530. Chapter 1 of Book 2 is titled 'Quod sacramentum corporis christi nullatenus solvatur in digestionem, vel aliquam foedam corruptionem' or 'that the sacrament of the body of Christ is in no way dissolved in digestion nor in any foul corruption.' See the ESTC record at <http://estc.bl.uk/S109905> for the title supplied in an edition of Erasmus' prefatory letter to the Antwerp edition of 1536 which is available at http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10188786_00001.html accessed 10 March 2015.

gels, and a bread from heaven, Psa. 77.¹⁵¹ That which is material in this bread (saith he) is consumed by digestion, but that which is spiritual remaineth uncorrupted.

Christus. If we would attend well unto Christ's divinity, and let these oiled¹⁵² divines dispute among old Gossips, we should soon discharge mice and rats, weak stomachs and parbreaking¹⁵³ drunkards, of a far other sort than thus, he that eateth my flesh (saith Christ Jo. 6)¹⁵⁴ and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. This eating is all one with the dwelling, and is neither for mice nor rats, burnt chancels¹⁵⁵ nor drunken priests. For as we eat we dwell, and as we dwell we eat, by a grounded and perfect faith in him. The substance of that most godly refection lieth not in the mouth eating nor yet in the belly feeding, though they be necessary, but in the only spiritual or soul eating. No wise man will think that Christ will dwell in a mouse, nor yet that a mouse can dwell in Christ, though it be the doctrine of these doughty douze-

Faith.

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¹⁵¹ Psalms 77:25 'panem fortium comedit vir cibaria misit eis in saturitatem.' KJV 78:25 'Man did eat angels' food: he sent them meat to the full.' Note how KJV translates 'panem' to 'food' instead of 'bread.'

¹⁵² anointed

¹⁵³ vomiting

¹⁵⁴ closing parenthesis supplied. John 6:57 'qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet et ego in illo.' KJV: 'As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me.' The Wycliffe version: 'He that etith my fleisch, and drynkith my blood, dwellith in me, and Y in hym.'

¹⁵⁵ controversy existed about the possibility of the destruction of the host by fire in church. Beilin. *OED* defines chancel as the 'eastern part of a church, appropriated to the use of those who officiate in the performance of the services.' Distinct from the area where the congregation would gather.

pers,¹⁵⁶ for they shall find no scriptures for it. If these men were not enemies to faith and friends to Idolatry, they would never teach such filthy learning. More of this shall I write (God willing) in the answer of their books.

Nota.

Anne Askew.

Then the Bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the scriptures. For S. Paul (he said) forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning so well as he, which is 1 Corinthiorum 14¹⁵⁷ that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching. And then I asked him, how many women he had seen, go into the pulpit and preach. He said, he never

Women.

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¹⁵⁶ illustrious nobles, knights, or grandees. From term used to indicate the twelve paladins of Charlemagne in the *Romances*.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Corinthians 14:34–5 'mulieres in ecclesiis taceant non enim permittitur eis loqui sed subditas esse sicut et lex dicit/si quid autem volunt discere domi viros suos interrogent turpe est enim mulieri loqui in ecclesia.' KJV: 'Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but *they are commanded* to be under obedience, as also saith the law./And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.'

saw none. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

John Bale.

Scripture
women.

Women

Plenteous enough is her answer here, unto this quarrelling, and (as appeareth) unlearned chancellor. Many godly women both in the old law and the new were learned in the scriptures, and made utterance of them to the glory of God. As we read of Elizabeth, Mary, and Anna the widow, Lu. 1 and 2, yet were they not rebuked for it.¹⁵⁸ Yea, Mary Christ's mother retained all that was afterward written of him, Luc. 2 yet was it not imputed unto her an offence.¹⁵⁹ Christ blamed not the woman that cried whilst he was in preaching, happy is the womb that bare thee, Luce 11.¹⁶⁰ The women which gave knowledge to his disciples, that he was risen from death to life, discomfited not he, but solaced them with his most glorious appearance. Mat. 28, Jo. 20.¹⁶¹ In the primitive church, specially in Saint Jerome's time, was it a great praise unto women to be learned

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¹⁵⁸ Luke 1 tells the story of Elizabeth and Zechariah, the parents of John the Baptist. Elizabeth prophesies when she first sees the virgin Mary. On her part, Mary utters the 'Magnificat' also known as 'The Canticle of Mary' beginning 'magnificat anima mea Dominum' or 'my soul magnifies the Lord.' Luke 2 mentions Anna in 36–38, calling her a 'prophetess' and saying that she spoke of the Lord.

¹⁵⁹ Luke 2:51 'et descendit cum eis et venit Nazareth et erat subditus illis et mater eius conservabat omnia verba haec in corde suo.' KJV: 'And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.'

¹⁶⁰ Luke 11:27 'factum est autem cum haec diceret extollens vocem quaedam mulier de turba dixit illi beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti.' KJV: 'And it came to pass, as he spake these things, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked.'

¹⁶¹ In Matthew 28:5–10, women are given the responsible for bearing the news of Jesus' resurrection to his disciples. They see him and hold his feet after his reappearance. In John 20:11–18, Mary of Magdala is invested with the same office of bearing the tidings of the resurrection to the disciples, although she's not allowed to touch Jesus.

in the scriptures. Great commendations giveth our English Chronicles¹⁶² to Helena, Ursula, and Hilda, women of our nation, for being learned also in the scriptures. Such a woman was the said Hilda, as openly disputed in them against the superstitions of certain bishops. But this chancellor by like chanced upon that blind popish work which Walter Hunt a white friar,¹⁶³ wrote 4 score years ago, *Contra doctrices mulieres*, against school¹⁶⁴ women, or else some other like blind Romish beggaries.

English women

Walter hunt.

Anne Askew.

Then my Lord mayor commanded me to ward.¹⁶⁵ I asked him if sureties¹⁶⁶ would not serve me. And he made me short answer that he would take none. Then was I had to the Counter¹⁶⁷ and there remained 12 days, no friend admitted to speak with me.

Prison

John Bale.

Here is Christ yet trodden on the heel, by that wicked serpent which tempted
[11]

Christ tro-

¹⁶² Matthew Paris, John Capgrave, Robert Fabyan and others: Beilin. See <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/443712/Matthew-Paris>, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/93799/John-Capgrave>, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05745b.htm> accessed 5 March 2015. Fabyan is also a source in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

¹⁶³ white friar, i.e. Carmelite. Walter Hunt, also called Venantius, d. 1478, was a Carmelite friar and theologian at Oxford. He played a prominent role in the negotiations between the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches, representing the English Carmelite side. Bale attests that he was a prolific writer, although only two short texts survive. Bale saw his works in the Carmelite library at Oxford and records twenty-five titles, among which is noted a treatise against preaching by women. Beilin gives date of the text as 1460. For sources see Richard Copley, 'Hunt, Walter (d. 1478)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14211>, accessed 10 March 2015. DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/14211

¹⁶⁴ learned, scholarly

¹⁶⁵ prison

¹⁶⁶ personal guarantors

¹⁶⁷ the Bread Street Counter/Comptor, prison under the jurisdiction of the mayor of London. For a discussion of contemporary prisons see Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, Chapter 1 'The sixteenth-century prison,' pp. 8–28.

dden on
the heel.

Eva. Gene. 3.¹⁶⁸ His faithful member, for believing in him, is here thrown in prison. And no marvel, for it was his own promise, ye shall be brought before rulers and debitees¹⁶⁹ (saith he) for my truth's sake Mat. 10 ye shall be betrayed of your own nation and kindred, and so thrown in prison, Luc. 21.¹⁷⁰ If they have persecuted me, think not but they will also persecute you, Jo. 15.¹⁷¹ This serpent is again become the prince of this world, and holdeth the governors thereof captive, Jo. 14. Sureties would have been taken for a thief or a murderer, but not for Christ's member, the bishop's chancellor being at hand, nor yet her friends permitted to comfort her.

Anne Askew.

A priest.

But in the mean time there was a priest sent to me, which said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But first he asked me for what cause I was put in the Counter? And I told him I could not tell. Then he said it was

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¹⁶⁸ Genesis 3:1–6, the temptation of Eve by Satan

¹⁶⁹ corrupted form of deputies

¹⁷⁰ Matthew 10:18 'et ad praesides et ad reges ducemini propter me in testimonium illis et gentibus.' KJV: 'And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.'

Luke 21:10 'tunc dicebat illis surget gens contra gentem et regnum adversus regnum.' KJV: 'Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.'

¹⁷¹ John 15:20 'mementote sermonis mei quem ego dixi vobis non est servus maior domino suo si me persecuti sunt et vos persequentur si sermonem meum servaverunt et vestrum servabunt.' KJV: 'Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also.'

great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

John Bale.

O temptation of Satan. Christ being in the solitary wilderness alone, was after this flattering sort assaulted first of his enemy, Matt. 4.¹⁷² This Judas was sent afore to give a friendly kiss the more deeply to trap the innocent in snare. But God's wisdom made her to perceive what he was. A false prophet is soon known by his fruits, among them that are godly wise. Mat. 7.¹⁷³ She considered with Solomon that more to profit are the stripes of a friend than the fraudulent kisses of a deceitful enemy, Proverb. 27.¹⁷⁴ Judas.

Anne Askew.

Secondly, he said it was told him that I should deny the sacrament of the altar. And I answered him again, that that I had said, I had said. The Sacrament

John Bale.

In this brief answer, she remembered So-

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¹⁷² Matthew 4:1–11, the temptation of Christ in the wilderness.

¹⁷³ Matthew 7:15–16 'adtentite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces/ a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos numquid colligunt de spinis uvas aut de tribulis ficus.' KJV: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves/ Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'

¹⁷⁴ Proverbs 27:6 'meliora sunt vulnera diligentis quam fraudulenta odientis oscula.' KJV: 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.'

lomon's counsel, Answer not a fool, all after his foolishness.¹⁷⁵ Be ware of them (saith Christ) which come in sheep's clothing, for inwardly they are most ravening wolves, Mat. 7.¹⁷⁶ God destroyeth the crafts of the wicked (saith Job) so that they are not able to perform that they take in hand. Job 5.¹⁷⁷

Anne Askew.

Shrift. Thirdly he asked me, if I were shriven,¹⁷⁸ I told him no. Then he said, he would bring one to me, for to shrive me. And I told him, so that I might have one of these 3 that is to say, doctor Crome,¹⁷⁹ Sir William,¹⁸⁰ or Huntington,¹⁸¹ I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know ye not. Then he said, I would not have you think, but that I or an other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they. For if we

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¹⁷⁵ Proverbs 26:4 'ne respondeas stulto iuxta stultitiam suam ne efficiaris ei similis.' KJV: 'Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him.'

¹⁷⁶ Matthew 7:15, see note on Bale's Preface, p. 14 above.

¹⁷⁷ Book of Job 5:13 'qui adprehendit sapientes in astutia eorum et consilium pravorum dissipate.' KJV: 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness: and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong.'

¹⁷⁸ absolved of sin by priest after confession

¹⁷⁹ See note on Bale's Preface, p. 12 above

¹⁸⁰ unidentified

¹⁸¹ John Huntington, Church of England clergyman and poet, d. 1583. He was known as Huntington the Preacher. His early sympathies were Catholic. He composed a polemical poem around 1540 which contained verses such as 'O braynesse nodye/ Christ sayd my bodye/ Is verely meate/ For manne to eat' which survives only in John Bale's refutation of it in *A Mysterye of Inyquyte Contayned within the Heretycall Genealogye of Ponce Pantolabus* in 1545. According to Bale, he converted to Protestantism by 1545, probably under the influence of Bale himself, and thus came to be mentioned by Askew here as a sympathetic clergyman. See Richard Rex, 'Huntington, John (d. 1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2009. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14241>, accessed 8 February 2015. DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/14241.

were not, ye may be sure, the King would not suffer us to preach. Then I answered by the saying of Solomon. By commoning¹⁸² with the wise, I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool, I shall take scathe,¹⁸³ Prover. 1.¹⁸⁴

Preachers.

John Bale.

See how this adversary compasseth¹⁸⁵ like a ravening lion to devour this lamb 1. Pet. 5.¹⁸⁶ Now tempteth he her with Confession, which hath been such a bait of theirs as hath brought into their nets and snares the mightiest princes of the world, both kings and emperors. See here if they leave any subtlety unsought to obtain their prey. He reckoned by this to win his purpose, which way so ever she had taken. If she had been confessed to him, he had known which way she had been bent. If she had utterly refused confession, he had more matter to accuse her of. O subtle seed of the serpent. This part played your old generation the Pharisees and pries-

Confession

Practise

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¹⁸² conversing, conference

¹⁸³ injury, hurt, damage

¹⁸⁴ Proverbs 1 talks about the acquisition of wisdom and the fatal consequences of not heeding 'her' call

¹⁸⁵ contrives, devises

¹⁸⁶ 1 Peter 5:8 'sobrii estote vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret.' KJV: 'Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.'

hypocrite ts with Christ, to bring him in danger of the law, Mat. 22. and Jo. 8.¹⁸⁷ No Christian erudition bringeth this priest, nor yet good counsels of the scripture. But as Isaiah saith. The hypocrite imagineth abomination against God to famish the hungry and withhold drink from the thirsty. Yet shall not the eyes of the seeing be dim, nor the ears of the hearing be deaf, Esa. 32.¹⁸⁸

Preachers If the king admit such preachers (as I can not think it) a sore plague remaineth both to him and to his people.

Anne Askew.

The host. Fourthly he asked me, if the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? I answered, Seeing ye have taken the pains to ask this question, I desire you also to take so much pain more as to assoil thy self. For I will not do it, because I perceive ye come to tempt me. And he said, it was aga-

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¹⁸⁷ Matthew 22:15 ‘tunc abeuntes Pharisei consilium inierunt ut caperent eum in sermone.’ KJV: ‘Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk.’ John 8 describes how Jesus deals with the adulterous woman who is brought to him to test him. 8:6 ‘haec autem dicebant temptantes eum ut possent accusare eum Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra.’ KJV: ‘This they said, tempting him, that they might have to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not.’

¹⁸⁸ Isaiah 32:6 ‘stultus enim fatua loquetur et cor eius faciet iniquitatem ut perficiat simulationem et loquatur ad Dominum fraudulenter et vacuefaciat animam esurientis et potum sitiendi auferat.’ KJV: ‘For the vile person will speak villany, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise hypocrisy, and to utter error against the Lord, to make empty the soul of the hungry, and he will cause the drink of the thirsty to fail.’ Isaiah 32:3 ‘non caligabunt oculi videntium et aures audientium diligenter auscultabunt.’ KJV: ‘And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken.’

inst the order of schools¹⁸⁹ that he which asked the question should answer it. I told him, I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

John Bale.

Beastly was that question, and of a more beastly brain propounded¹⁹⁰ to this woman. Little need shall other men have to manifest their blasphemous follies when they do it so plainly their selves. Who ever heard afore that their host was a God, and might fall and be eaten of a beast, till they now so beastly told the tale? Though Saint Paul, where as it is rightly ministered, doth call it the body of the Lord. 1 Corin. 11.¹⁹¹ Yet doth he not call it a God. Though Christ saith, This is my body, Matth. 26, Marci 14, Luce 22, yet saith he not this is a God.¹⁹² For God is a spirit, and no body, Joannis 4.¹⁹³ Where God is eaten, it is of the spirit, and neither of mouse nor rat, as Winchester and Peryn, with other like popish heretics have taught now of late by their own hand writings. Our God is in

A falling
God

Winchester.
Peryn.

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¹⁸⁹ rules of scholarship debate associated with Catholic scholarship. Beilin

¹⁹⁰ propounded

¹⁹¹ 1 Corinthians 11:24 ‘et gratias agens fregit et dixit hoc est corpus meum pro vobis hoc facite in meam commemorationem.’ KJV: ‘And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.’ 1 Corinthians 11:23–9 treat of the sacrament.

¹⁹² Matthew 26:26 ‘cenantibus autem eis accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et ait accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum.’ KJV: ‘And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.’ Mark 14:22 ‘et manducantibus illis accepit Iesus panem et benedicens fregit et dedit eis et ait sumite hoc est corpus meum.’ KJV: ‘And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take, eat: this is my body.’ Luke 22:19 ‘et accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis dicens hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis datur hoc facite in meam commemorationem.’ KJV: ‘And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.’

¹⁹³ John 4:24 ‘spiritus est Deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare.’ KJV: ‘God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.’

An Idol heaven, and cannot fall nor yet be eaten of beasts. If they have such a God as may both fall and so be eaten, as this priest here confesseth, it is some false or counterfeit God of their own making. If he may putrefy or be consumed of worms, mould, rust, beast, or fire, Baruch saith, it is an Idol, and no God. Baruch 6.¹⁹⁴

Like old Gossips. These witless idolaters have no grace in this age to hide their old legerdemains. They fare like those drunken Gossips which tell more than all when their heads be full of well gyngerdeale.¹⁹⁵ The proud crown of the drunken Ephraimites (saith Isaiah) shall be trodden under fate. The priests and the prophets do stacker,¹⁹⁶ they are so overseen with wine, Esa. 28.¹⁹⁷ They stumble in the streets, and have stained themselves with blood. Treno. 4.¹⁹⁸ All the dwellers of Judah (saith the Lord) shall I fill with drunkenness, both the kings and the priests. I will neither pardon them, spare them, nor yet have pity on them, Hier. 13.¹⁹⁹ And where as that drunkenness is (saith Solomon) there is no counsel kept, Pro. 31.²⁰⁰ In the end, this hypocrite full

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¹⁹⁴ The Apocryphal book of Baruch, not part of the Hebrew Bible. The entire book, especially the last chapter referred to by Bale, is an exposition against idolatry.

¹⁹⁵ possibly fizzy ginger wine, indicating full of air and fizz. *OED* does not list ‘gingerdeale’ or ‘gingerdele’ but one obsolete meaning of ‘deal’ is ‘deal/dele-wine’ which is ‘some unidentified kind of wine, supposed to have been of Rhenish origin’ first recorded in 1613.

¹⁹⁶ stagger, totter

¹⁹⁷ Isaiah 28:1 ‘vae coronae superbiae ebris Ephraim et flori decidenti gloriae exultationis eius qui erant in vertice vallis pinguiserrantes a vino.’ KJV: ‘Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower, which are on the head of the fat valleys of them that are overcome with wine!’

¹⁹⁸ Elsewhere Threnorum. Lamentations 4:14 ‘NUN erraverunt caeci in plateis polluti sunt sanguine cumque non possent tenuerunt lacinas suas.’ KJV: ‘They have wandered as blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments.’

¹⁹⁹ Jeremiah 13:13 ‘et dices ad eos haec dicit Dominus ecce ego implebo omnes habitatores terrae huius et reges qui sedent de stirpe David super thronum eius et sacerdotes et prophetas et omnes habitatores Hierusalem ebrietate.’ KJV: ‘Then shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit upon David's throne, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, with drunkenness.’

²⁰⁰ Proverbs 31:4 ‘noli regibus o Lamuhel noli regibus dare vinum quia nullum secretum est ubi regnat ebrietas.’ KJV 31:4–5 ‘It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine; nor for princes strong drink:/ Lest they drink, and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted.’ The Douay Rheims version is nearer to Bale's sense: ‘Give not to kings, O Lamuel, give not wine to kings: because there is no secret where drunkenness reigneth.’

like himself, allegeth to this woman, a manner used of his old predecessors in the schools of falsehood. But from the school of truth he bringeth nothing to the comfort of her conscience. He declareth full workmanly in this, what he and his generation seeketh, by such their spiritual and justifying works, *ex opere operato*.²⁰¹

Anne Askew.

Fifthly he asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at easter or no? I answered that else I were no Christian woman; and that I did rejoyce that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence, with many fair words.

Howsel

John Bale.

This hungry wolf practiseth, by all crafty ways possible, to suck the blood of this innocent lamb. Is not that (think you) an holy congregation which is thus spiritually occupied? Some godly wise men will wonder, that they be not ashamed. But marvel

Spiritually.

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²⁰¹ Latin for 'worked by the work' in connection with the efficacy of the sacraments by virtue of the sacraments themselves rather than on the virtue of the individual administering them

A whore. not of it. For the holy Ghost saith in his fore judgements that the same holy mother²⁰² which hath hatched them up in oils and in shavings,²⁰³ is an unshamefast²⁰⁴ whore,²⁰⁵ Apo. 17 et Dan. 8.²⁰⁶ Then of very nature must her Dogs. whelps be shameless children. Such shameless dogs are they (saith Esay) as be never satisfied. Es. 56 when they kill you (saith Christ) they shall think they do God good service, Jo. 16, so greatly have their malice blinded them, Sapient 2, which is partly the drunkenness afore spoken of.²⁰⁷

Anne Askew.

Bailing. And the 23 day of March, my cousin Brittain²⁰⁸ came into the Counter to me, and asked there, whether I might be put to bail or no? Then went he immediately unto my Lord Mayor, desiring of him to be so good lord unto me, that I might be bailed. My lord answered him, and said, that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. Howbeit he coul-

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²⁰² emended from 'mothet' following Beilin

²⁰³ the holy oil poured over priests' heads and tonsuring

²⁰⁴ immodest

²⁰⁵ the scarlet woman or Babylon in Revelation 17. See note on p. 37

²⁰⁶ Daniel 7 and 8 describes Daniel's prophetic visions of four beasts and the ram and goat respectively. Daniel 7, especially, is often used together with Revelation 17 for apocalyptic prophecies.

²⁰⁷ Isaiah 56:11 'et canes inpudentissimi nescierunt saturitatem ipsi pastores ignoraverunt intellegentiam omnes in viam suam declinaverunt unusquisque ad avaritiam suam a summo usque ad novissimum.' KJV: 'Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter.' John 16:2 'absque synagogis facient vos sed venit hora ut omnis qui interficit vos arbitretur obsequium se praestare Deo.' KJV: 'They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' Wisdom of Solomon 2:21 'haec cogitaverunt et erraverunt excaecavit enim illos malitia eorum.' KJV: 'Such things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them.'

²⁰⁸ Christopher Brittain, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court. Beilin

d not bail me without the consent of a spiritual officer.²⁰⁹ So requiring him to go and speak with the Chancellor of London.²¹⁰ For he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without consent of the same.

John Bale.

True is it here, that is written of Saint John in the Apocalypse, that Antichrist is worshipped of the potentates and kings of the earth, Apo. 13.²¹¹ The mayor of London, which is the king's lieutenant and representeth there his own person, standeth here like a dead Idol, or like such a servant slave as can do nothing within his own eyrie concerning their matters. Who is like the beast (saith Saint John) who is able to war with him? He hath brought all lands and their kingdoms in fear (saith Isaiah) the strength of their eyries hath he taken away, and

antichrist

The beast

[16]

²⁰⁹ i.e. church official

²¹⁰ the church official to whom the bishop delegated his authority. Beilin.

²¹¹ Revelation 13, in which the first beast is said to be adored by all that dwell upon the earth.

Examples restrained the deliverance of their prisoners, Esa. 14.²¹² The parents of him that was born blind feared this spiritual tyranny or captivity of theirs, such time as they were examined of the bishops for the sight of their son. Joan. 9.²¹³ Such as believed in Christ among the chief rulers of the Jews would not be acknown²¹⁴ thereof, for fear of like violence, Joan. 12.²¹⁵ No new thing is it then in that spiritual generation, but a custom of old antiquity. Both Christ and his Apostles have suffered like tyranny under them. But never did they yet minister it to any creature after their example.

Anne Askew.

The chancellor. So upon that he went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did afore of my lord mayor. He answered him that the matter was so heinous that he durst not of himself do it, without my Lord of London²¹⁶ were made privy²¹⁷ thereunto. But he said, he would speak unto

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²¹² Isaiah 14. The reference is probably to the fall of the King of Babylon, the 'lucifer' or 'shining one' of 14:12. See especially 16–17 'qui te viderint ad te inclinabuntur teque prospicient numquid iste est vir qui conturbavit terram qui concussit regna/ qui posuit orbem desertum et urbes eius destruxit vinctis eius non aperuit carcerem.' KJV: 'They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms;/ That made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof; that opened not the house of his prisoners?'

²¹³ John 9:1–41 narrates Christ's miracle of restoring sight to the blind man. By the end of the chapter the discussion of sight and blindness becomes metaphysical.

²¹⁴ acknowledged

²¹⁵ John 12:42 'verumtamen et ex principibus multi crediderunt in eum sed propter Phariseos non confitebantur ut de synagoga non eicerentur.' KJV: 'Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue.'

²¹⁶ i.e. the bishop of London, Edmund Bonner

²¹⁷ aware

my lord in it. And bade him repair unto him the next morrow and he should well know²¹⁸ my lord's pleasure.

John Bale.

Righteousness judge they sin, and sin righteousness, Es. 5 so unperfect is their sight, Jo. 12, in that God hath given them up to their own lusts, Rom. 1.²¹⁹ What an heinous matter is it holden here, to believe in Christ after the scriptures, and not after their superstitious manner? For none other cause could they lay to this woman, as ye have heard here afore, and as ye shall here after perceive more largely. What so ever it be to offend God or man, their offence may be no less than prison and death. The Turk is not more vengeable²²⁰ than is this spiteful spiritual generation.²²¹ Yet boast they Christ's religion, and the holy mother church.

Faith in Christ.

Tyranny.

Anne Askew.

And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor, and with

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²¹⁸ emended from 'knowne' following Beilin.

²¹⁹ Isaiah 5:20, see note on p. 37.

John 12:40 'excaecavit oculos eorum et induravit eorum cor ut non videant oculis et intellegant corde et convertantur et sanem eos.' KJV: 'He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.'

Romans 1:24 'propter quod tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis eorum in inmunditiam ut contumeliis adficiant corpora sua in semet ipsis. KJV: 'Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves.'

²²⁰ inclined or ready to take vengeance or inflict retaliative injury

²²¹ generation: persons born and living at about the same time, regarded collectively, with implication of shared cultural and social attitudes. Beilin: class or kind of persons

Wily.
Wily.

my lord bishop of London. My lord declared unto him that he was very well contented that I should come forth to a communication.²²² And appointed me to appear afore him the next day after, at 3 of the clock, at after noon. More over he said unto him that he would there should be at that examination such learned men as I was affectioned²²³ to. That they might see, and also make report, that I was handled with no rigour. He answered him that he knew no man that I had more affection to than other. Then said the bishop, Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Doctor Crome, Sir William, Whitehead, and Huntington,²²⁴ that they might hear the matter. For she did know them to be lear-

Subtle.

[17v]

²²² confererence

²²³ disposed, inclined

²²⁴ mentioned on p. 46 above

ned, and of a godly judgement.

John Bale.

A foxish favour was this, both of the chancellor and bishop, and such a benevolent gentleness, as not only sought her blood, but also the blood of all them which are here named, if they had then come to this examination. For the evening afore (as I am credibly informed) the Bishop made boast among his own sort, that if they came thither, he would tie them a great deal shorter.²²⁵ A voice was this full like to him that uttered it. For thereby he appeareth not one that will save and feed, but rather such a one as seeketh to kill and destroy. Johannis 10.²²⁶ The foxes run over the hill of Sion (saith Jeremiah) because she is fallen from God, Threnorum 5.²²⁷ O Israel (saith the Lord) thy prophets are like the wily foxes upon the dry fields, Ezechielis 13.²²⁸ The Poet hath a byword, that happy is he which can take heed by another man's hurt. I add this here, that ye should be ware, if ye come in like

A wolf.

Foxes

[18]

²²⁵ i.e. hinder from acting freely, or to oblige to act in a particular way

²²⁶ John 10:10 'fur non venit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat ego veni ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant.' KJV: 'The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.'

²²⁷ Lamentations, thought to be by Jeremiah, 5:18 'propter montem Sion quia disperiit vulpes ambulaverunt in eo.' KJV: 'Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it.'

²²⁸ Ezekiel 13:4 'quasi vulpes in desertis prophetae tui Israhel errant.' KJV: 'O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts.'

A priest. danger of any such foxish bishop. By one of his day devils,²²⁹ whom this Caiaphas sent to commen²³⁰ with the woman in prison he knew part of her meaning, and what they were also which favoured her opinions. Yea, he craftily undermined this gentleman which intreated for her, if ye mark it well. Trust not too much in the flatterous²³¹ fawning of such wily foxes.

Anne Askew.

A thief. Also he required my cousin Brittain that he should earnestly persuade me to utter, even the very bottom of my heart. And he swore by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words. Neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak. But if I said any manner of thing amiss, He with other more would be glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

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²²⁹ possibly in the sense of private deputy, but the *OED* examples of the usage of ‘devil’ as a lawyer’s unpaid/unacknowledged assistant or witer’s hack date from the 1800s

²³⁰ commune, converse

²³¹ of, pertaining to, or suitable for a flatterer; flattering. The only example of this usage in the *OED* is this text.

John Bale.

O vengeable²³² tyrant and devil. How subtly seekst thou the blood of this innocent woman, under a colour of friendly handling. God once commanded thee earnestly in no case to compass thy neighbour with deceit to the effusion of his blood,²³³ Lev. 19.²³⁴ But this commandment thou reckonest but a Canterbury tale.²³⁵ By swearing by thy fidelity thou art not all unlike unto Herod, whom Christ for like practises, first to put John, and then him to death, called also a most crafty cruel fox, Luce 13.²³⁶ Thou labourest here to have this woman in snare, with certain of her friends. But God put in her mind at this time to reckon thee a dog and a swine, Matth. 7,²³⁷ and thereupon to have few words.

Judas.

Herod.

Anne Askew.

On the morrow after, my lord of London sent for me, at one of the clock, his hour being appointed at three. And as I came before him, he said he was very sorry of my trouble, and de-

A false liar.

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²³² vengeful

²³³ i.e. bloodshed, slaughter

²³⁴ Leviticus 19:11 'non facietis furtum non mentiemini nec decipiet unusquisque proximum suum.' KJV: 'Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another.' The Douay Rheims version, like Bale, translates 'proximus' as 'neighbour.'

²³⁵ i.e. a cock-and-bull story

²³⁶ John 13:32 'et ait illis ite dicite vulpi illi ecce eicio daemona et sanitates perficio hodie et cras et tertia consummor.' KJV: 'And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to day and to morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.' Jesus speaks these words upon being warned by the Pharisees that Herod means to kill him in 13:31.

²³⁷ Matthew 7:6, see note on p. 26

O traitor sired to know my opinion in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also in any wise boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point. For what so ever I did say within his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, For so much as your Lordship appointed 3 of the clock, and my friends shall not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come.

John Bale.

A tyrant. In this preventing²³⁸ of the hour may the diligent reader perceive the greediness of this Babylon Bishop, or bloodthirsty wolf, concerning this prey. Swift are their feet (saith David) in the effusion of innocent blood, which have fraud in their tongues, venom in their lips, and most cruel vengeance in their mouths. Psal. 13.²³⁹ Da-

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²³⁸ anticipating

²³⁹ Psalms 13:3 ‘omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt. Non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum. Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum; linguis suis dolose agebant. Venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum. Quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est; veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem. Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum, et viam pacis non cognoverunt; non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum.’ KJV uses the shorter Hebrew version in 14:3 ‘They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy: there is none that doeth good, no, not one.’ Bale gets his additional imagery from the longer Vulgate verse which is echoed in the Douay Rheims 13:3 ‘They are all gone aside, they are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, no not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre: with their tongues they acted deceitfully; the poison of asps is under their lips. Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and unhappiness in their ways: and the way of peace they have not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes.’ See also Vulgate Psalm 52 or KJV Psalm 53 for an almost identical reiteration; and Romans 3:12–16 in which Paul quotes this Psalm. The latter part of the sentence, in which the eating of bread is mentioned, alludes to the verse following this.

vid in that Psalm much marvelleth in the spirit that taking upon them the spiritual governance of the people, they can fall in such frenzy²⁴⁰ or Murderers. forgetfulness of themselves as to believe it lawful thus to oppress the faithful, and to devour them with as little compassion as he that greedily devoureth a piece of bread. If such have read any thing of God, they have little minded their true duty therein. More swift (saith Jeremiah) are our cruel persecutors than the eagles of the air. They follow upon us over the mountains, and lay Eagles. privy²⁴¹ wait for us in the wilderness. Trenorum 4.²⁴² He that will know the crafty hawking of Bishops to bring in their prey, let him learn it here. Judas (I think) had never the 10 part of their cunning workmanship. Mark it here, and in that which followeth.

Anne Askew.

Then said he, that he thought²⁴³ it meet, to send for those 4 men which were More lambs afore named and appointed. Then I desired him to devour

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²⁴⁰ in sense of mental derangement or temporary insanity

²⁴¹ secret

²⁴² Lamentations 4:19 ‘velociores fuerunt persecutores nostri aquilis caeli super montes persecuti sunt nos in deserto insidiati sunt nobis.’ KJV: ‘Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven: they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness.’

²⁴³ emended from ‘thongt’ following Beilin

not to put them to the pain. For it should not need, because the 2 gentlemen which were my friends were able enough to testify that I should say. Anon after he went into his gallery with master Spillman,²⁴⁴ and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought.

John Bale.

Like the
devil.

Christ sheweth us in the 7 chapter of Matthew,²⁴⁵ and in other places more of the Gospel, how we shall know a false prophet or an hypocrite, and willeth us to be ware of them. Their manner is as the devil's is, flatteringly to tempt, and deceitfully to trap, that they may at the latter most cruelly slay. Such a one (saith David) hath nothing in his tongue but plain deceit. He layeth wait for the innocent, with no less cruelty than the lion for a sheep. He lurketh to ravish up the poor. And when he hath gotten him into his net, then throweth he him down by his authority. Psalm. 9.²⁴⁶

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²⁴⁴

See <http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&edition=1583&pageid=1259&gototype=modern#SpilmanFrancis>, accessed 10 Feb. 2015

²⁴⁵ Matthew 7:15, see note on p. 14

²⁴⁶ Psalms 9:28–31, KJV Psalms 10:7–10

This is the third temptation of this bishop, that the woman should utter to her own confusion.²⁴⁷

Anne Askew.

In the mean while he commanded his Archdeacon²⁴⁸ to common with me, who said unto me, Mistress whereof are ye accused? I answered, Ask my accusers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my book out of my hand and said, Such books as this is, hath brought you to the trouble ye are in. Be ware (saith he) be ware, for he that made it was burnt in Smithfield. Then I asked him, if he were sure that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well, the book was of John Frith's making.²⁴⁹ Then I asked him if he were not ashamed for to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet kne-

Archdeacon.

A Liar.

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²⁴⁷ destruction or ruin

²⁴⁸ John Wymseley. Beilin.

²⁴⁹

<http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=modern&type=commentary&book=3&anchor=john%20frith#C243.13> accessed 26 March 2015

see

w the truth thereof. I said also that such unadvised and hasty judgement is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book and shewed it him. He said, he thought it had been an other for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so swift in judgement, till he thoroughly knew the truth. And so he departed.

John Bale.

Judas. Here sendeth he forth an other Judas of his, to betray this true servant of God. Mark the good workmanship hardly, and tell me if they be not the spring of the serpent. Much are they offended with books, for that they so plainly do manifest their mischiefs. John Frith is a great mote in their eyes, for so turning over their purgatory, and heaving at their most monstrous Masse, or mammetrouse²⁵⁰ Mazon,²⁵¹ which signifieth bread or feeding. Notwithstanding Daniel calleth it Maozim,²⁵² betokening strength or defen-

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²⁵⁰ maumetrous/mammetrous, idolatrous, from 'Mahomet'. OED's only example is this text.

²⁵¹ Hebrew, meaning food or sustenance

²⁵² Hebrew, meaning stronghold

ce, Dan. 11.²⁵³ because the false worshippings thereof should he so mightily defended by worldly authority and power. No new thing is it that good men and their books are destroyed now a days, when they touch the mischiefs of that generation. For Joachim the king of Judah cut Jeremiah's prophecies in pieces with a pen knife,²⁵⁴ and in his madness threw them into the fire, commanding both Jeremiah which taught them and Baruch that wrote them, to be put to death. Hieremie 36.²⁵⁵ When King Antiochus had set upon the altar of God the abominable Idol of desolation (which is now the popish²⁵⁶ mass, Mat. 24²⁵⁷) the books of God's law commanded he to be torn in pieces and burnt in the fire, sending forth thereupon this cruel proclamation That what so ever he was, which had a book of the Lord's Testament found about him, or that endeavoured themselves to live after the laws of God, the King's commandment was, they should be put to death. 1. Machabeorum 1.²⁵⁸

Books
condemned.

Books
burnt.

Anne Askew.

[22]

²⁵³ Daniel 11:38–9 'deum autem Maozim in loco suo venerabitur et deum quem ignoraverunt patres eius colet auro et argento et lapide pretioso rebusque pretiosis/et faciet ut muniat Maozim cum deo alieno quem cognovit et multiplicabit gloriam et dabit eis potestatem in multis et terram dividet gratuito.' KJV: 'But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things./ Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.'

²⁵⁴ pen knife: knife for shapening quills

²⁵⁵ Jeremiah 36:22–6

²⁵⁶ emended from 'poysh' following Beilin

²⁵⁷ Matthew 24:15 'cum ergo videritis abominationem desolationis quae dicta est a Danihelo propheta stantem in loco sancto qui legit intellegat.' KJV: 'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, whoso readeth, let him understand'

²⁵⁸ 1 Maccabees 1:46–67 narrates Aniochus' persecutions.

Her friends Immediately after came my cousin Brittainne in with diverse other, as Master Hall²⁵⁹ of Gray's inn, and such other like. Then my lord of London persuaded my cousin Brittainne, as he had done oft before, which was that I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise.

John Bale.

Caiaphas This is the fourth temptation, or crafty calling upon, to utter her mind, that he might say of her, as Caiaphas said of Christ. Matt. 26,²⁶⁰ what need we any more witnesses? Lo, now ye have heard a blasphemy or an heresy. How say ye now to it, which are her friends? Is she not guilty of death? If they should have said nay unto this, they should have been so in as deep danger as she.

Practise This serpentine practice²⁶¹ was as well to trap them as her, let it not be unmarked.²⁶²

Anne Askew.

My lord said after that unto me that he would I should credit the counsel of my friends

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²⁵⁹ Have in original.

²⁶⁰ Matthew 26:65 'tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua dicens blasphemavit quid adhuc egemus testibus ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam.' KJV: 'Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy.'

²⁶¹ i.e. trick, stratagem

²⁶² i.e. unremarked

in his behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience. For he ensured me that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it. Which was that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word I should speak. And therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say. For my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Satan.

Tempter

John Bale.

Still followeth this ghostly²⁶³ enemy his former temptation, and calleth upon mortal utterance, or utterance full of death, that he might cry with Caiaphas, Luc. 22, what need we further testimony?²⁶⁴ Her own mouth hath accused her. We are able witnesses²⁶⁵ thereof,

Caiaphas

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²⁶³ spiritual

²⁶⁴ Luke 22:71 'at illi dixerunt quid adhuc desideramus testimonium ipsi enim audivimus de ore eius.' KJV: 'And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.'

²⁶⁵ emended from 'witnesses' following Beilin.

enemies. for our own ears have heard it. Thus lay they wait for blood (saith Solomon) and lurk privily for the innocent, without a cause, Proverbiorum 1.²⁶⁶ Consent not (saith he) unto such trivialities, if they entice thee. For though their words appear as honey, Proverbiorum 16.²⁶⁷ Yet shalt thou find them in the end so bitter as wormwood,²⁶⁸ Proverbiorum 5.²⁶⁹ Though that whorish generation pretendeth a colour²⁷⁰ of gentleness, yet biteth it at the latter like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder, throwing forth poison. Prov. 23.²⁷¹

Anne Askew.

surgery. Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude, That if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case (saith he) can I give you no good counsel unless I know where with your conscience is burdened. I answered, that my conscience was clear in all thin-

Counsel.

[p. 68]

²⁶⁶ Proverbs 1:11 'si dixerint veni nobiscum insidiamur sanguini abscondamus tendiculas contra insontem frustra.' KJV: 'If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause.'

²⁶⁷ Proverbs 16:24 'favis mellis verba composita dulcedo animae et sanitas ossuum.' KJV: 'Pleasant words are as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones.'

²⁶⁸ the plant *Artemisia Absinthium*, proverbially notorious for its bitter taste.

²⁶⁹ Proverbs 5:4 'novissima autem illius amara quasi absinthium et acuta quasi gladius biceps.' KJV: 'But her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a twoedged sword.'

²⁷⁰ pretext, semblance

²⁷¹ Proverbs 23:32 'sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber et sicut regulus venena diffundet.' KJV: 'At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder.'

gs. And for to lay a plaster unto the whole skin it might appear much folly.

John Bale.

Hath not he (think you) much need of help, which seeketh to such a surgeon. Uncircumspect is that patient, and most commonly unfortunate, which goeth to a common murderer to be healed of his disease. Christ bad us evermore to be ware of all such, unless we would be worried, Matthei 7.²⁷² The nature of these, Lord (saith David), is not to make whole, but to persecute them whom thou hast smitten and to add wounds unto wound, Psalmo 68.²⁷³ Their own botches are insurable,²⁷⁴ Esaie 1 for the multitude of their mischiefs, Hiere. 30.²⁷⁵ The priest and the Levite, which travelled between Jerusalem and Jericho, healed not the wounded man, yet were they no wounders. Lu. 10.²⁷⁶ Who can think that he will unburden the conscience which studieth nothing else but to over load it with most grievous and dangerous burdens? Math. 23²⁷⁷ A murderer. Botches.

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²⁷² see note on p. 14 and p. 46 above

²⁷³ Psalms 68:27 'quoniam quem tu percussisti persecuti sunt et ut adfligerent vulneratos tuos narrabant.; KJV 69:26 'For they persecute *him* whom thou hast smitten; and they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded.'

²⁷⁴ incurable

²⁷⁵ Bale probably means Isaiah 1:6 'a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas vulnus et livor et plaga tumens non est circumligata nec curata medicamine neque fota oleo.' KJV: 'From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.' Jeremiah 30:12 'quia haec dicit Dominus insanabilis fractura tua pessima plaga tua.' KJV: 'For thus saith the Lord, Thy bruise is incurable, and thy wound is grievous.' And 30:15 'quid clamas super contritione tua insanabilis est dolor tuus propter multitudinem iniquitatis tuae et dura peccata tua feci haec tibi.' KJV: 'Why criest thou for thine affliction? thy sorrow is incurable for the multitude of thine iniquity: because thy sins were increased, I have done these things unto thee.'

²⁷⁶ Luke 10, parable of the Good Samaritan, see note on p. 35 above

²⁷⁷ . Matthew 23:4 'alligant autem onera gravia et inportabilia et inponunt in umeros hominum digito autem suo nolunt ea movere.' KJV: 'For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.'

Anne Askew.

Gathered
store.

Sinon cast

[Sinon: deceiver,
from the Greek who
persuaded the
Trojans to bring the
wooden horse into
Troy. Cast:
overthrown]

Then ye drive me (saith he) to lay to your charge your own report, which is this. Ye did say, he that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest or a sinner, he receiveth the devil, and not God. To that I answered, that I never spake such words. But as I said afore both to the quest and to my Lord Mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less the body and blood of Christ. Then said the bishop unto me, what a saying is this? In spirit. I will not take you at that advantage. Then I answered, My Lord without faith and spirit, I can not receive him worthily.

John Bale.

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Now sheweth this Caiaphas where about he goeth, for all his false flattering colours afore. And seeing he can win none advantage to his cruel purpose of her own communication, he shaketh the budgets²⁷⁸ of his provided Judases and betrayers of innocent blood. He bringeth forth such stuff and store as that wicked quest had gathered of her answer to them, to flatter and to please his tyranny therewith. It is to be feared that as far was the fear of God here from them, as from him, Psal. 13,²⁷⁹ for as well practised they this mischief against her, as he. Mark here the natural working of a very full Antichrist. He defendeth sin in his own generation, and condemneth virtue in Christ's dear member. Malice, pride, whoredom, sodometry,²⁸⁰ with other most devilish vices, reckoneth he not to hurt the ministration of a priest, yet judgeth it he an heresy, no less worthy than death, to believe that Christ's flesh and blood is received in faith and spirit. What though it be Christ's most earnest doctrine, Joan. 6.²⁸¹ what a saying (saith this Bishop) is this? In spiri-

Budgets.

Antichrist.

A sore
heresy.

[25]

²⁷⁸ 'bowgettes' in source. Wallets.

²⁷⁹ Psalms 13:3, KJV 14:3..See note on p. 60

²⁸⁰ sodomy

²⁸¹ John 6, see note on p. 29

Priests. t. I will not take you at the worst, saith he. As though it were a most heinous heresy. But most discreet and godly was the woman's answer, declaring her a right member of Christ, where as those priests, whom he here defendeth, are unworthy receivers and members of the devil, Joan. 13 and 1 Corin. 11.²⁸² Thus is an Antichrist here known by his fruits. For he uttereth blasphemies against God, Daniel 7, Apoc. 13; he calleth evil Good, and Good evil, Esa. 5 and Proverbiorum 3.²⁸³

Anne Askew.

Bread. Then he laid unto me that I should say that the sacrament remaining in the pyx was but bread. I answered that I never said so: But in deed the quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer (I said) till such time as they had assoiled me this question of mine. Wherefore Stephen was stoned to dea-

Stephen.

[25v]

²⁸² John 13:20 'amen amen dico vobis qui accipit si quem misero me accipit qui autem me accipit accipit eum qui me misit.' KJV: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.' 1 Corinthians 11:29 'qui enim manducat et bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit non diiudicans corpus.' KJV: 'For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.'

²⁸³ Daniel 7:25 'et sermones contra excelsum loquetur et sanctos Altissimi conteret et putabit quod possit mutare tempora et leges et tradentur in manu eius usque ad tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis.' KJV: 'And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.' Revelation 13:6 'et aperuit os suum in blasphemias ad Deum blasphemare nomen eius et tabernaculum eius et eos qui in caelo habitant.' KJV: 'And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.' Isaiah 5:20: see note on p. 37. Proverbs 3 contains an exhortation to and advice on the practice of virtue.

th. They said, they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

John Bale.

O Idolous²⁸⁴ shepherd (saith Zach.) thou seekst not to heal the wounded, but to eat the flesh of the fat. Zach. 11.²⁸⁵ The watch men of Israel (saith the Lord) are very blind beasts and shameless dogs. They have no understanding but follow their own beastly ways for covetousness, Esaie 56.²⁸⁶ Who ever read in the scripture or authorised Chronicle, that bread in a box should be Christ's body? Where or when commanded he his most holy body, so to be bestowed? What have ye to lay for this doctrine of yours? Are ye not yet ashamed of your unreverent²⁸⁷ and blasphemous beastliness? will ye still pluck our Christian belief from the right hand of God the eternal father and send it to a box of your brainish²⁸⁸ devising?

Beasts.

The
box.

[26]

²⁸⁴ idolatrous

²⁸⁵ Zechariah 11:16 'quia ecce ego suscitabo pastorem in terra qui derelicta non visitabit dispersum non quaeret et contritum non sanabit et id quod stat non enutriet et carnes pinguium comedet et ungulas eorum dissolvat.' KJV: 'For, lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, which shall not visit those that be cut off, neither shall seek the young one, nor heal that that is broken, nor feed that that standeth still: but he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces.'

²⁸⁶ Isaiah 56:11, see note on p. 50

²⁸⁷ disrespectful

²⁸⁸ headstrong, rash

Honorius The first boxer²⁸⁹ of it was pope Honorius the third in the year of our lord
 1216 after the manifold revelations of diverse religious women. Neither was
 Eva there any great honour given unto it of the common people, till a sorry
 reclusa solitary sister or Anchoress in the land of Leodium or Luke²⁹⁰ called Eva,
 after certain visions, had procured of pope Urbanus the fourth in the year of
 our Lord 1264 the feast of Corpus Christi to be holden solemn all
 Bostius Christendome over.²⁹¹ As testifieth Amoldus Bostius,²⁹² Epist. 6 ad Joannem
 Paleonidorum.²⁹³ In all the 12 hundred years afore that, was it neither boxed
 nor pxt,²⁹⁴ honoured nor sensed universally. And see what an horrible work
 here is now for the boxing thereof, and what a great heresy it is to believe
 that Christ dwell not therein, contrary both to his own and to his Apostles'
 Judases. doctrine. Mark also how this God's creature is handled here for it, and how
 subtly she is betrayed of the Bishop's beagles²⁹⁵ and limes²⁹⁶ of the devil.

Anne Askew.

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²⁸⁹ ritual of reserving the consecrated bread for veneration rather than congregational communion. Beilin.

²⁹⁰ Liège, in modern Belgium

²⁹¹ Eva of Liège, c. 1205–65. Also known as Eva of St Martin because of her attachment to the church of that name in Liège. She was a close friend and confidant of the nun Juliana and through her associated with the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi. For a brief life see Herbert Thurston, and Donald Attwater eds. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, second edition. Kent: Burns & Oates Limited, 1954–8, p. 34–5

²⁹² also Boschius/ de Bost of Ghent, 1446–99. Carmelite monk, theologian, poet and historian. See Gilbert Tournoy's entry in Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher eds. 'Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation'. Vols. 1–3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985. Reprint 1995, p. 176.

²⁹³ Bostius' Epistle 6 to Johannes Paleonydorum, pseud. of John Oudewarer of Mechlin, d. 1507. As Beilin notes, Bale's transcript of this correspondence is now in the Bodleian Library, MS Selden, supra 41. Paleonydorum/Oudewarer was a Flemish Carmelite monk. From 1495–97 he wrote three histories of his own order, chief among which, the *Liber trimeresus*, is considered to be the first printed history of the Carmelites. For text and images of an edition see <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/inc-ii-280>, accessed 20 February 2015. The British Library MS Cotton Vitellius D. iv is a badly damaged transcript of the 1497 Mainz edition.

²⁹⁴ boxed in the pyx

²⁹⁵ tracking hounds

²⁹⁶ i.e. birdlimes, traps

Then laid it my Lord unto me that I had alleged a certain text of the scripture. I answered that I alleged none other but S. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the 17 Chapter of the Apostles' acts.²⁹⁷ That God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. Then asked he me what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him. I believe as the scripture doth teach me. Then enquired he of me, what if the scripture doth say that it is the body of Christ? I believe (said I) like as the scripture doth teach me. Then asked he again, what if the scripture doth say that it is not the body of Christ? My answer was still, I believe as the scripture informeth me. And upon this argument he tarried a great

Temples

A tempter.

[27]

²⁹⁷ Acts 17:24, see note on p. 25

while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit²⁹⁸ I would not, but concluded thus with him that I believed therein and in all other things, as Christ and his holy Apostles did leave them.

John Bale.

Scripture. See what an horrible sin here was. She alleged the scripture for her belief, which is a sore and a dangerous matter. For it is against the pope's canon laws, and against the old customs of holy church. Since king Henry's days the fourth hath it been a burning matter only to read it in the English tongue, and was called Wycliffe's learning till now of late years. And it will not be well with holy church till it be brought to that point again. For it maketh many heretics against holy church. O insipi-

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²⁹⁸ however

ent papists. These are your corrupted practises and abominable studies to drive the simple from God, and yet ye think, he seeth you not, Psalm 13.²⁹⁹ Saint Paul saith (Roma. 15)³⁰⁰ what so ever things are written in the scriptures are written for our learning that we through patience and comfort in them might have hope, and ye will rob us thereof. Christ commanded all peoples, both men and women (Johan. 5) to search the scriptures if they think to have everlasting life, for that life is no where but in them.³⁰¹ Yet will you in pain of death keep them still from them.

Christ

For ye take upon ye to sit in God's stead, and think by that usurped office that ye may turn over all, 2 Thes. 2.³⁰² But Christ bade us to be ware both of you and your chaplains when he said There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, working many great wonders, and saying Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ. Believe them not. Matt. 24.³⁰³ And therefore alleged this woman unto

In God's
stead.

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²⁹⁹ Psalms 13:2 'Dominus de caelo prospexit super filios hominum ut videret si esset intellegens requirens Deum.' KJV 14:2 'The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek God.'

³⁰⁰ Romans 15:4 'quaecumque enim scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt ut per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus.' KJV: 'For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.'

³⁰¹ John 5:39 'scrutamini scripturas quia vos putatis in ipsis vitam aeternam habere et illae sunt quae testimonium perhibent de me.' KJV: 'Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.'

³⁰² 2 Thessalonians 2:4 'qui adversatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur ita ut in templo Dei sedeat ostendens se quia sit Deus.' KJV: 'Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.'

³⁰³ Matthew 24:11 'et multi pseudoprophetae surgent et seducent multos.' KJV: 'And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.'

your questmongers³⁰⁴ (the dogs that Christ warned us of, Mathei 7)³⁰⁵ and now unto you that saying of S. Paul, Acto. 17³⁰⁶ That God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, which also were the words both of Solomon long afore 3 Reg. 8 and of Stephen, Acto. 7 in his time.³⁰⁷ That scripture so much offended you, that ye would needs know thereof the understanding. For such texts as agree not with the cloynings³⁰⁸ of your conjurers, and the conveyances³⁰⁹ of your sorcerers must³¹⁰ needs be seasoned with Aristotle's Physics, and sauced with John Duns' subtleties.³¹¹ Here make ye a wonderful turmoiling³¹² to wring out of this Woman's belief in that matter, that she might³¹³ either become a creature of your old God the pope, or else be burned. Yet have she not once removed her foot from the hard foundation or saving rock Jesus Christ. 1. Corinth. 11.³¹⁴ Blessed be his holy name for it.

Anne Askew.

Few words. Then he asked me, why I had so few words? And I an-
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³⁰⁴ those who make a business of conducting quests

³⁰⁵ Matthew 7:6, see note on p. 26

³⁰⁶ Acts 17:24, see note on p. 25

³⁰⁷ 1 Kings 8:27 and Acts 7:48, see note on p. 26

³⁰⁸ deceivings. From 'cloyne/cloine' meaning 'to cheat or deceive.' *OED* records Bale as a prominent user.

³⁰⁹ underhand dealings, sleights of hand

³¹⁰ emended from 'sorceres. must' following Beilin

³¹¹ Better known as Duns Scotus, 1265?–1308, Franciscan scholar, editor of Aristotle, and notoriously complex and nuanced thinker. For a comprehensive account of work and philosophy see <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/duns-scotus/>, accessed 20 February 2015.

³¹² derived from turmoil, probably from the archaic sense 'to disorder or distress physically'

³¹³ emended from 'myghe' following Beilin.

³¹⁴ Wrong citation in source, not noted in Beilin. The correct reference is 1 Corinthians 10:4 'et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt bibebant autem de spiritali consequenti eos petra petra autem erat Christus.' KJV: 'And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ.'

swered. God hath given me the gift of knowledge but not of utterance. And Solomon saith that a woman of few words is a gift of God, Prover. 19.³¹⁵

John Bale.

When Christ stood before Caiaphas, he asked him, much after this sort, wherefore he had so few words? Thou answerest not (saith he) to those things which are laid here against thee of these men. Nevertheless he held his peace. Mar. 14.³¹⁶ But when he was once thoroughly compelled by the name of the living God to speak and had uttered a very few words, he took him at such advantage, though they were the eternal verity, as he was able through them to procure his death, Matth. 26, like as this bloody Bishop Bonner of the same wicked generation did at the latter by this faithful woman.³¹⁷ Silence. Bonner.

Anne Askew.

Thirdly my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say, that the Mass was idolatry

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³¹⁵ actually, as Martin points out, Ecclesiasticus or Sirach 26:14 in the Greek Septuagint which is followed by KJV, and 26:17–18 in the Vulgate, followed by the Douay Rheims version. In the interests of clarity the four versions are as follow:

Septuagint 26:14 δόσις Κυρίου γυνή σιγηρά, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα πεπαιδευμένης ψυχῆς translated by KJV 26:14 as ‘A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord; and there is nothing so much worth as a mind well instructed.’

Vulgate 26:17–18 ‘disciplina illius datus Dei/ mulier sensata et tacita non est inmutatio eruditae animae’ which in Douay Rheims 26:17–18 is ‘Her discipline is the gift of God./ Such is a wise and silent woman, and there is nothing so much worth as a well instructed soul.’

But, as Martin again points out, Proverbs 19:14 does make a point about the prudent wife: ‘domus et divitiae dantur a patribus a Domino autem proprie uxor prudens’ or KJV ‘House and riches are the inheritance of fathers: and a prudent wife is from the Lord.’ The error is reproduced in Fox.

³¹⁶ Mark 14:60–1 ‘et exurgens summus sacerdos in medium interrogavit Iesum dicens non respondes quicquam ad ea quae tibi obiciuntur ab his/ ille autem tacebat et nihil respondit rursus summus sacerdos interrogabat eum et dicit ei tu es Christus Filius Benedicti.’ KJV: ‘And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?/ But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?’

³¹⁷ Matthew 26:59–66 narrates the conspiracy and false witness against Christ, his silence and sentencing to death

Private
Masses.

I answered him. No, I said not so. Howbeit (I said) the quest did ask me, whether private Masses did relieve³¹⁸ souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered. O Lord, what idolatry is this that we should rather believe in private Masses than in the healthsome³¹⁹ death of the dear son of God. Then said my Lord again. What an answer was that? Though it were but³²⁰ (said I) yet was it good enough for the question.

John Bale.

Henry
Spenser

About the latter days of John wycliffe, in the year of our Lord a 1382 as Henry Spenser³²¹ then Bishop of Norwich, was with a great number of English warriors besieging the town of Ypres³²² in Flanders, in the quarell of pope Urbanus the VI

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³¹⁸ in the obsolete sense of ‘to rise again’

³¹⁹ bestowing spiritual health

³²⁰ mean lacking in elevation or adornment; unambitious though not always with depreciative connotation

³²¹ Henry le Despenser, the ‘Fighting Bishop’, 1370–1406. See [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Despenser, Henry le %28DNB00%29](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Despenser,_Henry_le_%28DNB00%29), accessed 20 April 2015.

³²² Ypres

The vessels of perdition or very organs of Satan, the 4 orders of begging friars,³²³ preached all England over that that most holy father of theirs had liberally opened the well of mercy and granted clean remission to all them that would either fight or give any thing towards the maintenance of those wars in that quarrel of holy church against schismatics³²⁴ and heretics. For then was this matter of their popish Masse in great controversy, like as it is now. More over they promised, by virtue of his great pardons, to send the souls departed to heaven. And diverse of them said, they had seen them fly up out of the church yards from their graves thither ward.³²⁵

Friars.

Mass.

This most devilish blasphemy with such other like, provoked the said John Wycliffe, the very organ of God, and vessel of the holy Ghost not only to reply then against them at Oxford in the open schools,³²⁶ but also to write a great number of books against that pestilent popish kingdo-

John
Wycliffe

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³²³ the four orders of mendicant friars namely Augustines, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans or Minorites established by the Church of Rome to revive monastic insitutions in the thirteenth century. Wycliffe was eloquent against such ‘able-bodied beggary.’

³²⁴ those who divide the church

³²⁵ in that direction

³²⁶ rooms at the university for organized debate, esp. associated with scholastic theologians. Beilin.

Pardons. m of theirs, like as Martin Luther hath done also in our time, with many other godly men. And like as those false prophets the friars did then attribute unto the Pope's pardons the remission of sins, the deliverance from damnation, and the free entrance of heaven, which peculiarly³²⁷ belongeth to the precious payment of Christ's blood. 1 Petri 1 and 1 Joan. 1.³²⁸ So do Druids. these false anointed or blasphemous Bishops and priests now attribute them again unto their private and public Masses, the pope's own wares as prowling³²⁹ and pilfering as the pardons, with no less blasphemy. The devilishness of this new doctrine of theirs, shall be refelled³³⁰ in my books Peryn. against friar Peryn and Winchester, and therefore I write the less here.

Anne Askew.

Chance Then I told my Lord that there was a priest which did hear what I said there llor. before my lord mayor and them, with that the chancellor answered, which was the same priest. So

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³²⁷ specifically, distinctively, exclusively

³²⁸ 1 Peter 1:18–19 'scientes quod non corruptilibus argento vel auro redempti estis de vana vestra conversatione paternae traditionis/ sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni incontaminati et immaculati Christi.' KJV: 'Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers;/ But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.' 1 John 1:7 'si autem in luce ambulemus sicut et ipse est in luce societatem habemus ad invicem et sanguis Iesu Filii eius mundat nos ab omni peccato.' KJV: 'But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.'

³²⁹ plundering

³³⁰ refuted, disproved

she spake it in very deed (saith he) before my lord the mayor and me. Then were there certain priests as doctor Standish³³¹ and other, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus. That I have said to my Lord of London, I have said.

Standish.

John Bale.

By this ye may see, that the Bishops have every where their watchmen, lest the king's officers should do any thing contrary to their bloody behoof. This Chancellor would not have thus answered hardly, so agreeably to her tale, had it not been to their advantage against her, as here after will appear. Mark here the fashion of these tempting serpents Standish and his fellows, And tell me if they be not like unto those viper's whelps which came to John's Baptism,³³² Matthei 3 and to Christ Jesus' preaching, Luce 11.³³³ I think ye shall find them the same ge-

Watchmen.

Vipers.

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³³¹ John Standish, c. 1509–1570, church of England clergyman, Bishop Bonner's appointee as rector of St Andrew Undershaft in London and later vicar of Northall, Middlesex. He advocated the burning of English Bibles, thus incurring Bale's wrath. For a short biography see Anthony à Wood and Philip Bliss eds., *Athenae Oxoniensis: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford: to which are Added the Fasti Or Annals of the Said University*, 3rd ed., Vol. 1 (Oxford: Rivington, 1813).

³³² emended from 'Baptym' following Beilin

³³³ Matthew 3:7 'videns autem multos Pharisaeorum et Sadducaeorum venientes ad baptismum suum dixit eis progenies viperarum quis demonstravit vobis fugere a futura ira.' KJV: 'But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?' Luke 11 is wrong citation in the source. Actually Luke 3:7 'dicebat ergo ad turbas quae exiebant ut baptizarentur ab ipso genimina viperarum quis ostendit vobis fugere a ventura ira.' KJV: 'Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?'

eration.

Anne Askew.

A tempter. And then Doctor Standish desired my lord to bid me say my mind concerning that same text of S. Paul. I answered that it was against saint Paul's learning that I, being a woman, should interpret the scriptures, specially where so many wise learned men were.

John Bale.

Standish. It is not yet half a score of years ago since this blasphemous idiot Standish compared in a lewd³³⁴ sermon of his, the dear price of our redemption, or precious blood of Christ, to the blood of a filthy swine, like himself a swine. And for his good doing, he is now becomen a daw,³³⁵ a doctor I should say, of the pope's divinity, and a scholastical interpreter of the scriptures to his behoof. Here would the swinish ge-

Doctor.

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³³⁴ ignorant

³³⁵ fool

ntleman have proved, both that S. Stephen died an heretic, and S. Paul a schismatic for teaching that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands Act. 7 and 17³³⁶ if he might have reasoned out the matter with this woman. But she took a swine for a swine, and would lay no pearls afore him, as Christ had charged her afore. Matthei 7.³³⁷ For all their interrogations are now about the temple and the temple wares. Matthei 26.³³⁸ Swine.

Anne Askew.

Then my lord of London said he was informed that one should ask of me if I would receive the Sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it. Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth, which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me. I sent one to give you good counsel, and at Accusers

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³³⁶ see note on p. 25

³³⁷ see note on p. 26

³³⁸ Matthew 26:59–66, see note on p. 79. Specially Matthew 26:61 ‘et dixerunt hic dixit possum destruere templum Dei et post triduum aedificare illud.’ KJV: ‘And said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.’

the first word ye called him papist. That I denied not. For I perceived he was no less. Yet made I none answer unto it.

John Bale.

Dog's rhetoric
Quarrellers

No comfortable³³⁹ scriptures, nor yet any thing to the soul's consolation, may come out of the mouths of these spiritual fathers, But dog's rhetoric and cur's courtesy, narrings,³⁴⁰ brawlings, and quarrellings. When she was in the midst of them, she might well have said with David, Deliver me Lord from the quarrelous³⁴¹ dealings of men, that I may keep thy commandments. I deal with the thing that is lawful and right, O give me not over to these oppressors, let not these proud quarrellers do me wrong. Psalm. 118.³⁴² But among all these quarrelings her accusers might not be seen, which were the grounders³⁴³ of them.

Anne Askew.

Three score priests

Then he rebuked me and said that I should report that there were bent against me three sco-

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³³⁹ spiritually strengthening

³⁴⁰ growlings. From 'narr,' to snarl and growl, esp. like a dog

³⁴¹ quarrelsome

³⁴² Psalms 118:134 'redime me a calumnia hominis et custodiam praecepta tua.' KJV: 119:134 'Deliver me from the oppression of man: so will I keep thy precepts.' The Coverdale Bible translates 'calumnia hominis' as 'wro[n]geous dealings of me[n].'

³⁴³ instigators

re priests at Lincoln. In deed (quoth I) I said so. For my friends told me if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast. And when I heard it, I went thither in deed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. More over I remained there 6 days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the minster,³⁴⁴ reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by 2 and by 2 by 5 and by 6 minding to have spoken to me, yet went they their ways again with out words speaking. Priests.

John Bale.

Rebukes in that generation, are much more ready at hand than either Christian admonishments or gentle exhort-

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³⁴⁴ cathedral

Lordship tations, though they be all spiritual. And that cometh by reason of their
 lordships, which wanteth due furnishing out,³⁴⁵ unless they have tyrannous
 brags³⁴⁶ and brawlings.³⁴⁷ Herein follow they the examples of their natural
 Hypocrisy. predecessors the Jewish bishops, Pharisees, and priests, Joan. 7. and 9.³⁴⁸ She
 might full well say that the priests were against her. For hypocrisy and
 Idolatry were never yet with him whose blessed quarrel³⁴⁹ she took. Mark the
 Wonderers. fourth chapter of John, and so forth almost to the end of his Gospel. Behold
 also how his Apostles and disciples were handled of the priests, after his
 glorious ascension, Acto. 4 and all that book following, and ye shall find it no
 new thing. The servant is no better than her master which suffered of that
 malignant generation like quarrellings and handlings, Joan. 15³⁵⁰ see here how
 they wondered upon her by couples, for reading the Bible, as their fore
 fathers wondered upon Christ for preaching and doing miracles.³⁵¹

Anne Askew.

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³⁴⁵ occupying a position

³⁴⁶ pompous displays

³⁴⁷ noisy quarrelling, wrangling

³⁴⁸ In John 7 Christ secretly goes to Judaea from Galilee to teach in the temple during the feast of the tabernacle in the face of the displeasure of the Jewish religious authorities. In John 9, the disbelief of the religious authorities is treated as blindness when the healed blind beggar becomes a believer. For the miracle of the blind man see John 9:1–41.

³⁴⁹ cause

³⁵⁰ John 15:20 ‘mementote sermonis mei quem ego dixi vobis non est servus maior domino suo si me persecuti sunt et vos persequentur si sermonem meum servaverunt et vestrum servabunt.’ KJV: ‘Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also.’

³⁵¹ wonder in the sense of astonishment mingled with perplexity or bewildered curiosity as at something novel and unexpected. Bale insists that Askew’s reading in church was a novelty fit for wonderment.

Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him, yes, that there was³⁵² one of them at the last, which did speak to me in deed. And my lord then asked me, what he said? And I told him, his words were of so small effect, that I did not now remember them. A priest.

John Bale.

So far was not Lincoln from London but the Bishop there had knowledge of this tragedy. Hereby may ye see their spiritual occupying³⁵³ against Christ and his faithful members. Such is the study (saith S. John) of that congregation, which is a spirituality³⁵⁴ called Sodom and Egypt. They rejoyce in mischiefs among themselves and send massenges³⁵⁵ one to another against God's witnesses when they are vexed by them, Apoca. 11.³⁵⁶ Occupying.

Anne Askew.

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³⁵² emended from 'wat' following Beilin.

³⁵³ carrying on, practice

³⁵⁴ group of ecclesiastics

³⁵⁵ messengers or messages

³⁵⁶ Revelation 11:8 'et corpora eorum in plateis civitatis magnae quae vocatur spiritaliter Sodoma et Aegyptus ubi et Dominus eorum crucifixus est.' KJV: 'And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.' Sodom was destroyed by God for its wickedness (Genesis 19) and the Israelites lived in slavery in Egypt in the time of Moses (Exodus 1:8–14). John thus describes a city that has turned away from God and oppressed God's people. Bale uses this reference to indicate a 'spirituality' rather than the population of a geographical location.

Scripture. Then said my lord, There are many that read and know the scripture and yet do not follow it, nor live thereafter. I said again. My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points, For I am so sure of my self this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty³⁵⁷ by me. If you know any that can do it, I pray you bring them forth.

John Bale.

Followers I marvel that bishops can not see this in themselves, that they are also no followers of the scriptures. But peradventure³⁵⁸ they never read them, but as they find them by chance in their popish portifoliums³⁵⁹ and masking³⁶⁰ books. Or else they think all the scriptures fulfilled when they have said their martens³⁶¹ and their masses. Christ said to the hypocrite. Why seest thou a moat in thy neighbour's eye, and considerst not the great beam that is in thine own

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³⁵⁷ unchastity. Askew has left her husband.

³⁵⁸ perhaps

³⁵⁹ portable breviary containing daily readings to be used by Catholic clergy. Corruption of medieval Latin *poniforium*. Usage unique to Bale in the *OED*.

³⁶⁰ masquerading, hypocritical

³⁶¹ matins, Catholic morning prayers

eye? Luce 6. Matth. 7.³⁶² Christ forbade his bishops under pain of damnation to take any lordships upon them. Luce 22.³⁶³ How is this followed of our prelates? He commanded them also to possess neither gold nor silver. Matth. 10.³⁶⁴ How is this commandment obeyed? If we looked so earnestly to Christ's institutions, as we look to the pope's to be observed, these would also be seen to by act of parliament so well as priests' marriage whom Christ never inhibited. I doubt it not, but this will also be one day seen to. Godly did this woman in defending here her innocence. For S. Peter saith, 1 Petri 4,³⁶⁵ see that none of you suffer as an evil doer. But in your hard sufferings, commit your souls unto God with well doing, as unto your faithful creator.

Lordships'
possessions.

Marriage.

Anne Askew.

Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle³⁶⁶ somewhat of my meaning. And so he writ a great circumstance.³⁶⁷ But what it was, I have not all in memory. For he woul- He writeth.

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³⁶² Luke 6:41 'quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui trabem autem quae in oculo tuo est non consideras.' KJV: 'And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?' Matthew 7:3 'quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui et trabem in oculo tuo non vides.' KJV: 'And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?'

³⁶³ Luke 22:25-6 'dixit autem eis reges gentium dominantur eorum et qui potestatem habent super eos benefici vocantur/ vos autem non sic sed qui maior est in vobis fiat sicut iunior et qui praecessor est sicut ministrator' KJV 'And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors./ But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.'

³⁶⁴ Matthew 10:9 'nolite possidere aurum neque argentum neque pecuniam in zonis vestris.' KJV: 'Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses.'

³⁶⁵ 1 Peter 4:19 'itaque et hii qui patiuntur secundum voluntatem Dei fideli creatori commendant animas suas in benefactis.' KJV: 'Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.'

³⁶⁶ write down under proper titles or headings

³⁶⁷ detailed and circuitous narrative

d not suffer me to have the copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it.

John Bale.

Worship
the beast

Here wrote he certain articles of the pope's Romish faith, willing her to subscribe unto them and so blaspheme God, or else to burn. His seeking was here, to make her to worship the first beast whose deadly wound is healed again Apoc. 13.³⁶⁸ But she would not so have her name razed out of the lamb's book of life. Apoca. 20.³⁶⁹ Rather would she contend to the end, hoping by the might of his spirit at the last to overcome, and so to be clothed with the promised white apparel, Apoca.3.³⁷⁰

Anne Askew.

Holy
lechery.

Be it known (saith he) to all men that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding my reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are howseled³⁷¹ at the han-

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³⁶⁸ Revelation 13:12 'et potestatem prioris bestiae omnem faciebat in conspectu eius et facit terram et inhabitantes in eam adorare bestiam primam cuius curata est plaga mortis.' KJV: 'And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.' For Bale the first beast is the Roman Catholic church.

³⁶⁹ Revelation 20:12–15 'et vidi mortuos magnos et pusillos stantes in conspectu throni et libri aperti sunt et alius liber apertus est qui est vitae et iudicati sunt mortui ex his quae scripta erant in libris secundum opera ipsorum/ et dedit mare mortuos qui in eo erant et mors et inferus dederunt mortuos qui in ipsis erant et iudicatum est de singulis secundum opera ipsorum/ et inferus et mors missi sunt in stagnum ignis haec mors secunda est stagnum ignis/ et qui non est inventus in libro vitae scriptus missus est in stagnum ignis.' KJV: 'And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works./ And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works./ And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death./ And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.' Christ is the lamb of God.

³⁷⁰ Revelation 3:5 'qui vicerit sic vestietur vestimentis albis et non delebo nomen eius de libro vitae et confitebor nomen eius coram Patre meo et coram angelis eius.' KJV: 'He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.'

³⁷¹ received communion

ds of a priest, whether his conversation³⁷² be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe it after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved,³⁷³ to be no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally I do believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church, in all points according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my name. There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. papistic

John Bale.

All the world knoweth that neither in Christ's time nor yet in the days of his Apostles was any such confession of faith. Neither yet in the church New faith.

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³⁷² behaviour

³⁷³ whether the consecrated elements are handed out or retained for other purposes. Beilin.

that followed after, by the space of much more than a 1000 years, What have Christian men's conscience then to do with such a prodigious³⁷⁴ confession? Are not Christ and his Apostles teachers sufficient enough for our Christian belief, and their holy doctrines lawful, but we must have these unsavoury brabblings?³⁷⁵ We must now believe in the bawdry³⁷⁶ of priests, or that their Sodometry³⁷⁷ and Whoredom³⁷⁸ for want of marriage, can be no impediment to their Godmaking.³⁷⁹ What is it else to be sworn unto the belief of such articles but to honour their abominable lechery? O most swinish sacrificers of Baal peor, Psalm 105.³⁸⁰ You is it that the Apostle Judas, in his canonical epistle speaketh of. Ye have turned the grace of God, into your lechery, denying our only governor Jesus Christ.³⁸¹ The holy Ghost sheweth us, Apoca. 21 and 22³⁸² that none are of the new hallowed eyrie or congregation³⁸³ of the Lord, which worketh abomination or maintaineth lies, as ye do them both here.

Anne Askew.

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³⁷⁴ emended from 'progydyouse' following Beilin.

³⁷⁵ quibblings, noisy quarrelings

³⁷⁶ unchastity, lewd talk

³⁷⁷ sodomy

³⁷⁸ illicit sexual indulgence. But also figuratively, especially in biblical and religious use, as in the Coverdale Bible, applied to idolatry or other form of unfaithfulness to the true God.

³⁷⁹ deification

³⁸⁰ Psalms 105:28 'et consecrati sunt Beelphegor et comederunt victimas mortuorum.' KJV 106:28 'They joined themselves also unto Baalpeor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead.' This Psalm, also called by its opening words 'Confitemini Domino' describes the sins and iniquities of the Israelites including worship of the Canaanite fertility deity Baal of Peor (Peor being a mountain in Moab referred to in Numbers 23:28). One of Baal's cults was in the settlement of Beth-peor (Deuteronomy 3:26). See also Numbers 25 for another account the Baal-Peor heresy.

³⁸¹ Epistle of Jude. The penultimate book of the new Testament and one of the shortest books in the Bible, it attacks false teachers. See especially Jude 1:4 'subintroierunt enim quidam homines qui olim praescripti sunt in hoc iudicium impii Dei nostri gratiam transferentes in luxuriam et solum Dominatorem et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum negantes.' KJV: 'For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.'

³⁸² Revelation 21:27 'nec intrabit in ea aliquid coinquinatum et faciens abominationem et mendacium nisi qui scripti sunt in libro vitae agni.' KJV: 'And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.' Revelation 22:15 'foris canes et venefici et inpudici et homicidae et idolis servientes et omnis qui amat et facit mendacium.' KJV: 'For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.'

³⁸³ i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem

Then he read it to me and asked me if I did agree to it. And I said again, I believe so much thereof as the Holy Scripture doth agree to. Wherefore I desire you that ye will add that thereunto. Then he answered that I should not teach him what he should write, With that, he went forth into his great chamber,³⁸⁴ and read the same bill afore the audience, which inveigled³⁸⁵ and willed me to set to my hand, saying also that I had favour shewed me. Scripture

John Bale.

In every matter concerning our Christian belief, is the scripture reckoned insufficient of this wicked generation. God was not wise enough in setting the order thereof but they must add thereunto their swibber-swill,³⁸⁶ that he may abhor it in us as he did the Jews' ceremonies, Esa. 1. Hiere. 7. Zacha. 7. Amos 5. Michee 6.³⁸⁷ But this Unsufficient.

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³⁸⁴ the bishop's formal court at St Paul's. Beilin.

³⁸⁵ inveigled, cajoled

³⁸⁶ messy, repulsive, or nauseous concoction. From 'slibber-swill'. Unique example in *OED* is this text

³⁸⁷ Isaiah 1, Jeremiah 7, Zechariah 7, Amos 5 and Micah 6. All chapters referenced here express God's displeasure at the ceremonies and rituals of the Jews such as fasting (Zechariah 7) and sacrifices. But see especially Isaiah 1:13 'ne adferatis ultra sacrificium frustra incensum abominatio est mihi neomeniam et sabbatum et festivitates alias non feram iniqui sunt coetus vestry' KJV: 'Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting;' Jeremiah 7:31 'et aedificaverunt excelsa Thofeth qui est in valle filii Ennom ut incenderent filios suos et filias suas igni quae non praecepi nec cogitavi in corde meo' KJV: 'And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart;' Amos 5:21–2 'odi et proieci festivitates vestras et non capiam odorem coetuum vestrorum/ quod si adtuleritis mihi holocaustomata et munera vestra non suscipiam et vota pinguium vestrorum non respiciam' KJV: 'I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies./ Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts;' and the rhetorical questions in Micah 6:6–7 'quid dignum offeram Domino curvem genu Deo excelso numquid offeram ei holocaustomata et vitulos anniculos./ numquid placari potest Dominus in milibus arietum aut in multis milibus hircorum pinguium numquid dabo primogenitum meum pro scelere meo fructum ventris mei pro peccato animae meae' KJV: 'Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old?/ Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?'

The pope godly woman would corrupt her faith with no such beggary,³⁸⁸ lest she in so doing should admit them and their pope to sit in her conscience above the eternal God, which is their daily study, 2 Thes. 2.³⁸⁹ A virgin was she in that behalf, redeemed from the earth and following the Lamb, and having in her forehead the father's name written. Apocalypsis 14.³⁹⁰

Anne Askew.

favour. Then said the Bishop I might thank other, and not myself, of the favour I found at his hand. For he considered (he said) that I had good friends, and also that I was come of a worshipful stock.³⁹¹ Then answered one Christopher,³⁹² a servant to Master Denny, Rather ought ye (my lord) to have done it in such case for God's sake than for man's.

John Bale.

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³⁸⁸ rubbish

³⁸⁹ 2 Thessalonians 2:4 'qui adversatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur ita ut in templo Dei sedeat ostendens se quia sit Deus.' KJV: 'Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.'

³⁹⁰ Revelation 14:1 'et vidi et ecce agnus stabat supra montem Sion et cum illo centum quadraginta quattuor milia habentes nomen eius et nomen Patris eius scriptum in frontibus suis' KJV: 'And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Zion, and with him an hundred fortyand four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.'

³⁹¹ distinguished family

³⁹² emended from 'Christophet' following Beilin.

Spiritual will these fathers be named and yet they do all to be seen of men, Math. 23.³⁹³ Their old conditions will they change when the black morian³⁹⁴ falsehood change his skin and the cat of the mountain her spots, Hieremye 13.³⁹⁵ If I sought to please men (saith S. Paul) I were nor the servant of Christ. Gala. 1.³⁹⁶ When this tyrannous bishop can do no more mischief, then flattereth he flattery the world, seeking to have thanks where he hath none deserved. And as concerning the love or true fear of God (as is here laid unto him) he hath none at all, Psal. 13.³⁹⁷

Anne Askew.

Then my Lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand and I writ after this manner, I Anne Askew do believe all manner things contained in the faith of the Catholic church. Then because I did add unto it the Ca- catholic

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³⁹³ Matthew 23:5 ‘omnia vero opera sua faciunt ut videantur ab hominibus dilatant enim phylacteria sua et magnificent fimbrias.’ KJV: ‘But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments.’

³⁹⁴ blackamoor, i.e. dark-skinned Ethiopian or African

³⁹⁵ Jeremiah 13:23 ‘si mutare potest Aethiops pellem suam aut pardus varietates suas et vos poteritis bene facere cum didiceritis malum.’ KJV: ‘Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil.’

³⁹⁶ Galatians 1:10 ‘modo enim hominibus suadeo aut Deo aut quaero hominibus placere si adhuc hominibus placerem Christi servus non essem.’ KJV: ‘For do I now persuade men, or God? or do I seek to please men? for if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.’

³⁹⁷ Psalms 13:3, KJV 14:3. See note on p. 60.

A woman. tholic church,³⁹⁸ he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that my cousin Brittain followed him, desiring him for God's sake to be good lord unto me. He answered that I was a woman and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Brittain desired him to take me as a woman and not to set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

John Bale.

Catholic Was not this (think you) a sore matter to be so grievously taken of this prelate? But that they are naturally given to such quarrellings, Matth. 23.³⁹⁹ This word Catholic was not wont to offend them. How becometh it then now a name so odious? Peradventure through this only occasion. They knew not till now of late years (for it come of the Greek) the true signification thereof. As that it is so much to say in the English⁴⁰⁰ as the universal or whole. Afore

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³⁹⁸ 'catholic' was a hotly-contested term between Roman Catholics and Reformers. For details see Beilin's 'Introduction,' page xxxi.

³⁹⁹ Matthew 23, in which Christ denounces the hypocrisy and blindness of scribes and Pharisees.

⁴⁰⁰ emended from 'the. English' following Beilin.

time, they took it to mean their oiled congregation alone. But now they perceive that it includeth the laity so well as them no longer they do esteem it. Other cause can I none conjecture, why they should now more condemn it than afore. from oil.

Anne Askew.

Then went in unto him doctor weston and said that the cause why I did write there the Catholic Church was that I understood not the church written afore. So with much ado they persuaded my lord to come out again and to take my name with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Brittain and master Spillman of Gray's Inn. Weston.

John Bale.

For an holy church will they be taken and seem much to differ from the lewd lousy⁴⁰¹ laity or profane multitude of the common people by reason of their holy unctions⁴⁰² and shavings Laity.

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⁴⁰¹ vile, contemptible

⁴⁰² anointing with oil

which came from their pope. Most specially because they have nothing a do with marriage, reckoned a most contagious poison to holy orders, as their foresaid Romish father hath taught, which bringeth up all his children in Sodomites. Sodom and Gomorra. Jude I. Apoc. 11.⁴⁰³ And this point have they learned of their predecessors the old Pharisees and priests, which were not, *sicut ceteri hominum*,⁴⁰⁴ as the common sort of men are, but holy, spiritual ghostly fathers, Luce 18.⁴⁰⁵ Wherefore they will not now be called a catholic but an holy spiritual church.

Anne Askew.

Many
delays

This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately according to the order of the law. Howbeit he would not so suffer it but committed me from thence to prison again until the next morrow. And then he willed me to appear in the guild hall,⁴⁰⁶ and so I did. Notwith-

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⁴⁰³ Jude 1:7 'sicut Sodoma et Gomorra et finitimae civitates simili modo exfornicatae et abeuntes post carnem alteram factae sunt exemplum ignis aeterni poenam sustinentes.' KJV: 'Even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire..' Revelation 11:8, see note on p. 89.

⁴⁰⁴ 'like other men.' Bale quotes from the Vulgate, Luke 18:11 in which the Pharisee exalts himself above other men, thus becoming less likely to attain salvation. He provides the translation himself in the phrase following. Luke 18:11 'Pharisaeus stans haec apud se orabat Deus gratias ago tibi quia non sum sicut ceteri hominum raptores iniusti adulteri vel ut etiam hic publicanus.' KJV: 'The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.'

⁴⁰⁵ Luke 18:11 'Pharisaeus stans haec apud se orabat Deus gratias ago tibi quia non sum sicut ceteri hominum raptores iniusti adulteri vel ut etiam hic publicanus.' KJV: 'The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.'

⁴⁰⁶ Guildhall, administrative headquarters of the City of London

standing they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the Bishop's writing⁴⁰⁷ unto me as before, and so commanded me again to prison.

John Bale.

A very servitude of Egypt⁴⁰⁸ is it to be in danger of these papistic bishops, as in this act doth appear. See what cavillations⁴⁰⁹ this Pharaoh did seek here to hold this Christian woman still under his captivity, so loth is the greedy wolf to depart from his desired prey Joan. 10.⁴¹⁰ These delays and these sendings from Caiaphas to Pilate, and from Pilate again to Annas⁴¹¹ in Paul's,⁴¹² were not else but⁴¹³ to seek more matter against her and to know more deeply who were her friends and maintainers.⁴¹⁴ They that shall confer⁴¹⁵ the fashions⁴¹⁶ of this termagant⁴¹⁷ Bishop concerning this woman with the cruel manners of great Pharaoh in the deliverance of the people of Israel at God's commandment, Exo. 5,⁴¹⁸ or with the handlings of the Jews' spirituality concerning

Pharaoh.

Practise.

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⁴⁰⁷ emended from 'wytynge' following Beilin

⁴⁰⁸ servitude and captivity of Egypt under Pharaoh. See Exodus 1–3.

⁴⁰⁹ trickery, unfair charges in legal processes.

⁴¹⁰ parable of the good shepherd. John 10:12 'mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oves propriae videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oves.' But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep.'

⁴¹¹ Pontius Pilate was the Roman prefect of Judaea notorious for the trial of and crucifixion of Jesus and Caiaphas the high priest who examined Christ during the passion in the synoptic gospels (see first mention hyperlink on p. 37 and p. 58 respectively). In John, Jesus is also interrogated by Annas, Caiaphas' father-in-law. John 18:13 'et adduxerunt eum ad Annam primum erat enim socer Caiaphae qui erat pontifex anni illius.' KJV: 'And led him away to Annas first; for he was father in law to Caiaphas, which was the high priest that same year.' and John 18:24 'et misit eum Annas ligatum ad Caiaphan pontificem.' KJV: 'Now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.'

⁴¹² St Paul's Cathedral, the seat of the Bishop of London

⁴¹³ Emended from 'bnt'

⁴¹⁴ defenders or helpers

⁴¹⁵ compare

⁴¹⁶ actions

⁴¹⁷ savage, violent, overbearing or quarrelsome, blustering, bullying

⁴¹⁸ Exodus 5, in which Pharaoh refuses Moses and Aaron's request to let the Israelites go and increases their oppression.

Christ, Math. 26 and John. 18,⁴¹⁹ they shall not find them all unlike.

Anne Askew.

Knavery
spiritual

Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in Paul's church, which did so in deed. Notwithstanding they would once again have broken off with them because they would not be bound also for an other woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much a do and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance⁴²⁰ for my forth coming.⁴²¹ And thus I was at the last, delivered. Written by me Anne Askew.

John Bale.

No verity (saith Hosea the Prophet)

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⁴¹⁹ Matthew 26–7 and John 18 narrate the passion. Matthew 26 describes the arrest and imprisonment of Jesus.

⁴²⁰ bond of obligation

⁴²¹ i.e. when summoned by the court

no mercy, nor yet knowledge of God, is now in the earth, but abominable vices have everywhere gotten the overhand,⁴²² one bloodguiltiness following an other, Osee 4.⁴²³ Think you that the Bishops and priests⁴²⁴ could take so cruel ways and would work so false feats if they had the true fear of God, or yet reckoned to feel a righteous judge at the latter day? Suppose it not. Not only minded they to show no mercy to this woman, but also to worry⁴²⁵ all her friends and acquaintance, which is most extreme cruelty and malice.

With
priests.

Tyrants

The other woman whom they would here most craftily have delivered with this (as I am credibly informed) was a certain popish quean,⁴²⁶ which they had afore provided both to betrayed her and accuse her. In more deep danger of the law at that time was this for her false accusation⁴²⁷ without record,⁴²⁸ than was the other which was so falsely accused. Fain would the prelates therefore have had her at liberty but they feared much to be noted partial. Mark this crafty point for your lear-

Practise

Subtlety

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⁴²² upper hand, victory

⁴²³ Hosea 4:2 'maledictum et mendacium et homicidium et furtum et adulterium inundaverunt et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.' KJV: 'By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood.'

⁴²⁴ emended from 'prestea' following Beilin

⁴²⁵ to seize and lacerate by the throat, as would hound or wolf

⁴²⁶ disparaging term for woman, a hussy.

⁴²⁷ accusation

⁴²⁸ evidence

ning, and tell me if they be not a subtle generation. More of their spiritual packings⁴²⁹ and conveyances⁴³⁰ for the death of this faithful woman and most dear member of Christ Anne Askew shall ye well perceive in the latter part here following by her own confession and handwriting also to the honour of God and their great dishonour. So be it.

Vain is the conversation, which ye received by the traditions of your fathers,
1. Petri 1.⁴³¹

The verity of the Lord endureth forever. Psalm.116.⁴³²

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⁴²⁹ making up of a jury or deliberative body to further a particular end or influence a decision, plottings

⁴³⁰ artifices, underhand dealings

⁴³¹ 1 Peter 1:18 'scientes quod non corruptibilibus argento vel auro redempti estis de vana vestra conversatione paternae traditionis.' KJV: 'Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, *as* silver and gold, from your vain conversation *received* by tradition from your fathers'

⁴³² Psalms 116:2 'quia confortata est super nos misericordia eius et veritas Domini in aeternum alleluia.' KJV Psalms 117:2 'For his merciful kindness is great toward us: and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord.'

The Conclusion.

Here hast thou (gentle reader) the first examination of the faithful martyr of Christ Anne Askew with my simple elucidation upon the same. Wherein thou mayst clearly behold our Bishops and priests so spiritually to be occupied now a days, as is the greedy wolf that ravenously runneth upon his prey. For the tyrannous behaviour in their cruel predecessors have they no manner of shame. Neither yet repent they their own blasphemous treason against God and his verity, what though their most wretched consciences do daily accuse them thereof. The kingdom of God, which is a true faith in his word or a perfect knowledge of the gospel, do not they seek to uphold. But violently they speak ill of it, trouble it, persecute it, chase it, and banish it, because it is of him and from within Luce 17.⁴³³ The kingdom of the pope which cometh with outward observation of days, persons, places, times,

Bishops.

Kingdom
of God

Pope's
kingdom

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⁴³³ Luke 17:21 'neque dicent ecce hic aut ecce illic ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos est.' KJV: 'Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.'

meats, garments, and ceremonies, they magnify above the main because it is from without, and to their peculiar advantage in the loitering reign of idleness.

A change They have thought and yet think by their terrible turmoilings to turn over all and to change the most noble enterprise of our king, yet once again leisurely⁴³⁴ to their pope's behave. But the godly wise man Solomon saith, There is no policy, there is no practise, no, there is no counsel that can any thing prevail against the lord, Proverbiorum 21.⁴³⁵ They reckon that with fire, water, and sword they are able to answer all books made against their abuses, and so to discharge their invincible arguments (for otherwise they have not assoiled them as yet) but truly they are sore deceived therein, as shall well appear. They suppose by consuming of a score or 2 in the fire they have gotten the field of⁴³⁶ the lamb and his host. Apoca. 17.⁴³⁷ No, they rather by that means add strength thereunto and so diminish their own. I dare boldly say

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⁴³⁴ deliberately

⁴³⁵ Proverbs 21:30 'non est sapientia non est prudentia non est consilium contra Dominum.' KJV: 'There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord.'

⁴³⁶ i.e. conquered

⁴³⁷ Revelation 17:14 'hii cum agno pugnabunt et agnus vincet illos quoniam Dominus dominorum est et rex regum et qui cum illo sunt vocati et electi et fideles.' KJV: 'These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful.'

unto them that by burning Anne Askew and her 3 companions, they have one thousand less of their popish belief than they had afore. They think also by condemning and burning our books to put us to silence. But that will surely bring double upon them, if they be not ware, Apoca. 18.⁴³⁸ For if we should be still, the very stones would speak in these days, Luce 19.⁴³⁹ And detect their horrible treason against God and the king.

Books.

If they mind to hold their idle offices still, and here after to have profit of their old sale wares as Diriges,⁴⁴⁰ Masses and such other. My counsel were that they did by them as they now do by their pope the⁴⁴¹ great master and first founder of them. A subtle silence is among them concerning him, and hath been ever since his first putting down. Ye shall not now hear a word spoken against him at Paul's Cross⁴⁴² nor yet against his old juggling feats. And in deed it is a good wise way to set him up again. Winchester and Sampson made a little brag at

Counsel.

Silence.

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⁴³⁸ Revelation 18:6 'reddite illi sicut ipsa reddidit et duplicate duplicia secundum opera eius in poculo quo miscuit miscite illi duplum.' KJV: 'Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled fill to her double.'

⁴³⁹ Luke 19:40 'quibus ipse ait dico vobis quia si hii tacuerint lapides clamabunt.' KJV: 'And he answered and said unto them, I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.'

⁴⁴⁰ diriges. 'Dirige' is the first word of the antiphon at Matins in the Office of the Dead, used as a name for that service

⁴⁴¹ emended from 'rhe' following Beilin

⁴⁴² cross (destroyed in 1643) in the close of old St Paul's Cathedral, at which religious and political gatherings were often held

Perin the beginning, to seem yet to do somewhat, but since they have repented, and made a large amends for it otherways. Friar Peryn began to write in defence of their monstrous Masse but now of late days, and he can not find therein one blasphemous abuse justly to be reprehended. Men say there be crafty knaves abroad in the world in all ages. Well, this politic silence would take heed do well also peradventure in other matters. For the more rufflings⁴⁴³ they make and the more murder they do for that idle kingdom of theirs, the more clear the verity appeareth and the more vile their sorcerous wares. For the more dirt be shaken (they say) the more it stinketh.

Germans. So outrageously to rail in their preachings of the noble and learned Germans (which of all nations loveth our king most entirely)⁴⁴⁴ for secluding⁴⁴⁵ their pope and changing their masses, they do not most wisely for themselves. They are not so ill beloved of their country merchants, which Peryn's customably⁴⁴⁶ travel thither⁴⁴⁷ but they know what is there both said and sermons. done against them. By that means came Peryn's book of his 3

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⁴⁴³ dissensions, disturbances

⁴⁴⁴ since many German principalities had converted to Lutheranism

⁴⁴⁵ banishing

⁴⁴⁶ customarily

⁴⁴⁷ i.e. to England

most idolatrous and foxish sermons,⁴⁴⁸ first of all to my hands. Wherein he rhetorically calleth them, in the hot zeal of his Romish father, the erroneous Germans, subtle witted heretics, obstinate adversaries, new fangled expositors, perverse sacramentaries, blasphemous apostates, wicked wretches, devilish liars, lewd livers, and abominable believers, with such other like. But certainly I know that they will one day be even with him and with other like apes of Antichrist for it. When the Pope's great dancing bear, a proud pranking⁴⁴⁹ prelate of theirs, was the last year with the Emperor Charles at his forth going against the said Germans, his bragging beagles⁴⁵⁰ were not ashamed to boast it in the open streets of Utrecht in Holland that the pope should again have his full sway in England. Of a likelihood they know there some secret mysteries in working. I say yet, be ware of that subtle generation which seeketh not else but to work all mischief.

Winchester.

Gentle and soft wits are oft times offended that we are now a days so vehement in rebukes. But this would

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⁴⁴⁸ this is the *Thre godly and notable sermons, of the moost honorable and blessed sacrament of the aulter. Preached in the Hospitall of S. Antony in London, by Wyllya[m] Peryn preest, bachelor of diuinite, [and] now set forth for the auauunceme[n]t of goddes honor: the trithe of his worde, and edification of good christen people*, [Imprynted at London: In S. Iohns strete, by Nycolas Hyll, as the costes and charges of Robert Toye, dwellynge in Paul's churche yarde, at the signe of the Bell], 1546, STC 2nd ed. 19786

⁴⁴⁹ swaggering

⁴⁵⁰ tracking hounds, spies or informers

Modesty I fain know of them, what modesty they would use (as they call it) if they were compelled to fight with dragons, hydras,⁴⁵¹ and other odible⁴⁵² monsters. How patient they would be and how gentle if a ravenous wolf came upon them, they having able weapon to put him a side. Surely I know no kind of Christian charity to be shewed to the devil. Of none other nature is Moses' serpent but to eat up the serpents of Pharaoh's sorcerers, Exod.

Oak grove. 7.⁴⁵³ If we did suffer any longer the oak grove of Baal to stand about the altar of the Lord, we should much offend his commandment. Judi. 6.⁴⁵⁴ If I should hold my peace and not speak in this age the verity so blasphemed, my conscience would both accuse me and condemn me of the uncosiderence⁴⁵⁵ of my lord God. More precious is the thing which is in daily controversy and peril⁴⁵⁶ (which is now God's true honour) than is all this world's treasure here. What Christian heart can abide it to see the creature yea not of God but of man, to be worshipped in the stead of God, and say

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⁴⁵¹ many-headed serpent, difficult to extirpate

⁴⁵² odious, hateful

⁴⁵³ Exodus 7:12 'proieceruntque singuli virgas suas quae versae sunt in dracones sed devoravit virga Aaron virgas eorum.' KJV: 'For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.'

⁴⁵⁴ Gideon built an altar to Baal and then destroyed it and the grove around. See Judges 6:25–33, especially 6:25 'nocte illa dixit Dominus ad eum tolle taurum patris tui et alterum taurum annorum septem destruesque aram Baal quae est patris tui et nemus quod circa aram est succide.' KJV: 'And it came to pass the same night, that the Lord said unto him, Take thy father's young bullock, even the second bullock of seven years old, and throw down the altar of Baal that thy father hath, and cut down the grove that is by it.'

⁴⁵⁵ lack of consideration

⁴⁵⁶ 'parell' in source

nothing therein?

Solomon saith, there is as well a time to speak, as a time to keep silence, and a time as well to hate as a time to love, Ecclesiastes 3.⁴⁵⁷ With a perfect hate, Lord (saith David) have I hated those bloodthirsty enemies which were in their presumption against thee, Psalm 118.⁴⁵⁸ Strongly and with most mighty stomach are hypocrites to be invaded, which will not give place to the verity. Mark how mightily Moses resisted Pharaoh, Elijah king Ahab, Elisha Joram, Zechariah Joash, Daniel the idolaters, John Baptist the Pharisees and Herod, Stephen the Jews, the Apostles the Bishops and priests.⁴⁵⁹ Christ rebuked his disciple Peter and bade him come after him devil, Math. 16.⁴⁶⁰ Yet called he Judas his friend, Math. 26.⁴⁶¹ Necessary is it that the elect⁴⁶² flock of God do hate the unclean fowls, which yet hold their habitation in Babylon, Apoca. 18.⁴⁶³ John wycliffe and Jan Hus confess in their writings that they were by strange force inwardly constrained of God to

hate them.

Examples.

Wycliffe
and
Hus.

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⁴⁵⁷ Ecclesiastes 3:8 'tempus dilectionis et tempus odii tempus belli et tempus pacis.' KJV: 'A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace.'

⁴⁵⁸ Psalms 118:128 'propterea in universa praecepta direxi omnem semitam mendacii odio habui.' KJV 119:128 'Therefore I esteem all thy precepts concerning all things to be right; and I hate every false way.'

⁴⁵⁹ For the prophet Elijah's resistance of King Ahab see 1 Kings 17–18. In 17 Elijah stops the rains for three years causing famine in Ahab's lands, in 18 he brings back the rain through prayer. In 2 Kings 9 the prophet Elisha is instrumental in the killing of King Joram, son of Ahab, when he anoints Jehu as king of Israel. In Daniel 2 Daniel interprets King Nebuchadnezzar's forgotten dream when no wise men, magician or sorcerer (i.e. idolater) could. Zechariah opposes King Joash in 2 Chronicles 24, for which he is stoned and put to death. For John's resistance against King Herod which leads to his beheading see Matthew 3:7–12 and Matthew 14. For Stephen and the Jews or 'synagogue of the Libertines' (KJV Acts 6:9) see Acts 6:8–15. In Acts 23 the Apostle Paul resists the high priest Ananias.

⁴⁶⁰ Matthew 16:23 'qui conversus dixit Petro vade post me Satana scandalum es mihi quia non sapis ea quae Dei sunt sed ea quae hominum.' KJV: 'But he turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.'

⁴⁶¹ Matthew 26:50 'dixitque illi Iesus amice ad quod venisti tunc accesserunt et manus iniecerunt in Iesum et tenuerunt eum.' KJV: 'And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore art thou come? Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him.'

⁴⁶² chosen for salvation

⁴⁶³ Revelation 18:2 'et exclamavit in forti voce dicens cecidit cecidit Babylon magna et facta est habitatio daemoniorum et custodia omnis spiritus inmundi et custodia omnis volucris inmundae.' KJV: 'And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.'

Spirit. work against the great Antichrist. Erasmus boldly uttered it that God for the evils of this lame age hath provided sharp physicians.⁴⁶⁴ Quench not the spirit (saith S. Paul) despise not prophecies, 1. Thessalon. 5.⁴⁶⁵ I put my earnest words into thy mouth (said the lord to Jeremiah) that thou should'st both destroy and build. Hieremye 1.⁴⁶⁶ Let this suffice ye concerning our rebukes, for they are God's enemies whom we invade.

Waves. If ye perceive it and feel it on the other side that the waves of the sea are great also and doth horribly rage in these days, Psalm 92.⁴⁶⁷ Consider again (saith David) that the lord which dwelleth on high is a great deal mightier than they. As he is of power to cease the storm and to make the weather calm, Psalm 106.⁴⁶⁸ So is he able to change a king's indignation (which is but death) into most peaceable favour and loving gentleness, Proverbiorum 16.⁴⁶⁹ For the heart of a king is evermore in the hand of God and he may turn it which way he will, Prover. 21.⁴⁷⁰ His

Pray and obey.

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⁴⁶⁴ Erasmus' remark about Luther in the *Hyperaspistes*. See Williams, Thomas Sidney trans., Gustav Pfizer, *The Life of Luther: With Notices and Extracts of His Popular Writings* (London: Society for the Promotion of Popular Instruction, 1840), p. 119. Philip Melancthon, who took Luther's place at the head of the Reformation, quoted this remark in his funeral oration on the death of Luther. See Cox, Francis Augustus *The Life of Philip Melancthon* (London: Gale, Curtis and Fenner, 1815), p. 458–9.

⁴⁶⁵ 1 Thessalonians 5:19 'Spiritum nolite extinguere.' KJV: 'Quench not the spirit.'

⁴⁶⁶ Jeremiah 1:10 'ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna ut evellas et destruas et disperdas et dissipas et aedifices et plantes.' KJV: 'See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.'

⁴⁶⁷ Psalms 92:3 'levaverunt flumina Domine levaverunt flumina voces suas levaverunt flumina gurgites suos.' KJV 93:3 'The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods lift up their waves.'

⁴⁶⁸ Psalms 106:29 'statuet turbinem in tranquillitatem et silebunt fluctus eius.' KJV 107:29 'He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still.'

⁴⁶⁹ Proverbs 16:14–15 'indignatio regis nuntii mortis et vir sapiens placabit eam/ in hilaritate vultus regis vita et clementia eius quasi imber serotinus.' KJV: 'The wrath of a king is as messengers of death: but a wise man will pacify it./ In the light of the king's countenance is life; and his favour is as a cloud of the latter rain.'

⁴⁷⁰ Proverbs 21:1 'sicut divisiones aquarum ita cor regis in manu Domini quocumque voluerit inclinabit illud.' KJV: 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.'

eternal pleasure it is, that ye should honour your king as his immediate minister concerning your bodies and lives 1. Petri 2, and that ye should with all gentleness obey the temporal rulers, Romano. 13.⁴⁷¹ But such spiritual hypocrites, both bishops and priests, as are continual haters of his heavenly verity would he that we should hold for most detestable apostates and blasphemous reprobates as did Christ and his Apostles, which never obeyed them but most sharply rebuked them, Mathei 23. Acto. 20. and 2 Petri 2.⁴⁷² The grace of that lord Jesus Christ be ever with them, which rightly hate that synagogue of Satan, as did Anne Askew, Amen.

Abhor.

God standeth by the generation of the righteous, Psal. 13.⁴⁷³

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⁴⁷¹ 1 Peter 2:17 ‘omnes honorate fraternitatem diligite Deum timete regem honorificate.’ KJV: ‘Honour all *men*. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king.’

Romans 13:3–4 ‘nam principes non sunt timori boni operis sed mali vis autem non timere potestatem bonum fac et habebis laudem ex illa/ Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum si autem male feceris time non enim sine causa gladium portat Dei enim minister est vindex in iram ei qui malum agit.’ KJV:

⁴⁷² In Mathew 23 Christ admonishes against the scribes and Pharisees. Acts 20:17–38 contains Apostle Paul’s farewell speech to the elders of Ephesus in which he warns them against perversion. 2 Peter 2 contains a warning against false preachers and foretells punishment.

⁴⁷³ Psalms 13:6 ‘quoniam Deus in generatione iusta est consilium pauperum confudistis quoniam Dominus spes eius est.’ KJV 14:6 ‘Ye have shamed the counsel of the poor, because the Lord is his refuge.’ The motto echoes the Coverdale Bible translation ‘Therefore shal they be brought in greate feare, for God stondesth by the generacion of the rightuous.’

Thus endeth the first examination of Anne Askew, lately done to death by the Romish pope's malicious remnant and now canonised in the precious blood of the lord Jesus Christ. Imprinted at Marburg in the land of Hessen, in November, Anno 1546.

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**The voice of Anne Askew out of the 54 Psalm of
David, called Deus in nomine tuo.⁴⁷⁴**

For thy name's sake, be my refuge,
And in thy truth, my quarrel judge.
Before thee (lord) let me be heard,
And with favour my tale regard
Lo, faithless men, against me rise,
And for thy sake, my death practise.
My life they seek, with main and might
Which have not thee, afore their sight
Yet help'st thou me, in this distress,
Saving my soul, from cruelty.
I wote know thou wilt revenge my wrong,
And visit them, ere it be long.
I will therefore, my whole heart bend,
Thy gracious name (Lord) to commend.
From evil thou hast, delivered me,
Declaring what mine enemies be.
Praise to God.

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⁴⁷⁴ Psalm 55 in the KJV.

Who so ever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. Joan. 11.⁴⁷⁵

He that heareth my words, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but pass from death unto life. Joan. 5.⁴⁷⁶

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⁴⁷⁵ John 11:26 'et omnis qui vivit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum credis hoc.' KJV: 'And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?.' This is followed by the printer's emblem of John van Kempen. For more on the printer see Context.

⁴⁷⁶ John 5:24 'amen amen dico vobis quia qui verbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet vitam aeternam et in iudicium non venit sed transit a morte in vitam.' KJV: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.'