Anne Askew (ca. 1521–46) had been married to a Lincolnshire gentleman, one Mr. Kyme, before the influence of the Reformed religion led her to London to seek both a divorce from her Catholic husband (she thenceforth referred to herself by her maiden name) and spiritual advice and polemics. Though she had connections with the female court of Henry’s last queen, Catherine Parr (1512–48), Askew fell foul of the government’s crackdown on reformers in the wake of the Act of Six Articles. She was imprisoned for heresy, questioned and tortured, and burnt to death in Smithfield just outside London’s city walls on July 16, 1546. She evidently wrote two volumes of her examinations, which, smuggled out of prison, were published with commentary by John Bale (see document 3.14), and she later became one of the early martyrs in Foxe’s Acts and Monuments (see document 3.17). How had the new, Reformed religion affected Askew? How did the ability to read Scripture empower people? What was her basic argument? What was that of her interrogators? How does she deploy expected social roles in her responses? How does she upset them?

I, being before the Council, was asked of [about] Master Kyme. I answered that my Lord Chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented but said it was the king’s pleasure that I should open the matter to them. I answered then plainly that I would not so do. But if it were the king’s pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the king with me to be troubled. I answered that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet disliked not he to hear two poor common women, much more His Grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So, in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter.

1 The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe latelye martyred in Smythfelde, by the wycked Synagoge of Antichrist, with the Elucydacyon of Iohan Bale (Marpurg [i.e. Wesel], 1547), 14–24 (Bale’s commentary omitted).
Then my lord chancellor asked me of my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, “I believe that so oft as I in a Christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ’s death and with thanksgiving according to his holy instruction, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion.” The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer. I said, “I would not sing a new song to the Lord in a strange land.”

Then the bishop said I spake in parables. I answered it was best for him. “For if I show the open truth,” quoth I, “ye will not accept it.” Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and that gladly. Then had I diverse rebukes of the Council because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the meantime unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there above five hours....

The next day I was brought again before the Council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to [regarding] the sacrament. I answered that I already had said that [which] I could say. Then, after diverse words, they bade me, “Go by.” Then came [privy councilors] my Lord Lisle, my lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord Parr and my Lord Lisle that it was great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, “So did Judas when he unfriendly betrayed Christ.” Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me, “Why?” I said that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ’s and Paul’s doctrine, Matthew 18 and 2 Corinthians 13....

Then the bishop said I should be burne d. I answered that I had searched all the scriptures, yet could I never find there that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death. “Well, well;” said I. “God will laugh your threatenings to scorn,” Psalm 2. Then was I commanded to stand aside.

Then came Master [William] Paget [(1505/6–63), at this time one of Henry’s chief advisers] to me with many glorious words, and desired me to speak my mind to him. “I might,” he said, “deny it again if need were.” I said that I would not deny the truth. He asked me how I could avoid the very words of Christ: “Take, eat. This is my body. This is my body, which shall be broken for you.” I answered that Christ’s meaning was there, as in these other places of the Scripture: “I am the door,” John 10. “I am the vine,” John 15. “Behold the lamb of God,” John 1. “The rock stone was Christ,” 1 Corinthians 10, and such other like. “Ye may not here,” said I, “take Christ for the material thing that he is signified by, for then ye will make him a very door, a vine, a lamb, and a stone, clean contrary to the Holy Ghost’s meaning. All these indeed do signify Christ, like as the bread doth his body in that place. And though he did say there, ‘Take, eat this in remembrance of me,’ yet did he not bid them hang up that bread in a box and make it a God or bow to it.”

Then he compared it unto the king and said that the more His Majesty’s
honor is set forth, the more commendable it is. Then said I that it was an abominable shame unto him to make no better of the eternal Word of God, than of his slenderly conceived fantasy. A far other meaning requireth God therein than man’s idle wit can devise, whose doctrine is but lies without his heavenly verity. Then he asked me if I would commune with some wiser man? That offer, I said, I would not refuse. Then he told the Council....

Then came to me Doctor Cox and Doctor Robinson. In conclusion we could not agree. Then they made me a bill [formal legal document] of the sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto, but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die. Therefore I desired to speak with [Hugh] Latimer [see document 3.17]; it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness. For in all my life afore was I never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen you in the truth. Pray, pray, pray.

3.y The Vocacyon of Johan Bale (1553)

Not everyone appreciated the return to Catholic practice under Mary. John Bale (1495–1563) was a prior before the Reformation who became an evangelical Protestant polemicist, editing Askew’s Examinations (document 3.12). What does his report from Ireland suggest about Irish opinion on the Edwardian Reformation? Is Bale reliable? What aspects of Catholicism arouse his hostility most?

On the twentieth day of August [1553], was the Lady Mary with us at Kilkenny [in Ireland] proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that there could be devised of processions, musters, and disguisings; all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What-a-do I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and miter in procession.... [O]n...the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny...blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstitions of the bishop of Rome; to the utter contempt of Christ and His holy word, of the king and Council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politic order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rung all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely...; they brought forth their copes, candle sticks, holy-water stock, cross, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, and the rest of the Latin litany; they chanted it, with great noise and devotion; they banqueted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.

3.z Report on Marian Persecution to Philip of Spain from Simon Renard at London (February 5, 1555)

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2 The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie In Irelande his Persecucutions in the same (Rome [i.e. Wesel?], 1553), fols. 24, 27–27v.
3 CSP Relating to...England and Spain..., July 1554–November 1558 (London,
While Parkyn (document 3.14) might have been correct to note that changes in the service “came to pass without compulsion,” numerous clergy and a small, but significant portion of the laity refused to return to the old liturgy and faith. In response, Mary and her advisers began to persecute these Protestants as heretics. The fires celebrating the restoration of Catholicism in London in January 1555 soon had a darker significance, as reforming bishops and others were arrested, tried, and ordered to be burnt. Simon Renard (ca. 1513–73), the Imperial ambassador in London, questioned the efficacy of burning heretics. Is Renard an eyewitness? Is he convincing? How might his position sway what he reports?

The people of this town of London are murmuring about the cruel enforcement of the recent acts of parliament on heresy which has now begun, as shown publicly when a certain [John] Rogers [ca. 1500–55] was burnt yesterday. Some of the onlookers wept, others prayed to God to give them strength..., others gathered the ashes and bones..., yet others threatening the bishops. The haste with which the bishops have proceeded in this matter may well cause a revolt.... I do not think it well that your Majesty [Philip] should allow further executions to take place unless the reasons are overwhelmingly strong.... Tell the bishops that they are not to proceed to such lengths without having first consulted you and the queen.... Your majesty will also consider that the Lady Elizabeth has her supporters and that there are Englishmen who do not love foreigners.